KIERKEGAARD'S JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

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KIERKEGAARD'S JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

VOLUME 2

Journals EE–KK

Edited by
Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas,
Bruce H. Kirmmse, Vanessa Rumble, K. Brian Söderquist
and
George Pattison, Volume Editor

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Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Introduction to the English Language Edition

Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks is based on *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* (hereafter, *SKS*) [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings] (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–), which is a Danish scholarly, annotated edition of everything written by Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55). When completed *SKS* will comprise fifty-five volumes. *SKS* divides the entirety of Kierkegaard's output into four categories: 1) works published by Kierkegaard during his lifetime (e.g., such well-known titles as *Either/Or*, *Fear and Trembling*, and *The Sickness unto Death*); 2) works that lay ready—or substantially ready—for publication at the time of Kierkegaard's death, but which he did not publish in his lifetime (e.g., titles such as *The Book on Adler*, *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*, and *Judge for Yourself!*); 3) journals, notebooks, excerpts, and loose papers, collectively entitled Kierkegaard's "journals and notebooks"; and 4) letters and biographical documents. Clearly, Kierkegaard was not only a prolific author, he was also a prolific *writer*, and his literary activity found expression not only in his published works but also in the mass of writings that were not published in his lifetime. It is these writings, the third category listed above, entitled *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* (hereafter, *KJN*) that constitute the material of the present English language edition. For a detailed account of previous Danish and English language editions of Kierkegaard's unpublished writings, see pp.vii–xii of the "Introduction to the English Language Edition" in volume one of *KJN*.

I. Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Based as it is on the new Danish edition of *SKS*, the present English language edition of *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* employs the *SKS* principle of organization by archival unit: journals, notebooks, and loose papers.

The materials constituting the present edition of *KJN* consist of the documents mentioned above as the third category of materials included in *SKS* as volumes 17 through 27. The eleven volumes of

KJN contain the translated text of these eleven *SKS* volumes, plus most of the explanatory notes contained in the eleven *SKS* commentary volumes which accompany *SKS* 17–27. Specifically, the textual materials constituting *KJN* consist of the following documents:

a) a set of ten journals to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them "AA" through "KK" (as "I" and "J" are identical in the classical Roman alphabet, there is no journal entitled "I I");

b) fifteen notebooks, designated "1" through "15" by the editors of *SKS*, sequenced according to the dates on which Kierkegaard first made use of them; Kierkegaard himself assigned titles to four of these notebooks, and the editors retain these titles in parentheses;

c) a series of thirty-six quarto-sized, bound journal volumes to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them journals "NB," "NB^{2} ," "NB^{3} ," through "NB^{36} "; and

d) a great variety of materials—a large number of individual folio sheets, pages, slips, and scraps of paper—which the editors of *KJN*, following the editors of *SKS*, entitle "loose papers."

There is a good deal of chronological back-and-forth in Kierkegaard's posthumous papers. Kierkegaard often made use of several of the first twenty-four documents—the ten journals designated "AA" through "KK" and notebooks "1" through "14"—simultaneously, and there is thus much temporal overlap among the journals and notebooks. (Indeed, it was only after they had been in use for some time, probably in mid- or late 1842, that Kierkegaard assigned the designations "AA" through "KK" to the journal volumes bearing those labels.) Nonetheless, the above-mentioned archival units do fall into several broad temporal categories, and these twenty-four journals and notebooks can be collectively assigned to the period 1833–46. Notebook 15, however, which is entirely devoted to Kierkegaard's relationship to Regine Olsen, his onetime fiancée, stems from 1849. The journals entitled "NB" through "NB^{36}" were assigned their numbered titles in chronological order by Kierkegaard himself and stem from the period 1846–55, though here, too, these journals contain additions and emendations, some of which stem from later periods, disrupting the general chronological sequence of

the journals. The final group of materials, the "loose papers," spans the entire period 1833–55.

KJN follows the editors of *SKS* in the choice of a two-column format, which best reflects Kierkegaard's practice when keeping his journals and notebooks. Like many of his contemporaries, Kierkegaard's usual custom with his journals and notebooks was to crease the pages lengthwise (vertically) so that each page had an inner column for the main text and a somewhat narrower outer column for subsequent reflections and additions. In this way, further reflections could be—and very often were—added later, sometimes much later, often on several subsequent occasions, e.g., when Kierkegaard read or thought of something that reminded him of something he had written earlier.

As has been noted above, a certain degree of chronological organization is present in the documents themselves, but a strictly chronological presentation of all the material is neither possible nor, perhaps, desirable. A strict and comprehensive chronological organization of the material is impossible, for while we can often detect the *sequence* in which Kierkegaard altered and emended an original passage in a notebook or journal, it is frequently not possible to ascertain *when* these alterations and emendations took place—though in his earlier entries Kierkegaard often dated his marginal additions. Furthermore, there are also cases in which the very sequence of such changes cannot be determined with certainty. Finally, even if it could be established, a rigorously chronological sequencing of all the material would not necessarily be desirable, because such a serial presentation would render it more difficult to see the manner in which Kierkegaard could return to a passage on multiple subsequent occasions, adding to, deleting, and altering what he had originally written. (It is hoped that upon completion of all eleven volumes of *KJN* it will be possible to produce an electronic edition of the entire series; this would make it possible for readers to organize and search through the materials in a variety of ways.)

II. The Format and Organization of the Present Edition

1. *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks (KJN)* and *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter (SKS)*

As already noted, *KJN* is a translation of Kierkegaard's journals, notebooks, and loose papers, using the text as established by the editors of *SKS*. The great majority of the materials included in the

present volumes is taken from Kierkegaard's surviving manuscripts, but some manuscripts were lost in the production of the first published selection of Kierkegaard's papers, H. P. Barfod's nine-volume edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards efterladte Papirer* (hereafter, *EP*). Thus, particularly in the early volumes of *KJN*, our only source for a number of Kierkegaard's journal entries is the version originally published in *EP*. When this is the case, *KJN* indicates that the source is the published version from *EP* by employing justified right-hand margins, while most of the text of *KJN*, taken as it is from the surviving manuscripts, employs a ragged right-hand margin. In addition there are a number of cases, typically involving short or fragmentary entries or lines, in which the only surviving source is Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's manuscripts, while in still other cases material in the original manuscripts deleted by Kierkegaard has been deciphered and restored by the editors of *SKS*; both these sorts of material are reproduced in *KJN* without text-critical commentary. Scholars interested in these source details are referred to the text-critical apparatus of *SKS*. In addition, there are some cases in which Kierkegaard's original manuscript cannot be read meaningfully, and the editors of *SKS* suggest a proposed reading of the passage in question. *KJN* has adopted all such proposed readings without comment.

In some cases Kierkegaard's spelling is erroneous or inconsistent or there is missing punctuation. On rare occasions the editors of *SKS* have corrected errors of this sort silently, while in other cases missing punctuation has been supplied (but placed within special brackets to indicate that this is the work of the editors of *SKS*), and in still other cases Kierkegaard's errors of spelling or punctuation have been allowed to stand because they are indicative of the hasty and informal style that often characterizes his unpublished materials. Where they do not cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have followed the editors of *SKS* in allowing a number of Kierkegaard's spelling errors (e.g., of proper names) and punctuation lapses to remain. On the other hand, where the retention of Kierkegaard's errors might cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have absorbed without annotation the corrections made by the editors of *SKS* (both the silent and the bracketed corrections), and have occasionally corrected instances of erroneous spelling and missing punctuation that have been permitted to remain in *SKS*. Here—as in the above-mentioned cases involving materials which have their source in Barfod's cata-

logue or in text deleted by Kierkegaard and restored by the editors of *SKS*—scholars who require access to the entire text-critical apparatus of *SKS* should consult that edition.

2. Two-Column Format in the Main Text

As already noted, a two-column format is employed where necessary in order to emphasize the polydimensionality of the original documentary materials; thus, for example, providing a spatial representation of a draft's character as a draft with multiple alterations.

3. Typographical Conventions in the Main Text

a) In Kierkegaard's time, both "gothic" and "latin" handwriting were in common use among educated people. Generally, when writing Danish and German (which of course accounts for the bulk of his journals and notebooks) Kierkegaard used a gothic hand, while when writing Latin or French (which he did much less frequently than Danish or German) Kierkegaard used a latin hand. Following the editors of *SKS*, the editors of *KJN* have sought to preserve this feature by using ordinary roman type to represent Kierkegaard's gothic hand, and a sans serif typeface to represent Kierkegaard's latin hand. Greek and Hebrew will appear in their respective alphabets.

b) As in *SKS*, italics and boldface are used to indicate Kierkegaard's degrees of emphasis. *Italics* indicate underlining by Kierkegaard. **Boldface** indicates double underlining by Kierkegaard. ***Boldface italics*** indicate double underlining plus a third, wavy underlining by Kierkegaard.

4. Margins in the Main Text

a) The *SKS* pagination of the journals appears in the margins of the present edition. This permits the reader to refer to *SKS*, which contains the entire apparatus of text-critical markers and notes concerning the manuscripts, including indications of Kierkegaard's own pagination of his journals and notebooks.

b) Two separate line counters are included in the inner and outer margins in order to facilitate specific line references to each of the two columns.

c) The entry numbers in the margins are not Kierkegaard's own but have been added by the editors of *SKS* in order to facilitate reference to specific entries. Each journal or notebook has its own

entry numbering in arabic numerals, e.g., "AA:1," "DD:8," etc., which refer to the first entry in *Journal AA*, the eighth entry in *Journal DD*, etc.

Kierkegaard's marginal additions to journal or notebook entries are indicated with lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "AA:23.b," which refers to Kierkegaard's second marginal addition to the twenty-third entry in *Journal AA*. If a marginal addition itself has a marginal addition, this is also indicated by another layer of lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "DD:11.a.a," which refers to the first marginal note to the first marginal note to the eleventh entry in *Journal DD*.

Where the letter preceding Kierkegaard's marginal note has been set in *italics* and is enclosed in square brackets, this means that Kierkegaard did not leave a reference symbol indicating exactly where his marginal note pertains. In these cases, the editors of *KJN*, following the usage of the editors of *SKS*, have situated Kierkegaard's marginal additions approximately where they are found on the pages of Kierkegaard's own journal manuscripts, which, as noted, employed a two-column format.

Loose papers are numbered sequentially "Paper 1," "Paper 2," "Paper 3," etc. The second entry on a given paper would be "Paper 4:2," and if it has a marginal note associated with it, the designation of that note is in the format "Paper 4:2.a," etc. If more specific reference than this is necessary, the system of *KJN* volume number, page number, and line number on the appropriate line counter is employed, e.g., "*KJN* 1, 56:11," referring to a passage in the first volume of *KJN*, page 56, line 11 on the line counter for the inner column. If a marginal note (thus, a note in the outer column of the page) is referred to in this manner, the reference is in the format "*KJN* 9, 56*m*:3," referring to a marginal note found in volume 9 of *KJN*, page 56, line 3 on the marginal or outer column line counter.

5. Footnotes in the Main Text

a) Kierkegaard's own footnotes are indicated by arabic numerals and are numbered consecutively within a journal entry, with the numbering beginning at "1" for each new journal entry. Kierkegaard's footnotes appear at the bottom of the text column or at the end of the entry to which they pertain, whichever comes first, but always *above* the solid horizontal line at the foot of the page.

b) Translator's footnotes appear *below* the solid horizontal line at the foot of the page.

6. Foreign Language in the Main Text

Foreign (non-Danish) words, expressions, and quotations that appear in Kierkegaard's text are left in the original language. Where the translator has deemed it advisable, shorter passages in foreign languages are accompanied by a translator's footnote, below the solid horizontal line, that provides an English translation of the foreign word or passage. All other foreign language passages are given in full translation in the explanatory notes at the back of each volume.

7. Photographs of Original Manuscripts

Selected photographs of original manuscript material are included in the main text.

8. Orthography of Classical Names

The orthographical standard for all ancient Greek and Roman names and place names is *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

9. Material Included at the Back of Each Volume

a) A brief "Critical Account of the Text" gives a description of the physical appearance, provenance, and whatever chronological information is known concerning a document. If the document is related to others—for example, in the cases where Kierkegaard is known to have used one of the journals in the *AA–KK* group in tandem with one or more of notebooks 1–14, which stem from the same period—this is also indicated.

b) Each journal or notebook is accompanied by "Explanatory Notes." In some cases, notes included in *SKS* have been shortened or omitted in *KJN*. In a number of cases, notes which do not appear in *SKS* have been added to *KJN;* typically, these serve to explain geographical or historical references which are obvious to Danes but are not likely to be known by non-Danes. Notes are keyed by page and entry number to specific lemmata; that is, to key words or phrases from the main text that appear in **boldface** at the beginning of each note. The *running heads* on each page of notes indicate the journal or notebook and entry number(s) to which the notes on that page refer, while the numbers *to the left* of each column of notes indicate the page and line number in the main text where the lemma under discussion is found. When the text of a note mentions a lemma explained in another note for the same journal or notebook, an arrow (→) accompanied by a large

and a small number—e.g., → 110,22—serves as a cross-reference, indicating the page and line number (in this case, page 110, line 22) where that lemma occurs in the main text. Each journal or notebook is treated as a separate unit with respect to explanatory notes; thus the notes for a given journal or notebook contain no cross-references to the notes for other journals or notebooks. (The explanatory notes for notebooks 9 and 10 will constitute an exception to this rule because those two notebooks are so closely connected that they should perhaps be considered a single document.) The notes are confined to clarifying historical, biographical, geographical, and similar information not readily available in a standard English language desk reference volume. Notes do not engage in critical interpretation or in discussions of the scholarly literature. As noted under 6 above, foreign language passages not translated in a translator's footnote in the main text are translated in the explanatory notes at the end of the volume. There are no markers in the main text denoting the existence of an explanatory note pertaining to a particular word or passage.

c) Maps of nineteenth-century Copenhagen, Denmark, etc., are provided where appropriate.

d) Calendars of the years covered in the volume, indicating days of the week, holidays, etc., are provided.

e) Illustrations referred to in Kierkegaard's text are reproduced.

f) A concordance to the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer* is provided in order to facilitate using the present edition in conjunction with works, including previous translations of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, which refer to the *Papirer*.

10. Abbreviations

a) Abbreviations used in the main text

In the main text an attempt has been made to preserve something of the feel of the original documents, in which Kierkegaard made liberal use of a great many abbreviations, shortening words in accordance with the common usage of his times. Naturally, many of these abbreviations cannot be duplicated in English, but where it has seemed appropriate a number of commonly used (or easily decipherable) English abbreviations have been employed in order to provide a sense of Kierkegaard's "journal style."

b) Abbreviations used in "Critical Accounts of the Texts" and in "Explanatory Notes"

ASKB *The Auctioneer's Sales Record of the Library of Søren Kierkegaard,* ed. H. P. Rohde (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1967)

B&A *Breve og Aktstykker vedrørende Søren Kierkegaard* [Letters and Documents Concerning Søren Kierkegaard], vols. 1–2, ed. Niels Thulstrup (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953–54)

B-cat. H. P. Barfod, "Fortegnelse over de efter *Søren Aabye Kierkegaard* forefundne Papirer" [Catalogue of the Papers Found After the Death of Søren Aabye Kierkegaard]

Bl.art. *S. Kierkegaard's Bladartikler, med Bilag samlede efter Forfatterens Død, udgivne som Supplement til hans øvrige Skrifter* [S. Kierkegaard's Newspaper Articles, with an Appendix Collected after the Author's Death, Published as a Supplement to His Other Works], ed. Rasmus Nielsen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1857)

d. died in the year

EP *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers], vols. 1–9, ed. H. P. Barfod and H. Gottsched (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1869–81)

Jub. G.W.F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke* [Complete Works]. *Jubiläumsausgabe*, vols. 1–26, ed. Hermann Glockner (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1928–41)

KA The Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen

KJN *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*, vols. 1–11, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas, Bruce H. Kirmmse, George Pattison, Vanessa Rumble, and K. Brian Söderquist (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007–)

KW *Kierkegaard's Writings*, vols. 1–26, ed. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978–2000)

Occasionally, the explanatory notes will employ different English translations of the titles of Kierkegaard's works than those used in *KW*. For example, Kierkegaard's *En literair Anmeldelse*, which is trans-

lated *Two Ages* in *KW,* may appear in the explanatory notes as *A Literary Review*. All such departures from the English titles as they appear in *KW* will be explained in the explanatory notes in which they appear. Generally, however, the English titles used in *KW* will be used; these titles have been assigned standard abbreviations as follows:

AN	"Armed Neutrality" in *KW* 22
BA	*The Book on Adler* in *KW 24*
C	*The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress* in *KW 17*
CA	*The Concept of Anxiety* in *KW 8*
CD	*Christian Discourses* in *KW 17*
CI	*The Concept of Irony* in *KW 2*
COR	*The "Corsair" Affair; Articles Related to the Writings* in *KW 13*
CUP	*Concluding Unscientific Postscript* in *KW 12*
EO 1	Either/Or, Part 1 in *KW 3*
EO 2	Either/Or, Part 2 in *KW 4*
EPW	*Early Polemical Writings: From the Papers of One Still Living; Articles from Student Days; The Battle Between the Old and the New Soap-Cellars* in *KW 1*
EUD	*Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses* in *KW 15*
FPOSL	*From the Papers of One Still Living* in *KW 1*
FSE	*For Self-Examination* in *KW 21*
FT	*Fear and Trembling* in *KW 6*
JC	"Johannes Climacus or De omnibus dubitandum est" in *KW 7*
JFY	*Judge for Yourself!* in *KW 21*
LD	*Letters and Documents* in *KW 25*
NA	"Newspaper Articles, 1854–1855" in *KW 23*
NSBL	"Notes on Schelling's Berlin Lectures" in *KW 2*
OMWA	*On My Work as an Author* in *KW 22*
P	*Prefaces* in *KW 9*
PC	*Practice in Christianity* in *KW 20*
PF	*Philosophical Fragments* in *KW 7*
PV	*The Point of View for My Work as an Author* in *KW 22*
R	*Repetition* in *KW 6*
SLW	*Stages on Life's Way* in *KW 11*
SUD	*The Sickness unto Death* in *KW 19*

TA	*Two Ages: The Age of Revolution and the Present Age, A Literary Review* in *KW 14*
TDIO	*Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* in *KW 10*
TM	*"The Moment" and Late Writings: Articles from "Fædrelandet"; "The Moment"; This Must Be Said, So Let It Be Said; Christ's Judgement on Official Christianity; The Changelessness of God* in *KW 23*
UDVS	*Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits* in *KW 15*
WA	*Without Authority: The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air; Two Minor Ethical-Religious Essays; Three Discourses at the Communion on Fridays; An Upbuilding Discourse; Two Discourses at the Communion on Fridays* in *KW 18*
WL	*Works of Love* in *KW 16*
WS	"Writing Sampler" in *KW 9*

NKS — Ny Kongelige Samling [New Royal Collection], a special collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen

NRSV — *Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha* (see part c below)

NT — New Testament

OT — Old Testament

Pap. — *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* [The Papers of Søren Kierkegaard], 2nd ed., vols. 1–16 in 25 tomes, ed. P. A. Heiberg, V. Kuhr, and E. Torsting (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909–78)

SKS — *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings], 28 text volumes and 27 commentary volumes, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, Jette Knudsen, Johnny Kondrup, and Alastair McKinnon (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–)

The 28 text volumes of *SKS* are referred to as *SKS* 1 through *SKS* 28. The 27 commentary volumes which accompany the text volumes are referred to as *SKS* K1 through *SKS* K28. (The reason there are 27 rather than 28 commentary volumes is that a single commentary volume, *SKS* K2–3, accompanies the two text volumes

SKS 2 and *SKS* 3, which together comprise the massive two-volume work *Enten-Eller* [Either/Or].)

SV1 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 1st ed., vols. 1–14, ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1901–6)

SV2 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 2nd ed., vols. 1–15, ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1920–36)

c) *The Bible*. All biblical quotations are from the following English translations:

Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) (Standard for references to the authorized Danish translation of the New Testament from 1819 and used for many other biblical references.)

The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) (Often used for references to the authorized Danish translation of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha from 1740 and occasionally used for other biblical references.)

Occasionally, in order to help the reader understand the text of journal entry, the translators of *KJN* may make minor modifications to one of the above Bible translations.

Books of the Bible are abbreviated in accordance with the abbreviations used in the *NRSV*:

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen	Genesis	1 Sam	1 Samuel
Ex	Exodus	2 Sam	2 Samuel
Lev	Leviticus	1 Kings	1 Kings
Num	Numbers	2 Kings	2 Kings
Deut	Deuteronomy	1 Chr	1 Chronicles
Josh	Joshua	2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Judg	Judges	Ezra	Ezra
Ruth	Ruth	Neh	Nehemiah

Esth	Esther
Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Solomon
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Am	Amos
Ob	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi

Apocryphal Books

Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Add Esth	Additions to Esther
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Bar	Baruch
1 Esd	1 Esdras
2 Esd	2 Esdras
Let Jer	Letter of Jeremiah
Song of Thr	Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Jews
Sus	Susanna
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
3 Macc	3 Maccabees
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh

New Testament

Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Rom	Romans
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Titus	Titus
Philem	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

11. Variants

While *KJN* does not include the full text-critical apparatus of *SKS*, a number of textual variants, deemed by the editors of *KJN* to be of particular interest, are included in the explanatory notes for each journal or notebook. The notation used to indicate different types of variants is explained below. (A list of selected variants for *KJN* 1 is included in the present volume, immediately following the explanatory notes for *Journal KK*.)

first written: changes determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made in the manuscript at the time of original writing, including: (a) replacement variants placed in the line, immediately following deleted text; (b) replacement variants written directly on top of the original text; and (c) deletions

changed from: changes determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made in the manuscript subsequent to the time of original writing, including: (a) deletions with replacement variants written in the margin or above the original text, and (b) deletions without replacement text

added: additions determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made to the manuscript subsequent to the time of original writing

12. Symbols

[ ] enclose the *KJN* editors' supplements to the *SKS* text; also enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations or footnotes for which Kierkegaard did not leave a symbol, but whose placement is beyond doubt

[ ] enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations which Kierkegaard himself did not clearly assign to a specific locus in a specific main entry

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JOURNAL EE

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7

1 les grandes passions sont solitaires, et les transporter au desert c'est les rendre a leur empire.

Chateubriand.

1 les grandes passions . . . leur empire.] *French,* The great passions are solitary, and to take them into the desert is to give them their empire.

8

Father in Heaven! Open the eye's springs and let a stream of tears, like unto the Flood, obliterate all of that past life which did not find favor in your eyes; but also, as of old, give a sign, as when you set the rainbow like a gate of grace in the heavens, that you would never again obliterate us with a Flood; never let sin get such power in us that you would once more have to tear us from sin's *body*! **2**

1 Feb. 39.

Longing is the *umbilical cord* of the *higher* life. 1/2 39. **3**

It is the great comfort (1/2) **4**

As if it were the High Priest (1/2) **5**

There have been many who stood in just about the same relation to Jesus as *Barrabas* (he was called Jesus Barrabas). Barrabas is roughly equivalent to the Danish "N. N.," בַּר אָבָא, filius patris, his father's son. For the rest, it's a pity we just don't know anything more about Barrabas; in many respects he seems to me a possible counterpart to the Wandering Jew. The rest of his life may well have been something to wonder at. God knows if he did not become a Christian?—It would be a poetic motif to let *him* step forth and be a witness to Christ, gripped by his divine power. **6**

1 Feb. 39.

You, Sovereign Mistress of my heart,[1] hidden in the deepest privacy of my breast, in the most fulsome of my thoughts on life, there, where it is just as far to heaven as to hell,—unknown divinity! Oh, can I really believe the poets' tales that when one sees the beloved for the first time one believes one has seen her long before; that all love, like all knowledge, is recollection; that love too has its prophecies, its types, its myths, its Old Testament in the single individual. Everywhere, in every girl's face, I see a trace of your beauty, but it **7**

[1]) [Added later:]*"Regina."*

14 filius patris] *Latin,* the son of the father

seems to me that I would have to have all girls in order to extract *your* beauty from all of theirs; that I would have to circumnavigate the earth to find that continent I lack, and that the deepest secrecy of my entire I nevertheless points to it as its pole;—and in the next moment you are so near to me, so present, so powerfully making my spirit whole, that I am transfigured in my own eyes and feel that here is a good place to be.

You blind god of love! You who see in secret, will you tell me openly? Shall I find what I am seeking here in this world, shall I experience the *conclusion* of all my life's eccentric premises, shall I *enclose* you in my arms—or:

Does the order say: onward?

Have you gone ahead, you, my *longing*, do you summon me, transfigured, from another world? Oh, I would cast everything aside to become light enough to follow you.

2/2

*

8 It is really an incomparable feeling, when one has breathed the idea into the body of the concept, when one has set a boundary to the former by means of the latter—not a stockade or a Wall of China over which it *cannot go*, but a beautiful line within which *the idea swells up*, not forcedly but *virginally*. The earthly limitations of our knowledge do indeed mean that one is from time to time compelled to enclose it within a *virgin's bower*, until we have found a worthy bridegroom; but, Lord God, a virgin's bower is no nunnery.

2 Feb. 39.

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9 Fragment

Fair reader—we understand one another, we who are not those actually involved—you, perhaps not you of whom I was thinking, you who as yet never envied anyone, whomsoever she might have been, for being more beautiful than you, you who have never pondered such a thing, never suspiciously observed the deceiving expressions—Oh, may alteration never befall you, never let it do so, in that very moment everything would turn around,[1] in that very moment you are separated from it by an eternity, in that very moment you would have to depart to be constantly on the move, and

even if you constantly turned round in order to look back just one more time to the vanishing object, you would still never find it, just as little as the one who, driving backward, comes back to the place he left but only loses it more and more.

[1]round about
all the small images turned around
and *the altar* with them.

2 Feb. 39.

10 The divine may well be stirring within earthly relationships and it does not require these to be annihilated as the condition of its appearing, just as God's Spirit revealed itself to Moses in the thornbush, which burned *without being consumed*.

3 Feb. 39.

11 All poetry *transfigures* life (cf. The Transfiguration) by *the way it illuminates it* (by it being illuminated, enlightened, developed, etc.). It is really remarkable that language has this double meaning.

5 Feb. 39.

12 In their reports of modern philosophy since Descartes it seems as if the philosophers have modeled themselves on the pattern that is sometimes found in stories, where, by repeating everything that had happened previously each time one adds a new link, one finally brings about a chain of events that cannot be taken in: stick won't beat dog, dog won't bite cow, cow won't go home, etc. 5 Feb. 39.

1 [a]Generally speaking, the Jews were a historical nation in a so much deeper sense than any other, and a nation who accentuated the histori-

13 It, the historical conception, is one side of all knowledge of God; it is therefore extremely characteristic for Judaism that they [the Jews] could only see Jehovah's back, for history appears on the scene when Jeho-

vah leaves behind the given in order to go further, since the historical conception is never present in the event itself, cf. Exod. 33:20–23. v. 22: ["]Wenn den nun meine Herrlichkeit *vorüber gehet*, will ich dich in der Felsenkluft lassen stehen, und meine Hand soll ob dir halten, bis ich *vorüber gehe*." 6 Feb. 39.

14 *Günther*'s most recent work (die juste-melieu der Philosophie) has such an excellent title that I was enamored of and preoccupied with it to such a degree that I will probably never get round to reading the book but will remain stuck on the aphorism on the title page.— 7 Feb. 39.

15 In spiritual matters there also comes a moment when we feel that we ourselves can do nothing at all, when we go forth just as[a] naked from our self-contemplation,[b] as previously from our mother's womb.— 8 Feb. 39.

16 The deep, all-pervasive meaning of original sin shows itself in the way in which all Xnty begins in the individual with grief—*grieving for God*. 10 Feb. 39.

12

17 The same can be said of every idea as is said of the Messiah: απατωρ, αμητωρ, αγενεαλογητος, μητε αρχην ήμερων μητε ζωης τελος εχων. (Heb 7:3) 10 Feb. 39.

18 A holy grief that is as deep and holy as it is inward and quiet, like the aesthetic concern with which Lavater[1] speaks of the contagion through which humnty has distorted the image of God in that, insofar as this image of God shows itself in the face—this acoustic figure of the soul—such a religious-moral grief would be cal, as by making the 3rd person one's starting point, which especially suggests either the abstract infinitive or the subjectivized first person.

[a]and so, like Adam, we have to say in deep sorrow: I heard your voice in the garden and saw that I was naked and therefore hid myself. Gen 3:10.

[b]but it is also necessary in order for God to be able to make something of us, for God always creates from nothing, and needs neither material nor our self-made wisdom— neither suitable nor unsuitable material.

3 Wenn den nun meine Herrlichkeit . . . gehe] *German,* When my glory passes by, I will put you in a cleft in the rock and cover you with my hand until I have passed by. **23** απατωρ . . . εχων] *Greek,* Without father or mother, without genealogy, without beginning of days or end of life.

the genuine Christian grace of grief, insofar as it simply apprehended the hum. race's great and deep Fall without itself falling under the defining properties of corruption.

11 Feb. 39.

[a]but there is no place for such a grief in the world, and when we sometimes see peop. who try to lose themselves in such an intuition, as if the whole did not really essentially affect them, then the word of the Lord sounds forth: Woman, do not weep for me, but for yourself.

[1](cf. Lavater's *Physiognomik*)

Philo says somewhere: "ὁ αθεος απατωρ εστι, ὁ δε πολυθεος εστι εκ πορνης." **19**

11 Feb. 39.

. . . For Xnty also has a fight greater than any struggle carried on in the world; for Xnty fights with the world. But if you have seen the army being inspired in the hour of battle by the general's words, should not the Xn be enflamed by his battle cry: if God is for us, who can be against us, a battle cry that, in truth, comprises not only an unmistakable mark of distinction from the enemy but a gospel for every fighter. Or should not the Xn be emboldened to fight under a commander who has himself defeated the enemy, to fight a fight in which victory is certain, the prize an eternity.—Xnty also has its peace—a peace which has overcome the world—and Xnty also has a joy, not that which is concealed at the bottom of the cup of intoxication but that which smiles up at us from the bottom of the bitter chalice, and which only shows itself more clearly to the same degree that the chalice becomes more bitter.— **20** 13

11 Feb. 39.

. . . . But where in the world does one find deep sympathy.[1] **21**

[1]cf. Heb IV:15 ου γαρ εχομεν αρχιερεα μη δυναμενον **συμπαθησαι** *ταις ασθενειαις* ημων.—this is a sympathy worth more than all worldly empathy.—

12 Feb. 39.

7 ὁ αθεος . . . πορνης] *Greek,* The atheist is without father, but the polytheist is the offspring of a whore. **31** ου γαρ . . . ημων] *Greek,* For we do not have a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses.

22 That thought and being are one can be seen in people who suffer from fixed ideas—from which one can also derive a proof for the eternity of punishment in hell, since the hum. being's more perfect existence must be thought of as strictly free from all the distractions, all the momentary and temporal things that make us insensible to the identity of thought and being, not to mention that what belongs to sexual differentiation and to the whole historical development that has its point of departure therein must be banished by thought, since we shall then become like angels (neither marrying nor being taken in marriage); but the Ch. Fathers do indeed also teach that the fall of the angels is irreversible, since it happened under the form of "true time."

12 Feb. 39.

23 The mass of humnty passes Xnty by as the voice from heaven; it hears it, but does not understand it and thinks that it is thunder (Jn XII:29)—or it hears the voice, but does not see who it is that is speaking. (Acta IX:7.).

12 Feb. 39.

24 It is the most pregnant prophecy that has ever existed when X says: it is good for you that I go away; it was the moment when X's earthly existence had reached 14 such a degree of maturity, when his body was *dried* like fruit is when its time is past, when the whole divine fullness could no longer be contained in earthly form as an *individual* existent.

13 Feb. 39

25 Fear and trembling (cf. Phil 2:12) is not the primus motor in the Chr. life, for that is love; but it is what the balance is in a clock—it keeps the Chr. life ticking.

16 Feb. 39.

31 primus motor] *Latin,* prime mover

26 When one sees the monstrosity that orthodox Hegelians have produced with their master's categories, as if some kind of salvation lay in them, who could not come to think of the γενεαλογιαι απεραντοι that Paul warns against in 1 Tim 1:4.

19 Feb. 39

27 The Jews constantly turned back toward the past (it was not only in a physical sense but also in a spiritual sense that they wrote—from right to left), but the more strongly they thus defined themselves in terms of what lay behind them, so much greater was the necessity for the soul to seek a world to come, just like a distillation of the particles of light the eye had absorbed by staring back at the past, so that it now shone so much the more brightly in the empty and dark present they felt themselves in bondage to. They thus lacked the tranquil security of genuine evolution.

21 Feb. 39.

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28 When one sees with what hypochondriacal profundity a previous generation of Englishmen discovered the ambiguity that lies at the root of laughter, as in the comments by Dr. Hartley,[1] I am strangely moved to anxiety. What if laughter was a sheer misunderstanding, what if the world was so bad and existence so unhappy that laughter was really weeping? What if it was a misunderstanding—a misunderstanding that was either due to a compassionate genius or to a mocking demon—?

[1]) "Daß wenn sich das Lachen zuerst bey Kindern zeiget, so ist es ein entstehendes Weinen, welches durch Schmerz erregt wird, oder ein plötzlich gehemmtes und in sehr kurzen Zwischenraumen widerholtes Gefühl des Schmerzens." (Cf. "Geschichte der komischen Literatur" v. Flögel, vol. 1, p. 50).

21 Feb. 39.

4 γενεαλογιαι απεραντοι] *Greek,* endless genealogies **30** Daß wenn sich das Lachen . . . des Schmerzens] *German,* That when laughter first manifests itself in children, it is an incipient form of crying that has been aroused through pain or by a suddenly and very rapidly inhibited, repeated feeling of pain.

29 Our time is more and more losing the teleological moment that belongs to a life-view—and among the educated classes[a] one will certainly find many who regard a marriage without children as the highest—in this respect one thinks by way of contrast of the Jews; they almost entirely gave up their own existence and sought it only in that of another.

25 Feb. 39.

30 The separation from the world involved in Xnty is as much greater in comparison with that of Judaism as the words Xt spoke to his apostles ("whoever does not hate father and mother for my sake is not worthy of me")—are deeper than the words that were spoken in the beginning to the man ("he shall leave his father and mother["]), and as a consequence of this, the union as well is all the more inward.

Cf. p. 27. mid. of page
25 Feb. 39.

31 Father in Heaven! teach us to walk in the light of your countenance, and let not our thoughts and deeds be like visitors in your dwelling place who come as strangers from far away, a single meager once, but, like children of the house, let us sense your dwelling with us—for what would it avail us, no matter how splendid such a visit might be; what would it avail us, if our faces shone like that of Moses when he had been speaking with the Lord; what would it avail us, if like Moses we hid our faces from the Jews so as not to reveal how quickly the radiance vanished—? Let us never forget that all Christianity is a *lifetime's journey*, so that even if I stood on the furthest frontier of your Kingdom, holy Father, as far away, all by myself as the tax collector of old, if I only stood there with my face *toward you*,—and didn't turn around like the man who laid his hand to the plow—with my staff in hand, ready for the journey, even if there lay mountains and valleys and rushing

[a] in this domain it is often simply an altogether egoistic eudaemonism, which will not endure the resignation that goes with having one's life's goal in another; for marriage does indeed seem to demand a similar resignation, but for one thing, the fruit nevertheless arrives more quickly and almost simultaneously with the sowing, and for another, the reciprocal resignation involved in such a person's attitude is not as it should be, based in any third element, but rather is of the kind that seeks to calculate its *profit*.— Otherwise, e.g., Augustine cf. p. 27. mid. of page

torrents ahead of me, I would still have the promise: that the least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than any that are born of woman.

2 March 39.

as he rode up to him he whispered: "Major, Sir, you are to about turn"; at which the Major called out the command: "Battalion, about turn" and thereby got into just as wrong a position again, not to speak of the whole battalion getting into the wrong position. You see this is the unfortunate thing about the politicians; it's always a matter of "the whole battalion," even though it is only they themselves who should be turning about. **32**

3 March. 39.

Everything has gone down a level in Xnty because a higher moment has entered in. προφετεια was the highest in the O. T. but it is εν γλωσση λαλειν in the N. T., so that προφετεια retains a kind of consciousness in itself that is not like that in the O. T. **33**

9 March 39.

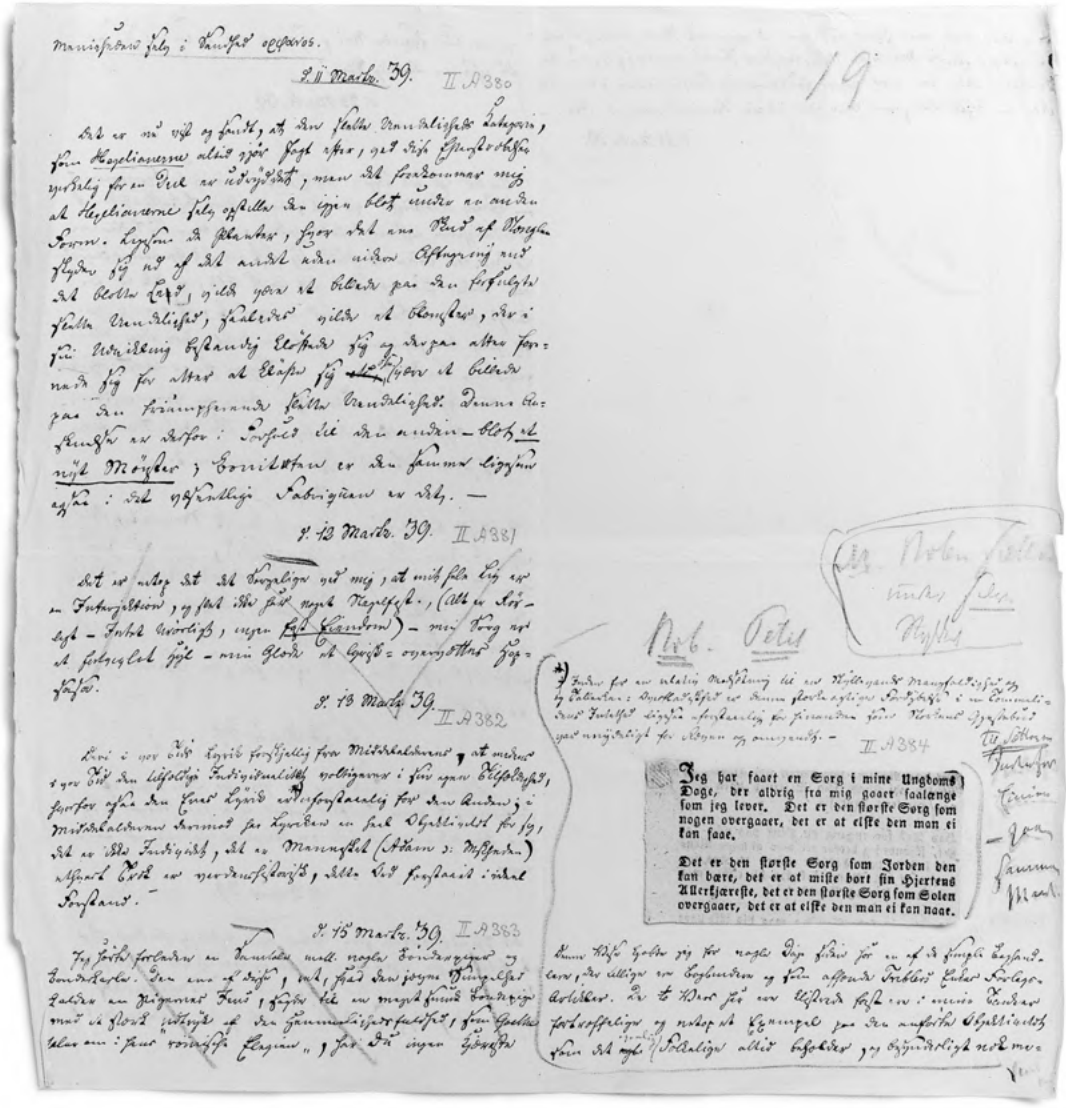
It is, however, extremely telling when the Rabbis called an Amen from the mouth of one who has not understood the prayer to which he answered Amen Αμεν ορφανον יְתוֹמָה. Wasn't the congregation's Amen like that throughout the Middle Ages, wasn't the congregation itself in truth ορφανος. **34**

11 March 39.

17

Now, it is certain and true that the category of the bad infinity, which the Hegelians are always chasing after, is actually partially rooted out by these endeavors, but it seems to me that the Hegelians themselves simply reestablish it, merely under another form. Just as plants, where one shoot of a stem sprouts out of another without any mark other than the mere joint, **35**

16 προφετεια] *Greek,* prophecy **17** εν γλωσση λαλειν] *Greek,* speaking in tongues **24** Αμεν ορφανον יְתוֹמָה] *Greek, Hebrew,* orphaned Amen **26** ορφανος] *Greek,* orphaned



Journal EE:34–38

would be an image of the bad infinity they persecute, so would a flower that constantly bifurcated in the course of its development, and then reconnected with itself in order to bifurcate again, be an image of the triumphant bad infinity. In relation to the other, this view is therefore merely *a new design*; the quality is the same, just as, essentially, the process of production is too.—

12 March 39.

The truly grievous thing about me is precisely this: **36**
that my whole life is an interjection, altogether lacking anything fixed (everything is movable, nothing immovable, no *real property*)—my grief is a despairing howl, my joy a lyrically extravagant hopsasa.

13 March 39.

The lyrical poetry of our age is different from that of **37**
the Middle Ages in this—that while in our age the accidental individual vaults about over his own accidentality, which means that the one person's lyricism is[a] incomprehensible to another, in the Middle Ages lyrical poetry had, contrariwise, a whole objectivity in view; it is not the individual, it is the human being (Adam, i.e., humnty); every feature is world-historical, understanding this term in its ideal sense.—

15 March 39.

18

The other day I heard a conversation betw. some **38**
peasant lads and lasses. One of these, who was just what plain-talking common folk call a Jack-the-lad, said to a very pretty peasant girl with a strong expression of that secretiveness that Goethe discusses in his "römische Elegien," Have you a boyfriend, to which she answered No; whereupon he answered: "Then you really are a silly girl."—

23 March 39.

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[a]Within the relative opposition between the plenitude of dishwater and the superficiality of a platter, this stork-like immersion in a Tom Thumb's nullity is just as mutually incomprehensible as the stork's dinner was unpleasant to the fox and vice versa.—

> [b]In the days of my youth I acquired a grief that will never leave me as long as I live. It is the greatest grief that can befall a person: to love what one cannot obtain.
>
> It is the greatest grief that earth can bear, utterly to lose what its heart loves most of all; it is the greatest grief beneath the sun: to love what one cannot obtain.

I bought these lines some days ago from one of the plain booksellers who are also bookbinders and who

39 What will essentially come to constitute the chief problem re. the question of the immortality of the soul will assuredly be more likely to be what immortality consists in rather than immortality, that is to say, whether the soul must be thought of as being bound to the content of its actions up to the point of death or thought of as dissolved in the divine All; and so far is this from meaning that the idea of the soul has been given up that one can readily imagine analogies to it, as when the merely subjective consciousness is overshadowed by a much more objective consciousness in which existence acquires a transparency, and the question nevertheless remains whether these moments are not of a higher order than the moments of action.

28 March 39.

40 There is a moment in the narrative of Christ's passion that shows that the Law was not merely fulfilled but that something more was coming to pass, for when Xt had drunk the vinegar that was offered him, he said: it is accomplished, i.e., the Law has now been fulfilled, but this was not Xt's last word; for he also prayed for his enemies, and this is according to the Gospel.

28 March 39.

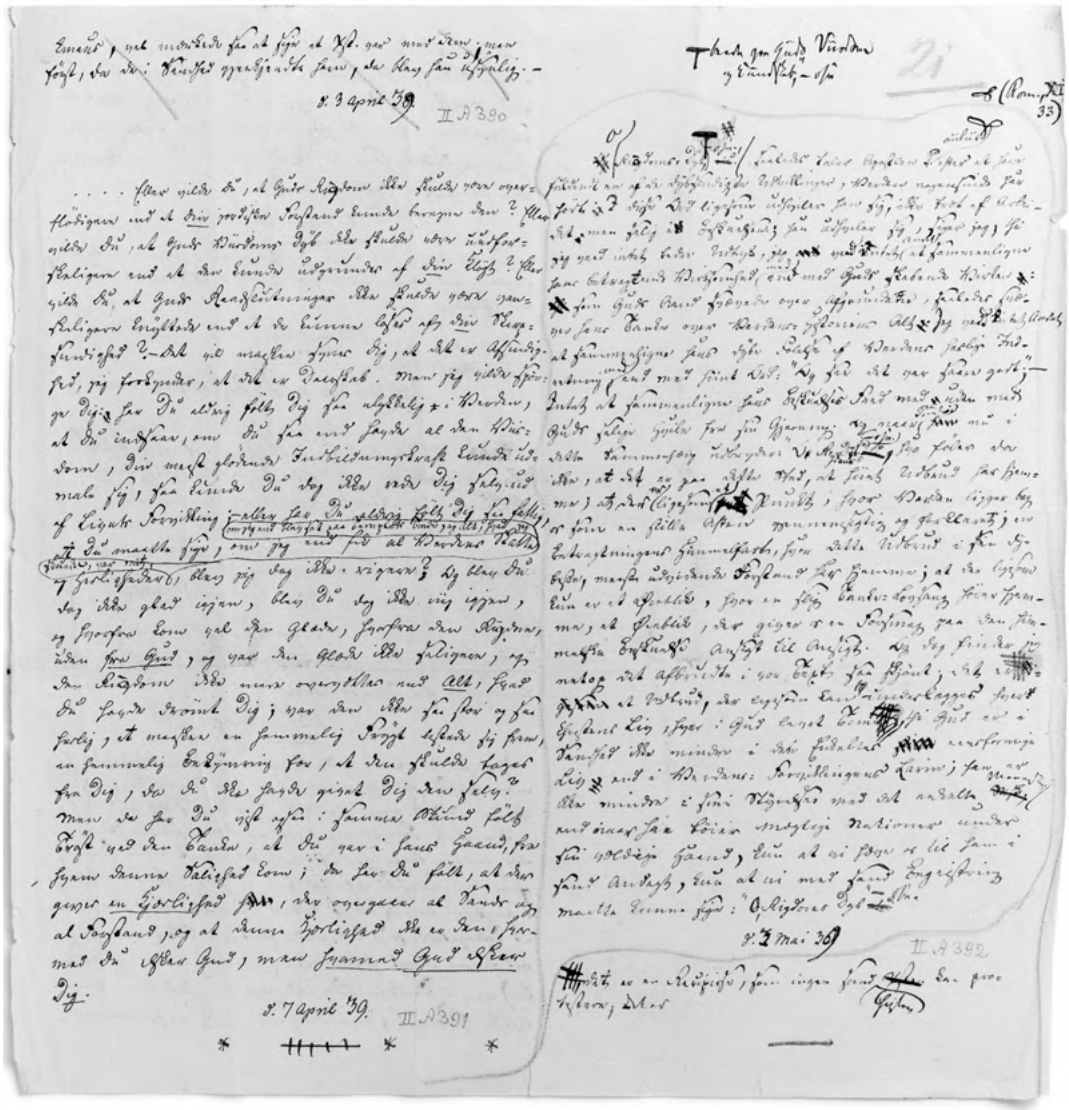
41 It is still an advantage I have over most authors that my ideas are always registered to a name, not to the bearer; they are registered to a name even if I am nevertheless anonymous. 3 April 39.

42 The image produced by the imagination, which the soul needs for a time in order to fix upon its object, this and the externality conditioned by it vanish when true cognition arrives, just as the two disciples who were walking to Emmaus did indeed notice, so to speak, that Xt was with them; but it was only when they truly recognized him that he became invisible.—

3 April 39.

retail Tribler's Widow's publications. To my mind the two pieces pasted in here are superb and a nice example of the previously noted objectivity that things genuinely of the people always retain; and, remarkably enough, while they appear extremely indifferent to the individual, their way of speaking is in the manner most precisely suited to such people as have individuality, just as a sermon should not be some petit-bourgeois speech for a special occasion, and still less an abstraction, but have the ideal individuality in view.—

23 March 39.



43 .... Or would you have it that God's Kingdom should be no more superabundant than your earthly understanding was able to calculate? Or would you have it that the depths of God's wisdom should be no more unsearchable than your cleverness is able to fathom? Or would you have it that God's decrees should have no complexities more intricate than those your acuity is able to unpick? It will perhaps seem to you that it is madness I proclaim, that it is foolishness. But I would ask you, have you never felt yourself so unfortunate in the world as to perceive that even if you had all the wisdom that the most glowing colors of your imagination could depict, you still could not rescue yourself from life's complexities, or have you never felt yourself so poor that you had to say, Even if I were to obtain all the world's wealth and splendor, even if I were to be placed upon the pinnacle of the Temple and everything I saw was mine, would I still be any richer? But did you not become happy again, did you not become rich again, and where did that happiness come from, where were those riches from, if not from God, and was the happiness not more blessed and the riches not far in excess of everything you had dreamt of; was it not so great and so glorious that perhaps a secret fear crept up on you, a secret concern lest it be taken from you, since you had not given it to yourself? But then you also certainly felt at the same time a comfort in the thought that you were in the hands of him from whom this blessedness came; then you felt that there is a love that exceeds all sense and understanding, and that this love is not that with which you love God, but that with which God loves you.

7 April 39.

44 It is in truth an edifying sight to see the instinctive assurance with which simple people take God's word to heart, how often they derive real blessing from a sermon that they are, however, far from having under-

[a] ⋕

And the depths of riches, etc.— this is how the apostle P. speaks after having completed one of the deepest expositions the world has ever heard; it is as if he is taking a rest with these words, not because he is tired of working but because he is blessed in contemplation; he is taking a rest, I say, for I know no better expression, I know nothing with which to compare his contemplative activity except God's creative action; for just as God's Spirit hovered over the abyss, so his thoughts hover over the whole of world history; I know nothing with which to compare his deep feeling for the glorious ordering of the world except that word: And see it was so good; nothing with which to compare his tranquillity in contemplation except for God's blessed rest from his labors. And when in the same connection P. bursts out "A d. r." etc., who does not feel that it is here that that outburst belongs, that it is as if marking a point at which the world lies behind us, transparent and transfigured like a quiet evening, a contemplative ascent into Heaven, and that it is here that, in its deepest and broadest meaning, this outburst belongs; that there is, as it were, only a single moment where such a mental song of praise belongs, one moment that gives us a foretaste of the heavenly vision that is face-to-face. And yet I find just that element in our text (of its having been interrupted) so beautiful; it is an outburst that can,[a] as it were, be ascribed to every Christian's life,

every hour lived in God; for God is in truth no less in the individual's simple life than in the noisy progress of the world, he is no less in the special providence directed to the individual hum. being than when he bends powerful nations under his mighty hand, if only we were to raise ourselves to him in true devotion, if only we were able to say with true enthusiasm: Oh depths of riches etc.

3 May 39.

[a]this is a recipisse that no true Xn can protest.—

stood; like the birds of the air they do not sow or reap, and yet the heavenly Father feeds them.—

7 April 39.

45 God can just as little prove his existence in any other sense than that in which he is able to swear: he has nothing higher to swear by than himself.

23 April 39.

46 higher criticism

cf. Heb IV:12 κριτικος διαλογισμων και εννοιων.

23 April 39.

47 The Xn life has aphorisms of a distinctive character which fall outside all aesthetic definitions, as e.g. Paul cf. Rom 1:1 αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον.

23 April 39.

48 Christ is the true magister matheseos

εμαθεν αφ' ων επαθε Heb 5:8

23 April 39.

49 The categories are the modern age's shewbread, only to be eaten by the priests.— 25 April 39.

23

50 The doctrine of predestination and that of the Montanists are mutually illuminating at a fundamental level, for both have as their point of departure the living knowledge given by Xnty of the sublime reconciliation of humnty with God: joyfully convinced of this, the doctrine of predestination sees the incapacity of the finite empirical world to shake it, so that it is one-sidedly conceived of as a great unalterable fact; anxiously aware of hum. sinfulness, the latter [the doctrine of the Montanists] sees a backsliding that would ruin everything, but precisely because of this fear it

14 recipisse] *Latin,* receipt

9 κριτικος . . . εννοιων] *Greek,* it judges the thoughts and intentions.
13 αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον] *Greek,* set apart for the gospel
15 magister matheseos] *Latin and Greek,* a teacher in learning
16 εμαθεν αφ' ων επαθε] *Greek,* he learned from what he suffered.

flees (not only in the individual's life) but in thought itself, back again to that evangelical assurance; but this movement is conceived one-sidedly when it is taught that backsliding makes it impossible ever to turn back again. The confusion comes from the fact that this doctrine strays over into the realm of practice for a moment, and incorporates properties from here into its dogmatic concept formation; for if it could be thought that the *whole hum. race* could sink back to the sinful condition in which Xt found it, if God could once more take on only the role of punisher in relation to the hum. race, if Christ's appearance had no objective meaning for God, was not an immanent property of his essence—yes, then the Montanists would be right. But in the sphere of individual life this outlook has only a relative significance. And the whole doctrine is only an attempt to make "fear and trembling," which has its truth in the individual life, into a scientific-dogmatic notion.— 26 April 39.

51 There are certain situations that make one especially feel how hard it is to stand quite[a] alone in the world. The other day, for example, I saw a poor girl who was going all alone to church to be confirmed; and I saw an old man whose whole family was dead; under his arm he was carrying the coffin of a little grandson, his last consolation; and sometime later I saw him in the graveyard sitting like a cross on the family grave.— 28 April 39.

[a]God knows where this expression "mutters-alene" really comes from

24

52 .... And even if we feel that we have thoughtlessly squandered our first-born rights, yet God will even so still hear us if with tears we say as Esau did: Father, have you then only one blessing, bless me too. And if Isaac thus found a blessing for his thoughtless son, how should not our heavenly Father, who is rich in blessings,[a] not find one for us.

28 April 39.

[a]indeed there will always be the difference that while Esau received a lesser blessing, because Isaac had given away the best he had, God, by way of contrast, has kept the best as surely as to be blessed in Christ is far more glorious than what was granted to the first hum. beings, and also the blessing for the individual, who repentantly turns back to God, is so exceedingly great: there is more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over 10 just men who do not need repentance.—

[a]—Traüme ich denn, oder traümt diese phantastische Nacht vom mir? —

v. Eichendorf Dichter und ihre Gesellen, p. 359

3 May 39.—

[b]and thus we feel the vocalization of joy extended in pausa.

[c]And I who by nature am a quiescent letter have still not found anything I can rest quietly in; if only I could find it, so that I could really be fully intoned.

[a]it is like his sorrow: if only you had known in this hour what was best for you. Lk 19:41.

53 There are certain days, especially as spring draws near, when, after its long sleep, nature wakes a little but then drifts off again (this is also the most agreeable moment in hum. sleep), when nature seems so dreamy and thoughtful that we really feel what it meant when the Norsemen saw the clouds as being made from Ymer's brain; the sky conceals itself so wonderfully in a transparent sur-tout, as a beautiful girl envelops her delightful form in the light and shade of fantasy.—And are not all our thoughts clouds, combining according to the varying currents of air—nothing but clouds, whether they seem to stand still[b] above us for an hour as if wanting to remain with us, or rapidly replace each other, driven onward by the storm of the passions. You, dear reader, whose horizons have never yet been darkened by such clouds, this cloud will also pass by unnoticed and forgotten like so much else that you saw but that made no impression on you, because it did not find itself in you.— 28 April 39.

54 "In this very hour says the Lord," for the mercy of the Lord is like the books that are "printed in the current year"—eternally young— 4 May 39.

55 Caligula's idea of wanting to have all heads put on one neck is nothing but an attempted, cowardly suicide. It is the counterimage of a suicide, they are two similarly despairing worldviews.—

4 May 39.

56 ..... and especially in our times, when the ideas are so confused, when the world is so busy with its affairs, so loud, when the selfish pleasure that is in a hum. being has broken its chains asunder in so many ways; especially in our time it is so easy for us to put ourselves in a wrong relation to Xnty, it is so easy, more or less clearly (according to whether the soul is more or less distinctly self-conscious), more or less vehemently (according to whether the heart is more or less

1 Traüme ich . . . mir?] *German,* Do I then dream, or does this fantastic night dream of me?

truthful), for this to become the occasion of offense, so that God has to stop us in our tracks, as he stopped Paul: Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me; or, if the movements have not been so strong: Man, why will you not understand me, why will you not let yourself be warmed by the love with which I have loved you since before the foundations of the world were laid; why will you close your ear to my fatherly voice? Like a father who watches in pain as his son goes his own way, I have left nothing untried in order to call you to me; how often have I not wanted to gather you as a mother hen gathers her chicks under her wings?
5 May 39.

57 Just as we are taught with regard to morals that what was "written beforehand["] in the O T was written beforehand so that Christians should think upon it (Rom XV:4), without what was written thereby having been without meaning for those to whom it was originally spoken—the same, I think, also applies to the meaning of prophecy for the N. T., viewed historically. 5 May 39.

58 7th Justification for Anonymity.
Most authors write with so little distinctiveness, that nearly anyone in the kingdom could have been the author of what is written, and since the name thus becomes an utterly insignificant accessory one sees that anonymity also has its meaning in a poetic sense, as quite apart from that, seen from the other side, the writers who do have individuality have no need at all to subscribe their names. 6 May 39.

59 Cornelius Nepos tells the story of a general who was besieged in a stronghold with a substantial body of cavalry and who, in order to prevent the horses from becoming sick through having to be stationary for so long, had them whipped every day in order thus to get them moving—so I live in my room like one

[a]Most of what is written is therefore nothing but asserta on *plain paper*—I, however, write on stamped paper.

2 asserta] *Latin,* assertions

under siege—I don't care to see anyone, and every moment I am afraid that the enemies will mount an assault, i.e., that someone will come and visit me; I don't care to go out; but in order not to take any harm from having to be stationary for so long—I cry myself into a state of exhaustion—

10 May 39.

1 [a]I am so unhappy right now that I am indescribably happy in my dreams.

Right now my hopes are in the same state as my eyes, **60**
which, every time I open them, have to lift an enormous lead weight (project a mass of "flies") which immediately force them shut again; for the door through which it is sometimes granted me to look upon the brighter regions (for my daily horizon and atmosphere are like the outlook and air in a Greenlander's cave, and for this reason I receive very few visitors in my winter residence; for only missionaries have the courage to creep on all fours into such a cave—Hope, heaven's missionary, sends forth a glowing shaft of light on rare occasions) is not a door that remains constantly open once it has been unlocked; still less is it a door that slowly shuts itself again, so that one could have the hope of being able to creep up to it and peek in a couple of times before it shut; no, it swings shut again immediately and the shock of it makes one almost forget what one saw. 11 May 39.

27

..... For glasses hide a lot—also a tear in the eye.— **61**
11 May 39.

It is really remarkable that while all the other **62**
attributes ascribed to God are adjectives, "Love" alone is a substantive, and it would scarcely occur to one to make the mistake of saying: ["]God is lovely." Thus language itself has given expression to the substantial element that is found in this attribute.—

12 May 39.—

63 Just as Xt's appearance in the spiritual world is what Creation was in the physical—so is the Holy Spirit's dwelling in the spiritual world, i.e., the concept of dwelling.— 12 May 39.

64 All of existence makes me anxious, from the smallest fly to the mysteries of the Incarnation; I find everything inexplicable, myself most of all; everything is infected, myself most of all. My grief is immeasurable; no one knows it except God in Heaven, and he will not comfort me; no one can comfort me except God in Heaven, and he will not have mercy—Young man, youth, you who are just starting out in pursuit of your goals, if you have gone astray, o! turn about, turn to God and, being educated by him, you will bring forth a youth made strong enough for a man's deeds; you will never imagine what must be suffered by one who, having wasted the strength and courage of youth in disobedience toward him, now begins to retreat through devastated lands and ravaged provinces, exhausted and powerless, surrounded on all sides by abominable desolation, by razed towns and the smoking ruins of disappointed hopes, by what was once prosperous but is now trodden down, and what was once pleasant but is now shattered, a retreat as slow as a bad year, as long as an eternity monotonously interrupted by the constantly repeated sigh: these days have no pleasure for me. 12 May 39.

65 I say of my grief what the Englishman says of his house: my grief is my castle.—But there are many people who, when they have occasion for grief (wear black crepe on their hats) demand sympathy, not so much to ease their care as to have someone cosset them a little, and who therefore basically see having some grief or other as one of life's conveniences. 12 May 39.

I cannot, however, regard it as anything other than God's will that I should study for my exams, and that it is more pleasing to him that I do so than, by going deeper into this or that branch of research, I really attain clearer knowledge of this or that; for obedience is dearer to him than the fat of rams.— **66**

13 May 39.

God in Heaven, let me really feel my nothingness, not so as to despair over it, but so as to feel the greatness of your goodness all the more strongly. **67**

(this wish is not, as the scoffer in me would say, a form of Epicureanism, as when a gourmet makes himself hungry in order to make the food taste better.). 14 May 39.

That the letter kills can be seen from the Sadducees, who held so fast to the letter of the Law that they denied the immortality of the soul. **68**

15 May 39.

29

For what is the manner of expression (the style) but the eternal birthmark, and these people who reach a result that does not belong to them are like hens that have hatched ducklings; every time the Idea makes a movement in accordance with its nature (as when the duckling makes for the water) they become frightened and freeze and fidget with their feet, because they only know the thought in a determinate form corresponding to a determinate moment of development; like those who have no head for mathematics, they cannot do the theorem they had previously been able to prove if one draws the diagram another way and gives them different symbols.— **69**

15 May 39.

To remind the philosophers and dogmaticians of our age about the meaning, for speculative philosophy, of **70**

[a] It is unseemly to show a woman in short skirts, but not, on the other hand, to depict her naked as the Greeks did; for lustfulness lies precisely in the way the costume conceals and allows one to make guesses. It is improper when scenes in a play involving undressing or a change of clothes go so far that one sees the actress in her chemise; for the issue is not how many undergarments they are wearing, so that the chemise is really just a top garment, but the issue is the necessity of the association of ideas.

May 39.

the saying: Repent Ye, is about the same as calling Yid after a Jew.

15 May 39.

71 It is only when a person's conception of life is no longer a thought experiment opposed to some other thought experiment,[b] but an outlook which, precisely by virtue of being such, has a *desire* (an inner, an immanent power) to demand its own realization, and for that reason also asserts itself at every moment, only then does a real split occur in a hum. being, only then does one feel that it is not a passing phantom one has to battle against, but that it is a power, a body, a body of sin (Rom 7) from which one must be torn, no matter what the cost, that it is a dying-away-from (which like every process of dying begins with bitter tears because we are to be separated from something that we have lived in, and which, somewhat foolishly, we often find painful to forget, but the tears soon become gentle and peaceful because we feel the divine comfort, soon tears of joy, when we see the end drawing near), that it is a Kingdom of God, a well-arranged order of things which does not let itself be taken by force, within which we are to have our place.—

17 May 39.

72 I have read these words somewhere in an Indian work: whoever does not believe this shall be condemned to hell and be reborn as an ass.—

17 May 39.

73 *Preface*:
Whether this preface is to be long or short I simply do not know right now; only one thought fills my soul, a longing, a thirst really to let myself run wild in the lyrical undergrowth of the preface, to really frisk about in it; for just as it must be for the poet, who now feels lyrically moved, now epically summoned, so as a prosaist I now feel an indescribable joy in giving up all

[a] . . . And no matter how different chivalry and scholasticism were, they had this in common, that they were engaged in a quest: for thought too has a certain adventurousness, which is as refreshing, as noble, as heaven-born as any knight's.

16 May 39.

[b] not one: now you can *choose*.

[c] While the clergy, being celibate, showed the highest degree of indifference toward women, the other aspect reached its ideal among the orders of knighthood—and yet there was a point of similarity, which we can also see from the knight's right to be buried as a cleric if he so requested it

17 May 39.

cf. Busching.

objective thought and really pouring myself out in my wishes and hopes, in secretly whispering to the reader, a Horatian sussuratio in the evening twilight; for a preface should always be conceived as in the light of evening, which is also undeniably the most beautiful light, and it is therefore not surprising that we read that the Lord strolled in the cool of the evening (Genesis), in a twilight hour, when the busy hum of thought heard from afar sounds as solemn as the reaper's scythe.—

17 May 39.

74 It is precisely the diametrical opposite of how things were in an earlier age, when faith in God was greatest, when the velvet on his pulpit was not as faded as it is now in our times, when they appealed to God's omnipotence and the idea that nothing was impossible for God in order to prove the resurrection of the body, e.g., etc.; while in more recent times one smiles at that and conceives this idea in as caricatured a form as possible—and appeals to the deeply grounded hum. need, the requirement, one could say, that humnty has, to prove the immortality of the soul, e.g., etc.; for this can also be conceived in just as caricatured a form, if one were to understand it as concerning a person's purely subjective requirement; for in that case, every fancy could make a similar fuss. These two sides should therefore be mediated.—

17 May 39.

31

75 When various dogmatists in our time appeal so strongly to the Augsburg Confession as opposed to the formula concordiæ, they forget that the difference between them rather consists in this: that an hour hand can never show the time as precisely as a minute hand, that a great many things were at issue in the formula conc. which were not so in the Confession.—

20 May 39.

76 These days my life feels rather like that of a chess piece, when the opponent says: that piece cannot be moved—like a useless bystander, since my time has not yet come.

21 May 39.

2 sussuratio] *Latin,* whispering

77 The Ch Fathers' descriptions of demons apply in many respects to our age's politicians: that is to say, they lived in the air (that is to say, they are much too windy to be able to get a firm footing on earth), they lived off the *smoke of sacrifices* and *incense*, they were very mobile and could *in one rush cover the whole world*.

21 May 39.

78 *Eternity is the fullness of time* (this saying also understood in the sense in which it is used when it is said that Xt came in the fullness of time.).

[a]Hamann 6th Vol. p. 144.

21 May 39.

79 .... But there is a view of the world, according to which the paradox is higher than any system.

22 May 39.

80 It is unfortunate for the philosophers that re Xnty they use continental maps when they should use a local map; *for every dogma is nothing but a more concrete epitome* of the common hum. consciousness.

22 May 39.

81 To the extent that, following the prosaic path upon which it is now embarked, scholarship will take upon itself to demonstrate all the problems that modern times are to develop, to that same extent real scholarly activity will lose all its pleasure, all its sense of adventure, just as hunting has done in our times, when one knows every single wild animal, and knows years in advance that this animal is to be shot this year, and this in 40, etc.—

82 The same applies to Hamann as is written on a woodstove at Kold's in Fredensborg: allicit atque terret.—

22 May 39.

83 The Xn consciousness presupposes an entire preceding stage of hum. consciousness (it does this both world-historically and in an

27 allicit atque terret] *Latin,* it attracts and it repels.

individual respect in the individual person), and while the Xns therefore stick with the consciousness of a Flood that annihilated what existed previously, philosophy believes that the beginning of existence takes place here.

24 May 39.

Strangely enough, there is something that has often made me anxious: that the life I was living wasn't my own but quite identical with that of another definite person, without my being able to prevent it, and I only discovered it whenever it had been lived through up to a certain point. **84**

24 May 39.

Even in madness there prevails such a great uniformity that (according to what the doctor reports) there very rarely occurs a phenomenon that has not already been previously described many times. **85** 33

24 May 39.

The whole doctrine of original sin is portrayed in the Catholic Ch. as having so fundamentally little to do with the individual hum. being that one can best compare it with a paper cover that is cut off in the binding process, and for this reason justitia originalis is also so remote from a person that it can best be compared with a glossy binding that has no relation to the book. **86**

27 May 39.

According to the kind of emphasis placed on faith by the Reformers, good works should stand in the same relation to a hum. being as charity did according to X's command: the right hand should not know what the left hand is doing. **87**

28 May 39.

Just as there is a futurum (ins blaue hinein), an infinitely extended development that annihilates all deeper speculation, so the counterimage to this is a "prius" a "præ" in a retrogressive infinity, such as the Alexandrians' *pre*-existence of the λογος, *pre*-existence of **88**

20 justitia originalis] *Latin,* original righteousness **29** futurum] *Latin,* future tense **29** ins blaue hinein] *German,* into the wide blue yonder **31** prius] *Latin,* what is previous or prior **31** præ] *Latin,* what is previous or prior **32** λογος] *Greek,* word

matter, *pre*-existence of the soul, *pre*-existence of evil, and just as misleading with regard to thinking about the matter more deeply.

29 May 39.

89 There is a life-view that is acquired with tears but that is also stronger than iron, like the shirt: "wenn sie ihn unter Thränen spinnt, mit Thränen bleicht, eine Hemde draus unter Thränen näht, schützt mich dis besser als alles Eisen, es ist undurchdringlich." but this life-view protects only the one who has himself prepared it, not like that shirt, which was for all.—

cf. *Magyarische Sagen* by Graf Mailath. p. 152, bottom.

29 May 39.

34

90 Xnty's standpoint in relation to the common human standpoint is like that of the Church to the State, it does not negate the State except insofar as the latter tries to interfere with it.

5 June 39.

91 This is why "Aladdin," with its ingenuous childlike boldness in the most extravagant wishes, is so invigorating; for how many are there really in our time who honestly dare to wish, dare to desire, dare to demand, dare to address nature neither with the "please, please" of a *polite* child nor with the ravings of a lost individual; how many are there who, having a feeling for the idea that is so much chattered about in our time—that the hum. being is created in God's image and is by nature his representative—have the true voice of command, the truly div. governmental style; don't we all rather stand there like Noureddin, bowing and scraping, anxious in case we ask too much or too little; don't we rather gradually lower the grandiose demand into a sickly reflection over the I, going from demanding something to *being demanding*, which is indeed how children are *brought up* to be.

10 June 39.

92 The common hum. standpoint writes uncertainly and shakily with its own hand, the Christian writes with[a] a pen *firmly guided*, testifying to what is correct (taking this in a subjective sense), but is not itself productive. The deep meaning that the word "witness" has in

[a] for what hum. beings produce with their own hand is never more than a *fig leaf*.

5 wenn sie . . . undurchdringlich] *German,* when she spins it with tears, bleaches it with tears, sews a shirt [from the material] with tears, this protects me better than any iron, it is impenetrable.

Xnty derives from this, they are neither the first discoverers nor do they improve on what is given, but are witnesses, both because Xnty is an objective act that realizes itself in the world, and because they incorporate it into themselves.

11 June 39.

In truth, we didn't need Hegel to tell us that relative **93**
contradictions can be mediated, since it is found in the ancients that they can be distinguished; personality will for all eternity protest against the idea that absolute contradictions are susceptible of mediation (and this protest is incommensurable with what mediation asserts) [and] it will for all eternity repeat its *immortal* dilemma: to be or not to be, that is the question. (Hamlet.)

14 June 39.

This chasing after cleverness, which is so characteristic of our times, has gradually infected even the most sacred relationships, and prayer has bit by bit become a witty conversation, pumped dry by the emptying process of reflection. We do not need to fear that our prayers might become too long like those of the Pharisees, but it rather seems as if a sickly cast of thought is being directed to seeking out more and more piquant things to pray for; one is, so to speak, ashamed of one's earthly existence, as if God had not placed us in it. Everything has to be so clever, so airy, that it reveals its true character by way of contrast to the ingenuousness with which, for example, people used to sing the May-time chorus hereabouts. **94**

14 June 39.

In observing the vibrations of the soul, of what, also **95**
in a spiritual respect, is a dominant pattern of unstable weather conditions,[a] who does not come to think of those enchantments that nearly every tale contains traces of, and how really frightening the similarity

1 [a]Should the div. saying that ["]*as long as the earth endures*, seedtime and harvest, summer and winter,

becomes when one discovers that there is also a law in the realm of freedom, not indeed a law of nature as for those enchanted ones, but a law of sin. (that the enchantment lasts 7 days, 7 weeks, 7 months, etc.) frightening because one only discovers the law afterward; one believes one is moving freely in a certain mood when one is little by little led to notice the contrast between this mood and an earlier one, and the thought that there must be an inner necessity in accordance with which these moods succeed one another strikes the soul as a flash of lightning, that it must be happening according to a law that we are not in a position to calculate: ταλαιπωρος εγω ανθρωπος! τις με ρυσεται εκ του *σωματος* του θανατου τουτου; Rom 7:24. Or when, as in some particular tales, the idea is extended so that it is no longer a single individual but a whole historical development that succumbs to this enchantment. And how few there really are who, though they are not themselves in thrall to this law, are moved by this impression, who dare to work for their redemption; how long does it take before the tale finds the instrument that is able to endure these difficulties and that has the courage to dare everything or, in the opposite case, how inquisitive people are, when the unfortunate one wants to be alone with his cares; not even the entire love of the beautiful Melusina, her deeply moving grief over her misfortune, could put a stop to her husband's prying!

17 June 39.

day and night shall not cease["] also be valid in the spiritual world?

[b]or people are ready with a malicious eagerness to help; for, as J. Paul says, people are always ready to help one carry the cross when it is the cross one is oneself to be hanged upon. (like Simon of Cyrene.)

96

Bibliography.

1. The Book of Nature. This is a very voluminous work, and no one has yet succeeded even in getting it bound; until now one has therefore availed oneself of duodecimo and sextodecimo editions that have been thought to contain the most important points, leaving out all of Nature's wearisome repetitions. The last attempt that was made to get the whole work completely collected and bound in 50 trusty leather-bound volumes, systeme de la nature, completely failed, and

13 ταλαιπωρος . . . τουτου;] *Greek,* Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death? **39** systeme de la nature] *French,* system of nature (Kierkegaard omits the grave accent that should be on the first "e" of "système.")

Nature proved much too natural to wear French corsets.

2. The Book of Forgotten Things. As nothing is forgotten in the Book of Nature, so nothing that should be forgotten is forgotten in the Book of Forgotten Things. This book is worked on by an auxiliary corps of all sorts of secretaries of all sorts of ages, all sorts of nations, all sorts of outlooks; it is worked on with the greatest diligence, written with a tasteful Gothic hand and in a grandly lapidary style, with appropriate accentuation and emphasis; it is a calligraphic masterpiece. It is, however, an ideal that is never ready despite Herculean efforts; only when the world has grown so old, so advanced in years that it really can think about everything, only when the art of writing has become so rapid that it can write an event down on the very instant et litteris tradere, and let them keep it. only then will it be ready.

3. The Book of Life

[a]The same thing is happening with the liberals as with the Tailor in Heaven (cf. the tale: the Tailor in Heaven)[;] in order to punish a single fault that they have spotted from our Lord's usurped throne they seize God's footstool and throw it down at the earth; yes, they gladly destroyed the whole world in order to punish it.

#

It is plain to see that there is a unity of two moments in knowledge in which one moment is not coordinated with the other but subordinate to it, as when a girl gives up her *name* in marriage (nomen dare alicui, that is, to take his name.). **97**

26 June 39.

There is so much talk about how Xnty presupposes nothing at all on the part of the hum. being, [but] it obviously presupposes one thing: that is, *self-love*, for Xt obviously presupposes it when he says that love of the neighbor is to be as great as love toward ourselves. **98**

29 June 39.

In egocentric pretensions that are passed off as sermons, there is an attitude that is, in a moral regard, **99**

17 et litteris tradere] *Latin,* and put it in writing **24** nomen dare alicui] *Latin,* to give (one's) name to another

absolutely like that of the Pharisee, when he said, I thank you, God, that I am not as other people, an attitude that thinks it comes nearer to the deity by means of talent and virtuosity in presentation.—

30 June 39.

100 That Xnty is opposed to pantheism can also be seen from the caricature that accompanies it; the caricature of pantheism is clearly the volatilization of the personality brought about by sensuality, the poetic world that the individual projects, in which genuine conscious existence is given up and everything is poetry, in which the individual is at most a flower in a woven damask; the opposite of Xnty is hypocrisy, but this is clearly based on the reality of the moral concepts of personality, accountability.

1 July 39.

101 If for a moment I were to use[a] de Wette's terminology, I would say that moral duty is the truth of legal duty; moral duty is the invisible Church within the visible [church] of legal duties, and it is for this reason that legal duty can be suspended while moral duty is realized.—

3 July 39.

[a]the German Uvette, gen. called de Wette.

102 To confess Xt before the World.

1) must not be forgotten that it is required of us truthfully to confess Xt, the confession, that even if dumb is more eloquent than all pomposity, the confession that cries out to heaven, the confession that for all the rest of the world is as secret as the High Priest's offering before the Ark of the *Covenant*, the secret that, so to speak, we have with God in Xt.

2) the outwd confession. So we must remember that Xt is not a vain worldly Lord who commanded us to proclaim him to the world for his own sake or for the sake of the renown of his name; for the hosts of heaven proclaim his power; not a ruler who anxiously keeps

watch, who jealously guards his rights; for he did not think it robbery to be equal with God.—Such a truthful confession is nec.,[a] since it is the immed. expression of what lives in us. And you who perhaps called upon his assistance in your hour of weakness and felt his help, you who perhaps look gratefully up to heaven in many a quiet moment, when you wonderingly sense how wonderfully he has helped you, how powerfully he is near at hand, and yet you would like the world to be ignorant of where the spring that refreshes you in the hour of need has its secret source, you are ready enough to thank your benefactor quietly and, indeed, to do so again and again with a heart much moved, but it seems to you to be asking too much 39 that you should confess before the world that you are his debtor. O, ask yourself, what is it that arouses such reflections, is it perhaps your benefactor's constant reminders, or is it not rather something good in you, an integrity toward yourself and toward the world. O, test yourself and make your decision, you will some day bless the hour, or do we not see how children whose birth and ancestry are unknown to them seek their parents, and [yet] you know them and perhaps think that they are so lowly that you cannot acknowledge them—no, that is not what you think, but you feel yourself so lowly in relation to them, and perhaps so great in the eyes of the world, that the choice is hard for you. O! be resolute, such resolve will make your eye clear enough to search within yourself as to whether you really belong to Xt, and if after such a trial you dare to say within yourself, in leaving the judgment to him who searches all hearts, to say as did Peter: Lord, you know that I love you; if after such a self-examination you really feel in the very roots of your soul that you have been grasped by Xt., O! have you not then won, won that for which, being lost, the whole world could not compensate you or pay you; won the heavenly possession, the heavenly certificate of citizenship, which the world in its entirety cannot rob you of, nor the devil render counterfeit. And if you did not feel yourself strong enough you would perhaps have to flinch when letting the penetrating

[a] and not even a misconceived worry about what is best for Xnty should restrain it, as Abraham, worried on Sarah's behalf, said she *was his sister—not his wife*, precisely as we often see people who indeed acknowledge a kind of kinship with Xnty, but not the indissoluble unity of marriage.

double-edged sword of the Word divide joints and marrow, O! you will nevertheless be glad that you really had the opportunity to feel how much you lack, and with God's assistance it will be added to you.— Such a confession is important for you, as it will put you in a right relation to his true confessors; for Xnty is not a mummified freemasonry, but a Kingdom openly shown.

3 July 39.

103 The same contempt for every moment of knowledge, insofar as it is purely hum., that comes to expression in Tertullian's saying: credo quia absurdum, is repeated in a similar negation of the reality of the civic world when Tertullian says that a denunciation leading to an execution is murder on the part of the one making the denunciation. Cf. de Wette p. 215.

3 July 39.

104 The split in the Middle Ages that I have demonstrated on so many occasions was so pervasive in that period that one could say that contemporaneously with the dogmatic rationing of the eucharistic elements to sub una specie, *a similar manner of living sub una specie* made its way into *every part of life* (the monastic life—knighthood—the clergy. the laity.—scholastics and fools.—the bread for the laity. the wine for the clergy) instead of these moments being synthesized in the individual, which is reserved for a later age.

5 July 39.

105 Marriage is unity under a form determined by sensuousness and not unity in Spirit and in Truth, and that is why it also says of man and woman in Genesis: "That they should be *one flesh*"; and that is why there is also the possibility of a second, etc. marriage, cf. p. 7, bottom of page.

7 July 39.

and precisely because the church sought to make mar-

12 credo quia absurdum] *Latin,* I believe because it is absurd.
22 sub una specie] *Latin,* in one kind

riage something more, precisely for this reason it denigrated any second marriage, Athenagoras says: ὁ δευτερος γαμος ευπρεπες εστι μοιχεια.—precisely because its own view of marriage sought both to place Hellenism's aesthetic moment as well as Judaism's[a] teleology in indifference, and because it let the real existence of man and woman continue as a relationship between brother and sister (in Xt that is) it made the marriage relationship into an organic process, and as a consequence of this had either to conceive of the repetition of marriage as absolutely αδιαφορον, or it had to assume that the repetition of marriage led to a reflection on it that made it impermissible. It is indeed true that the relationship of brother and sister was also found in the Jewish system, but this, however, was more with regard to the external relationship and in opposition to other nations, but among the Xns there was already in this relationship a beginning of that likeness to the angels of which Xt speaks, at least as an inwd. disposition, even if it was not in complete harmony with the outwd. existence.

7 July 39.

[a] as when Augustine, ardently seeking that perfection which commences with the world's downfall, says that without marriage: multo citius civitas dei compleretur et acceleraretur terminus seculi.

cf. p. 7 mid. of page

The fear with which the insane feel the spiritual, mysterious superiority of a gifted doctor may roughly correspond to the first, almost-hostile stage of *godly fear*. **106**

7 July 39.

It is a really remarkable circumstance that the discourse in Mt 5f. is called *The Sermon on the Mount* and thus typologically calls to mind that great *Sermon from Mount Sinai* (as it does in a deeper sense by virtue of its content), only with the difference that on Sinai Jehovah was not seen; but Moses went up to *the summit of the mountain* to talk with him; by way of contrast Xt—in the likeness of God—sat *at the foot* of the mountain and thus intimated by way of a typological contrast that Xt was the fulfillment of the Law, **107**

2 ὁ δευτερος . . . μοιχεια] *Greek,* The second marriage is fittingly regarded as adultery. **11** αδιαφορον] *Greek,* indifferent

4 multo citius civitas dei . . . seculi] *Latin,* The city of God will be the more quickly completed and the end of this world hastened.

and that this fulfillment of the Law had now been made possible *on earth*.

7 July 39.

108 Individuality is the true full stop in the process of creation, and, as is well-known, one puts the full stop in when the meaning is complete, which can also be expressed (in a movement which repulses) in such a way that the meaning is there only when the factor of individuality is given, only then does the meaning appear, or, put otherwise, only then is there a meaning in the created order, and thus one sees the possibility of reducing all of philosophy to a single proposition. The div. and the hum. are the duo puncta (:) which end in a full stop, as it is also remarkable in this regard that ":" is not a greater dividing mark than "." but a lesser.

10 July 39.

42

109 Woodland looks best from a distance, it is then an interesting mystery; seen from close up it is a riddle that has been solved; water, on the other hand, is a deep truth that becomes more interesting the further into it one peers, and the least drop of water has the same influence on the observant spirit, so that, unlike trees, one doesn't need great quantities.

14 July 39.

110 It is my misfortune that while other authors most often think less well of their earlier writings, my case is the opposite: it constantly seems to me that what I wrote earlier is much better than what I am writing now.

14 July 39.

111 Intellectually speaking, there is the same beneficial feeling, the same blessing, one feels when talking with someone who is genuinely intellectually superior to us, where every utterance is enriched by the attention

he pays to it, is underlined and italicized so that it becomes a fine thought, the same blessing that, religiously speaking, made the widow's mite in the temple box into a great gift.

14 July 39.

It could be a really interesting question, how far the **112**
male and female character reach its high point in the negation of their distinctive differences, in indifference toward sexual differentiation and toward the difference in the individual person that is thereby given (the individual of course being seen here as representing the idea), as when one notes that the highest titles and forms of address are in themselves androgynously raised above the opposition of differentiation (Your Majesty to both King and Queen; Your Royl. Highness to both Prince and Princess; Your Grace to both Duke and Duchess), this passing beyond differentiation is not 43
conceived here in the direction of the comic as in the blessed Vadskiær's immortal wedding poem: Yea, were it not for skirts and trousers, No difference one sees, She'd be called Frederick, he'd be Louise.———— or in an ever deeper and deeper concretion of this opposition. 15 July 39.

Something one always ought to keep an eye out for **113**
in reading Holy Scripture is that, no matter how much we ascribe to it by virtue of the consistency of the outlook permeating the holy authors' lives, mood also had its rights and asserted them, lest we allow ourselves to despair over our ever-so-distant resemblance to these men of God, on account of their peerless victory over the world, the glory of which blazes around their transfigured countenances; in part, the deep affliction, the frightful struggles of inner feeling, will leave us utterly despairing of our strength to bear what it has fallen to our lot to bear; but in that we remind ourselves in such situations of the dark and bright hours we have experienced, we shall not lose our balance,

and neither imagine that everything has been decided with a single blow, and still less despair when we see that it cannot be done. 15 July 39.

114 The element of fantasy leaps out especially vividly when one reads or hears of something *long vanished*, empathizing with it so much that one could say of it what one sometimes says of *ready-made* clothes, that they are as if tailored to fit.

17 July 39.

115 If the orthodox faction and the politicians should ever unite against the State, I think that what would happen to them would be like what once happened to 2 boys, who wanted to give a third boy a swing and, against his wishes, to swing him really high; they aimed too low at the ropes and so didn't connect with him, 44 and since the force exerted from either side thus failed to meet with the expected resistance of his back, their heads knocked together, but the one sitting in the swing hovered safely above them both.

20 July 39.

116 I might like to write a dissertation on suicide, both re. the statistical information on it, its relation to the ancient worldview and to that of modernity, its pathological acoustic figures, etc., etc.

20 July 39.

117 What a certain tendency among us calls by the name of "spleen," what the mystics know under the title: moments of dullness, the Middle Ages knows under the name: acedia (ακηδια, lethargy). Gregory moralia in Job XIII, p. 435: ["]virum solitarium ubique comitatur acedia . . . est animi remissio, mentis enervatio, neglectus religiosæ exercitationis, odium professionis, laudatrix rerum secularium."[a] Gregory reveals his experience

[a]The flower nymphæa alba is a beautiful image of an Einsidlei. When one sees masses of them, floating along side by side, each with its equally large surround (that is, its leaf), one is moved to think of the beautiful idea of olden times concerning an equal division of lands, and the white color reminds one of the choir robes, the leaf of the cloister with its peaceful garden—the water of innocence—and just as the conventual life seems to be without a foothold in the world, being without family or kin, so too is this, but far below on the bed of the lake the deep roots are holding fast.

20 Jul 39.

[a]it is what my father called *a quiet despair*.

29 acedia] *Latin,* weariness, indifference **29** ακηδια] *Greek,* acedia **30** virum solitarium . . . secularium] *Latin,* acedia accompanies the solitary man everywhere . . . it is the slackening of the spirit, the enervation of the mind, the neglect of religious exercise, weariness of one's profession, the praiser of secular things.

2 Einsidlei] *German,* hermitage

when he highlights virum *solitarium* since it is a sickness which the pers. who is isolated to the highest degree (the humorous) [is exposed to], and the sickness is altogether accurately described and accurately emphasized as odium professionis and if we take this symptom in a somewhat more gen. sense (not relating to the ecclesiastical confession of sins, whereby we are also compelled to take solitarius as applying to the ordinary member of the Church) as being about self-expression, then experience will not leave us in the lurch if one were to demand examples.

20 July 39.

and it reveals a deep insight into hum. nature that the old moralists reckoned "tristitia" among the septem vitia principalia. Thus Isidorus Hisp., cf. de Wette translated by Scharling, p. 139, note q. supra, cf. Gregory and Maximus the Confessor in the same comment.

It is a different kind of transcendence from that against which Kant warned when Isidorus Hisp. says: isti (that is seculo huic renunciantes) præcepta generalia perfectius vivendo *transcendunt*, no matter that Kant would probably say that it was the same, only in the domain of action, and just as dangerous, since it stood opposed to the concept of what is universally valid. **118**

20 July 39.

Just as there come moments in a neurasthenic's life when the nerves of the eye are so microscopically sensitized that he can *see the air* in such a way that it is not longer a medium for him,[a] so too there come ecstatic moments in intellectual things, in which everything that exists seems so poetic, so dilated and transparent to the contemplative gaze, that even the most insignificant insignificance of the bad infinity's rush jobs and production-line goods seems, at least allegorically, to signify the deepest truths, indeed, [they seem] only to have reality to the extent that they are such **119**

[a] it is in general something characteristic of the whole newer development, which is constantly becoming aware of the medium, and which must ultimately end in lunacy, as if every time one saw the sun, stars, etc., one became aware that the earth was turning.

14 tristitia] *Latin,* melancholy **14** septem vitia principalia] *Latin,* the seven main sins **20** isti . . . vivendo transcendunt] *Latin,* these (i.e., those renouncing this world), have passed beyond precepts applicable to the generality, for they live more perfectly.

allegories, yes, to have their existence through them and in them.

20 July 39.

120 **Parenthesis.**

To the same extent that there really is something significant in a hum. being's development; to the same extent that his education belongs under the rubric of a divine upbringing; to that extent you can spare your yells, you dear ruminants, for your voices mean nothing by way of a signal to him in his journeying, and the only thing they would achieve would be that he who was standing on a dangerous spot plunged down—as sometimes indeed unwitting anxiousness has been the cause of *that person* falling who would otherwise have stood sufficiently securely.

*

121 I'm in the same situation as Sarah: **νενεκρωμενος** I am *examined* **παρα καιρον ἡλικιας**.

46

*

122 In certain ways I can say of *Don Giovanni* what Elvira says to him: "You *murderer* of my happiness";—

for in truth: it is this piece that has so diabolically taken hold of me that I can never again forget it; it was this piece that drove me, like Elvira, out of the quiet night of the cloister.

123 The reason I am unhappy with the contemporary age is that I am jaloux of the past.

124 This is how it is with philosophy in relation to Xnty: it is like someone being interrogated by the Inquisition who, in responding to his Inquisitor, comes up with a tale that coincides in all essential points and yet is absolutely different.

18 νενεκρωμενος] *Greek,* being dead **19** παρα καιρον ἡλικιας] *Greek,* though she was past the age for childbirth **28** jaloux] *French,* jealous

It is as when one sometimes sees that while the whole sky is overcast there is a little spot, a little prospect, that is still dreaming happily away, that seems to give out a radiance it has within itself. **125**

It is *frightful* to have to *buy* each day, each hour, as I do—and the price is so variable! **126**

*

Abstract concepts are as invisible as a straight line, they are only visible when they are made concrete. **127**

*

I shall now, for a season, for some miles in time, plunge *underground* like the Guadalquivir;— to be sure, I shall come up again! **128**

47

*

Woman's love is *Yes* and *Amen*; man's is chatter. Woman's consciousness is far more universal or at least far less subjectivized and therefore more a congregational consciousness (an Amen).—I am of course not speaking about the love of a hot-blooded young girl. **129**

*

When one sees the religions on their historical expedition as they journey through the world, then the relationship is this: Christianity is the real owner, it sits inside the carriage; Judaism is *the coachman*; Mohammedanism is a servant who does not sit up with the coachman but at the back. **130**

*

Young man, you who overconfidently boast of your own powers, perhaps it will one day be said of you as was heard concerning the rich man: You have enjoyed your good things,—one day when manhood and old age draw nigh and make their demands heard. **131**

*

132 One can see that love has overcome *the world* in this: that it repays *evil* with good.

133 In the sense in which it can be said that true χn love has no enemies (love your enemies) and to that extent is all in all (related as genitive and dative), in the same sense God is all in all, related as nominative and acc.; but the reality of evil is not hereby denied, there is only the difference that the moment of humbly renouncing the right to judge the world, which forms part of the basis for love of one's enemies, naturally doesn't happen with God.

48

134 With my talents I stand in relation to the contemporary age as a beautiful little location one sometimes sees which, because it lies too far away for a stroll and too near for an expedition, is never visited or noticed at all;—thus I appear neither on the horizon of the everyday nor on the horizon of the telescopic generation.

*

135 . . . For tears are like rain, heaven's tears, now a cloudburst from a pregnant sky or from despair's cumuli, when the sluices of the eye and of the heavens open, now a mild and gentle spring rain, yet no rain is as fruitful as tears.

136 The most agreeable, the most refreshing conversation is still that which is carried on by the trees, and irrespective of the fact that all the leaves are chatting away (in defiance of all etiquette) at the same time, this is still far from being disturbing, but as it lulls the outer sense it awakens the inner sense.

137 . . . not the laughter which is the playmate of pain, that's not what I want; still less the wohlfeile syrupy smile, I don't want that at all—but the smile that is the first fruits of blessedness.

138 As long as we live in this time of grace, even if our circumstances are ever so unfortunate, our doubt so very near to hellish

26 wohlfeile] *German,* cheap, inexpensive

despair, our prayer will still be heard at times, and Lazarus be permitted to dip his finger to wet our tongues.

Claudatur Parenthesis.

49

After reading the last piece he wrote, with its political ideas and interjections, I now understand why H. Hertz was so keen to talk with me. It's just a pity that he left out the Translator's satirical ideas, which he clearly thought could be done without damaging the main content, but I think it was the best bit and could scarcely be omitted if only by reason of the dramatic interest of the Translator's character, but there must presumably have been good reasons for this, for Hertz is not the man for it. **139**

21 July 39.

The sad thing in my case is that in a single despairing step I immediately use up the little bit of happiness and contentment I have slowly distilled through the dyspeptic process of my arduous life in thought. **140**

22 July 39.

The reason why my progress through life is so uncertain is that my front legs (hopes, etc.) were weakened in my early youth by being overexercised. **141**

22 July 39.

Just as the stringent systems with their categorical rigorism are clearly like the *Slavonic* languages, which constantly employ prefixes with half-a-score consonants, making the language so difficult to articulate, so that the idea often gets suppressed and is at most *audible* through a silent Shewa—so mysticism similarly suffers in the opposite respect from the constant use of the hiatus. **142**

22 July 39.

3 Claudatur Parenthesis] *Latin,* the parenthesis is closed.

143 The reason I find so little pleasure in existence is that when the thought of something awakens in my soul it awakens with such energy [and] in such supernatural magnitude, that I really overreach myself and am so far from finding any illumination in this ideal anticipation of existence that I am left too exhausted by it to find that which corresponds to the idea, too restless and, so to speak, too much of a nervous wreck to find any rest in it. 25 July 39.

144 Although it is in spatial terms the smallest, it is nevertheless the greatest, the most *spacious* region of the world—that Kingdom of Love, in which we are all landlords without any one person's property infringing on the other's, indeed it rather increases the other's (from the eater came something to eat); and, on the other hand, the Kingdom of Wrath and Hate, how small it is in its egoistic isolation, and does it not demand a great deal of space, in fact the whole world doesn't have room enough for it, because it *doesn't have room for others*.—

25 July 39.

145 . . . And notwithstanding, when one turns round to take in the life that now lies behind one, which is no more and no less than what one has lived through, and no matter how alert one was in living it, no matter how mindful one was of *the journey back* and therefore impressed upon oneself that what now lay on the right would lie on the left and that all the twists and turns followed the same law, one still has so much trouble in getting it right, because so much of it seems to be something quite different from what had previously appeared, as indeed one constantly experiences in taking walks—that when one has reached the goal and is to *take* the same way **back** again, the whole region appears quite different, and how much more this has to be the case in the world of Spirit, where there is absolutely nothing to take hold of externally, outside one's

[a]just as one sometimes hears people say, it is quite incomprehensible how there can be *room* for all those thoughts in one head.

self, but where the whole thing rests on the process of clarifying one's own thought through thinking.
26 July 39.—

51

As happens in language, when one sometimes stumbles upon a word which by nature (according to its derivation, *ex radice*) contains within itself a manifold of meanings, a disposition toward a life rich in content but which has been more and more blunted in the course of time until it is finally determined as exclusively applicable to something bad, so that it is only the linguist who, for a single moment, is struck by observing its sorry fate, or one or other writer, who is not bound by corsetry and who dares to use it in its original meaning in such a way that it shows itself to good effect, often astonishing and yet also vexing the world, and yet he soon gives up this attempt [at] *playing* (wordplay) with its existence and lets it once more sink back under the power of the dura necessitas of the development of language—this is also what happens to the individual hum. being. 28 July 39. **146**

If one looks at the most recent efforts of philosophy (in Fichte, etc.) re. Xnty, one cannot deny that there is a serious effort to acknowledge what is distinctive in Xnty; it does after all give itself time on its toilsome journey to *pray* a teeny bit, it brings its rush job to a halt for a little while, it has patience and room enough for it to be given a monologue, though it wants this to be as brief as possible; but in all of this, philosophy's efforts are still clearly aiming at getting an acknowledgment of Xnty's agreement with the common human consciousness and, according to this outlook, with the concentric duplexity of Xnty and philosophy, which have been sublated into the concept and are only separable historically; but the true Xn outlook, that neither does the ordinary hum. explain Xnty nor is Xnty only a moment within the world, but that Xnty explains the world, so that pre-χn development can- **147**

6 ex radice] *Latin,* from its root **18** dura necessitas] *Latin,* hard necessity

not be called concentric with Xnty, because it utterly lacked a center, least of all Xt, but was merely an infinitely interrupted straight line, a constantly repeated eccentric effort—this they don't see. In his "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie" (in his periodical, vol. 3, pp. 200ff.), Fichte thus capably draws attention to the fact that monotheism will nevertheless never allow itself to be explained by polytheism, but however correct this may be, one may no less rigorously assert that Xn monotheism will never in all eternity allow itself to be explained by pagan monotheism,[a] indeed even more rigorously, so that the concept of revelation is not volatilized and taken from us by such tricks. Not only does it not contain anything that a person has not given himself, but [it contains] something never conceived by any hum. mind, not even as a wish, an ideal, or whatever else one wants.—

28 July 39.

[a]still Fichte doesn't quite do this, cf. p. 252, where he gives an account of Judaism, and yet he does do it in a way when he says ibid. that Xnty ist nicht nur der Besluß und Vollender des jüdischen Kultus, sondern ebenso der Schlüssel und Deuter des heidnischen Polytheismus. Which seems to place paganism on the same level as Judaism in relation to Xnty.—

[b](p. 252. Fichte also expresses himself against the common method of letting the one develop out of the other by a dialectical process and by this means vindicates the meaning of what Sibbern calls the collateral.)

148 Recently I've been made to feel anxious and painfully moved by my singing teacher Basil's (Pastor Ipsen's) holding forth on the agreeableness of a post at the Prince's Court—I who believed myself to have broken with the world to such an extent that every prospect in it was annihilated (speaking in worldly terms, for the prospect of moving to a place in a more exalted court is something God will yet make ever surer and surer for me); I who believed that using my whole life in God's service would scarcely be enough to make atonement for my youthful excesses, I am once more hearing the old siren songs; as people most politely and amicably step aside to show me the way, I would, I imagine, be taking the first step on a course on which everything is lost if one cannot appear brilliant.—No, thank you, Hr. Pastor! When I sit all

5 ist nicht nur . . . Polytheismus] *German,* is not only the conclusion and completion of the Jewish cult but is, in just the same way, the key and the interpreter of pagan polytheism.

alone like a Greenlander in my kayak, alone on the great ocean of the world, sometimes above water, sometimes beneath it, always in the hands of God, then I harpoon a sea monster from time to time, when I see fit—I am not cut out to be a *flagship captain*.

28 July 39.

53

My religious life has recently lost some of its energy, **149**
something I notice from the fact that I no longer derive as much strength from the enthusiastic swell of hymn-singing as from the fading murmur of plainsong,— the Xn life's last unction.

28 July 39.

And if we did not know that the Church has always **150**
seen communion as belonging to the disciplina arcana. O! would we not then have to feel it in the fearful simplicity with which this world betrayal is reported when it is stated: ["]Our Lord Jesus Xt in *the night in which he was betrayed*"; might not the thought of this night (only comparable to the night from which day proceeded) bring the Church to a state of breakdown, giving it occasion to look anxiously about, lest the night of betrayal once more threatened, to watch over its children with fear and trembling lest it itself betray their Lord and Master.

28 July 39.

1 [a] I have discussed the opposite case in one of my other books in the assertion that all knowledge is *r*espiratio.

The philosophers think that all knowledge, even the **151**
existence of God, is something humnty itself produces, and that there can only be talk of a revelation in an improper sense, roughly the same sense in which one can say that rain falls from the heavens, although this rain is nothing but the vapor produced by the earth; but they forget, to stay with this image, that in the beginning God divided the waters of heaven and earth, and that there is something higher than *the atmosphere*.[b]

30 July 39.

5 [b] knowledge of this higher level is naturally in part[a]

[a] cf. Jn 16:16: In a little while you shall not see me, and again a little while and you shall see me.

14 disciplina arcana] *Latin,* secret disciplines

152 But hum.[1] knowledge nevertheless has objective reality and anthropomorphism (in the broadest sense not just concerning expressions about God but also about everything that exists) is not transcendence, as indeed we see in Gen 2:19 when God leads all the animals to Adam in order to see what he will call them,[a] and the name that he gave to each particular one, it *kept* it. 1 Aug. 39.

[1]how constrictingly limited it may still be, as long as we are living in the status constructus of earthly existence.

[a]this act of naming will, naturally, always be different from the div. act of naming that is identical with creation: God called the light *to be* day לָאוֹר (note לְ) this was not attributing a name, but the attribution of what is substantial, real.

153 Philosophers treat the dogmas, the sacred utterances of Scripture, in short the whole consciousness of holy things, as Appius Pulcher treated the sacred hens; one consults them and if they bode ill, one says as that general said: if the sacred hens won't eat, let them drink, and thereupon threw them overboard.
7 Aug. 39.

154 And the Xn too may well find himself unhappy in the world and may be grieved about it; but this is not a grief he bears alone, but one with which God helps him, if we are not too self-important to let God in on it; it is as Kingo sings:

> Weep, my eyes, but let your grief
> In Jesu's bosom find relief

for this is the true temple box into which the Xn, even poorer than that poor widow, puts in the only thing he has; for, as Peter said, he has no gold or silver
8 Aug. 39.

155 . . . It is for this reason that the King is no *incarnation*, [is] not a being we should worship; he is a weak, frail hum. being, like the rest of us, but he is a King by *the grace of God*, and it is this religious limit that limits and defines the State, and which thereby gets rid of the abstract nonsense about the wisest of individuals,

[a]and it is on account of this historical relationship (conditioned by a div. Governance), in which the King must be seen vis-a-vis the people that the "We" he uses is not simply a pluralis majestatis, i.e., a

10 status constructus] *Latin,* the compound condition

13 pluralis majestatis] *Latin,* the "royal we"

singularis, but is in truth a pluralis, i.e., *the potentiated consciousness of the State*.

because all differences in hum. wisdom are relative and vanish in the face of the wisdom of div. Governance, which calls and appoints the individual.

8 Aug. 39.

55

. . . . if my witticisms are *affected*, as some people are saying, one certainly couldn't accuse theirs of the same thing; for they are *rejected.* **156**

8 Aug. 39.

If only I had finished my finals so I could once more become a quodlibetarius. **157**

8 Aug. 39.

Like a thunderstorm, genius flies against the wind. **158**

8 Aug. 39.

From the eater came something to eat—as when one says, when one sees a certain sort of aquatic plant, there are tench here, there are eel here, etc., and this is not an inference from the fact that these plants are there, therefore these fish are there, but because these fish are there, therefore these plants are there—in the same way, all reception is, with respect to ideas, production. **159**

8 Aug. 39.

There is so much talk of God's unchangingness, aimed at weakening the significance of prayer, but I want to ask: do you really believe that the blessing which the priest gives from the holy altar has just as powerful an effect on those who wander curiously[a] about admiring the hum. works (sculptures) in the Church as on those who have silently gathered here to raise their thoughts devoutly to God? Or should a spiritual blessing be just as indifferent to those who receive it as the fructifying rain which God allows to **160**

[a]and this is something that happens a lot, especially during communion.

1 singularis] *Latin,* singular **1** pluralis] *Latin,* plural

10 quodlibetarius] *Latin,* someone who does what he likes

fall on the just and on the unjust? Or, to stay with this image, is the rain so indifferent toward them, doesn't it rather bring forth fruits from well-cultivated fields but dry up without fruit on barren ones? Or, denying the validity of prayer in your unbelief, don't you make yourself guilty of superstition; for is it not superstitious to think that God only works upon peop. in an external way. 9 Aug. 39.

161 Father in Heaven! turn your countenance from me no more, let it shine anew for me, that I might journey in your paths, and not stray further and further from you, to where your voice could no longer reach me; O! let your cry ring out for me, and be heard by me, even if it should fetch me back by fear from the wild pathways where, like one who is of a sick and infected spirit, I live apart and alone, far from your society and from the society of hum. beings. You, Lord Jesus Xt, you who came into the world to save the lost, you who left the 99 sheep in order to seek out the one that had gone astray, seek me on the byways where I have strayed, where I hide myself from you and from hum. beings; Good Shepherd, let me hear your gentle voice, that I may know it, that I may follow it! And you, noble H. S., may you too intercede for me with unspeakable sighs, pray for me as Abraham prayed for corrupt Sodom, if there is just one pure thought, one better feeling in me, that the time of trial for the barren tree may be extended, you, noble Hol. S., who bring to new birth those who have died and renew the youth of those who have grown old, renew me too and create a new heart within me, you, who with motherly care, protect everything in which there is still a spark of life. O! keep me bound, also, ever more and more securely to him, my Savior and Redeemer, that being once healed I may not forget, as those 9 lepers did, to return to him who gave me life, in whom alone blessedness is to be found; yes, sanctify my words and deeds, that it may be known that I am his bondservant now and in all eternity.

16 Aug. 39.

Criticism is the most hypo*critical* of all sciences, a real timeserver, and it is this of which it is written that it strains at a gnat and swallows a camel, useless, except for literary snooping. **162**

24 Aug. 39.

57

. . . I am as timorous as a Shewa, as weak and unnoticed as a Dagheš lene, feel like a letter that has been printed backward in its line, as unmannerly as a Pasha of three horsetails.[a] If only it were true of misfortunes as it is of those whose consciousness of their good deeds causes them to lose their reward, that by thinking of them one could get rid of them, how happy would a hypochondriac of my proportions be; for I take account of all my sorrows in advance and yet they all still remain. **163**

24 Aug. 39.

[a] as jealous of myself and my notes as the National Bank is of its, altogether as reflexive as any pronoun.

This is the unity of observation's subjective and objective sides, such as is always to be heard in the Hebrew וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה *he saw* and *see*. **164**

26 Aug. 39.

All Grundtvig's preaching is however nothing but a constant repetition of fantastic meanderings such that one's legs can never keep up, a weekly evacuation. He says constantly that the reason the church has not shown itself in its full glory up until now is that it suffers under external pressure: when this stops, then it will be clear; yes, then it will be clear whether this Church of his is the perfect church, or whether it did not in many respects need a preacher such as Mynster, who continually brings everything back to the individual, and this is where the battle must take place and not lose itself in such historical vacuities. **165**

26 Aug. 39.

166 Rationalistic theology ought to compose its entire doctrine of God under the single rubric from the gosp.: ["]he lets his sun rise on the good and the evil, he lets the rain fall on the just and the unjust." For the 58 unchangingness which that contains still remains the point of departure for all such speculation.

28 Aug. 39.

[a] or the unchangingness of Isaac's 1 blessing, despite the mistake.

167 It is quite remarkable that the tendon that God touched in wrestling with Jacob is gen. called: ["]tendo 10 Achillis" by the doctors and thus takes its name from paganism's strongest and bravest hero, and paganism never came into such near contact with the div. that its physical strength suffered from it; and yet one must say that Jacob was much stronger.

15 28 Aug. 39.

[a] Rasmus Nielsen's sure and trusty Morality found in Mads Madsen's Chest 5 or The World seen from the Cellar Steps.

168 As Jewish women saw it as a dishonor to be without children, so should the Xn see it as a dishonor to be without tears (which, like children, are gifts from God), and should pray, like Rachel, that God will 20 open the womb and viscera of the heavenly man, and in the heart's inward motions give testimony of conception.

29 Aug. 39.

169 At this time my soul is hovering like Muhammed's 25 grave between two magnets, and it still has not found the point of unity that would give it direction, but both push and pull on it as much as they can.

30 Aug. 39.

170 At certain moments my mind is much too spacious, 30 much too general; while at times it can compulsively-reactively contract around each and every thought, now it is so big and hangs so loosely on me that quite a few more of us could be helped out by it.

30 Aug. 39.

59

171 What we find in Mk 7:31–37 "he could not hear" describes hum. knowledge as it was before Xnty for heaven had not been opened to him, and God's word has not *re*-sounded (for although everything had been created by God, there was not yet a *re*-sounding, a *re*-sonance in creation) "and he could only talk with difficulty," for since what he had to say was something he himself had come up with, it was not too clever. And the world had gone so greatly astray that it was not enough to say, as previously, Let there be light; but Xt *"sighed"* and said ephphata, and such is Christian eloquence that it has to praise God even if it is forbidden to ("Xt commanded them not to tell anyone, etc.").

30 Aug. 39.

172 The poetic, which is constantly putting more and more[a] effort into trying to reach actuality, is in a similar situation to Pharaoh, who, when he dreamed the second time (after having been awake), his dream came closer to actuality, just as much nearer as an ear of corn is a more concrete symbol for a fruitful year than a cow.

31 Aug. 39.

[a] cf. Gen 41:32: "et quod iteratum est. somnium Pharaoni duabus vicibus, (ideo factum est), quia est hæc res a Deo et *accelerat* Deus facere eam."

173 What makes it all a sorry business is that in times of misfortune happiness is in the same situation as the 7 fat years during the 7 lean ones, according to Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream: and after that there shall follow 7 years of hunger and all that abundance shall *be forgotten* in Egypt Gen 41:30, only that the phenomenon does not take 7 years to repeat itself but a period of a few days or even hours.

31 Aug. 39.

174 Father in Heaven! It is from your hand that we wish to take all things. You stretch out your mighty hand and seize the wise in their folly, you stretch out your mighty hand and worlds pass away. You open your

1 et quod iteratum est. . . . accelerat Deus facere eam] *Latin,* and the doubling of Pharaoh's dream means that the thing is fixed by God, and God will *shortly* bring it about.

gentle hand and satisfy everything that lives with blessing, and if you nevertheless seem sometimes to withdraw your hand from us, O, we yet know that you shut it only in order to conserve a still more superabundant blessing in it, that you shut it only in order to open it again and satisfy everything that lives with blessing. 4 Sept. 39.

175 There has been so much talk about the pitiableness implicit in the Greek conception of the powerless and bloodless bodies of the dead in the underworld—but what more joyous prospects are there in our times[?] indeed it can scarcely even be compared with it, when one considers that a man's whole spiritual movement is contracted in death, reduced to a single immortal §.
6 Sept. 39.

176 Most people think, talk, write in the same way that they sleep, eat, and drink, without any question being set in motion of a relation to the Idea; this happens among the very few, and then this decisive moment either exerts the highest degree of quickening (the genial) or paralyzes the individual through anxiousness (the ironic).
6 Sept. 39.

177 As a motto for my childhood I know nothing better than the words from Goethe's Faust

"Halb Kinderspiele,
Halb Gott im Herzen!"

9 Sept. 39.

178 Premonition does not lie in the direction, the path of the eye being pointed in the direction of existence and its future, but in the reflection of the eye's direction [toward] the past, so that by staring at what lies behind (in another sense, what lies in front) the eye develops



a disposition to see what lies in front (in another sense, what lies behind).

if A is thus the present time, the time in which we are living, and B its future, then I do not see B by standing at A and turning my face toward B; for if I turn that way I don't see anything at all, but if C is the past, then it is by turning toward C that I see B, as also the premonitory eyes possessed by the Mandrake in Achim v. Arnim's[a] novella were set *in the back of his head*, while the two other eyes, which did nothing more than look ahead in the ordinary way, i.e., simple, straightforward eyes, were set in his brow as with other people, or in that part of the head which is turned toward *the future*.

10 Sept. 39.

[a] cf. "Isabella v. Ægypten, Keiser Carl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe."

179 While the one great world-historical evolution (the heathen) lets itself grow flaccid or proud on account of its nil admirari, the other (the Jewish) begins with "admirari" with אֱלוֹהַ (from an Arab. radix admirari).

11 Sept. 39.

180 The expression: ["]at last" that appears in all our collects is the most epically fateful and the most lyrically impatient, the true Xn watchword.

11 Sept. 39.

181 Wit always rests on the association of ideas, but the difference is whether it caroms off the ball in play (the peripheral) or off the caroline (the central).

11 Sept. 39.

182 The power of assimilation which a developed systematic outlook gives one in the face of the phenomenon may indeed be praiseworthy, but the dogmatic *concupiscence* which looks at every woman (phenomenon) in order to desire her is extremely ruinous, and since it finds nothing impossible it is extremely boring, 62

17 nil admirari] *Latin,* to admire nothing **18** אֱלוֹהַ] *Hebrew,* God

since there is no scope for the phenomenon's youthfully flippant and idiosyncratic gambols.

11 Sept. 39.

183 It is like a motto for Judaism in its entirety when we read: God made a *firmament* to separate the waters of heaven and earth; it was not simply a division (and this was already a mark of their monotheism), but it was made firm, so firm it could never be taken by storm.

11 Sept. 39.

[a]I am a good person to entrust secrets to, since I forget them just as quickly as I hear them.

═

[b]Hope is the Xn life's foster mother.

═

[c]In my relation to the circumstances here at home I can *now* say with Jacob: I saw Laban's face and, behold, it did not regard me as it did yesterday or the day before.

═

[d]What this honored author writes is in gen. so *maladroit* that one can justifiably apply to him the law that the right hand is not to know what the *left* is doing.—

184 And he who spared Abraham's firstborn, and only tested the patriarch's faith, he did not spare his only begotten Son.

11 Sept. 39.

185 Such is the relationship between time and eternity—as it is in the Hebrew word עַד, which in the first place means transitus and thereafter eternity, only in such a way that eternity may not be thought of simply as a denominative of transitus, but also as a constant position of fullness.

13 Sept. 39.

[a] . . . And if, at last, certain people are to write a satire, the same thing happens to them in their anxiety not to be too personal as happened to agent Bærendt who, having lost a silk umbrella but fearing that the person concerned might keep it if they knew that it was silk, advertised that he had lost a cambric ditto.—

186 The O. T. "Jehovah" is the true παιδαγωγος and the pedagogically unshakable; ["]I am that I am, go and lead my people Israel out of Egypt"; with our busy chattiness, we can all benefit from being subjected to it for a time.

17 Sept. 39.

21 παιδαγωγος] *Greek,* pedagogue

[a] *cf. p. 9 bottom of page.*

Folk literature expresses its great poetic power among other ways by the force of its desire (in comparison with which our age's desire is at one and the same time so sinful and so tiresome, because it always *desires what belongs to the neighbor*); this [desire], on the contrary, is very well aware that the neighbor is just as little in possession of what it is seeking as it itself is, and it therefore does not need to wish for what he has, and if it gets what it wants, it will have more than plenty for the whole world; and if it ultimately is to desire in a sinful way, it nevertheless towers imposingly over our age's chicken thieves, because it is of such cosmic proportions that it must at the very least nec. shake a pers., and in its descriptions it doesn't let itself be bought at a reduced price by the cold calculations of probability carried out by a sober rationalism, and still Don Giovanni strides across the stage with his 1003 lovers, and no one makes fun of something which, if it were invented in our age, would be laughed out of court out of respect for a venerable tradition; no one dares do so, indeed he is momentarily enraptured by it, even if in the next moment he is ashamed that his enthusiasm at first "made a fool of him."

63

187 While that development of the State, which has the div. in it not as a single power but as primus motor, has kingship as its final (lowest) moment (patriarchs, judges, kings, including a repetition of the judges in the prophets) because kingship is most incorporated into the world, the gen. human evolution has kingship as its highest, as that to which every other form of State is striving; whereas in the other developmental sequence it must be seen as a falling away.—This is the same development that, in the domain of knowledge, lets the System be seen as a falling away and the proverb as the first and highest; whereas in the other sequence the System is the highest.

19 Sept. 39.

188 Right now I really feel my annihilation, so that my relation to Xnty. seems to be altogether passive: ινα φανερωθῃ τα ἐργα του θεου *εν αυτῳ* Jn 9:3, like the one *born blind*

23 Sept. 39.

189 I must also say farewell to you my lucida intervalla, and you my thoughts, sitting trapped inside my head, I can no longer allow you to take a stroll in the cool of the evening, but do not lose heart, get to know one another better, keep each other company, and now and again I may well be able to sneak in and peek at you—a revoir!

S. K.
previously Dr. Exstaticus

2 primus motor] *Latin,* prime mover **16** ινα . . . εν αυτῳ] *Greek,* that the works of God might be revealed *in him.*

64
190 **Christianity Wants to Be Everything to Us.**

As they take stock of the world in this way, Christianity too shows itself in its great uplifting contours, and they feel that it is indeed supremely glorious and deep, and they say to themselves: "My thoughts will often turn back to these lofty ideas. When anxious doubt about human life and its meaning intrudes upon my fearful mind, then I shall look to this divine picture to reassure myself as to what humanity really is; in my best moments I shall summon it to me, so that as my thoughts expand they may also be strengthened; I will not let myself be perturbed by the earthly life's many anxious concerns that are so ready to make our lives careworn; I will forget everything else in order to familiarize myself with these ideas which, even if they were only a dream, were yet the most blessed"....

But Christianity will not let itself be treated like this, for just as it never found any roof so lowly that it did not enter in under it with joy, no person so insignificant that it would not make its dwelling in his heart also, so too has it never denied its divine authority. It comes to us in humble lowliness in order not to make us anxious on account of its glory; but it also comes in heavenly glory as the one in whose name every knee shall bow both in heaven and on earth. Only when it has become for you the way and the life and the truth, only then does it become everything to you, and it must be either *all or nothing* to you. But then its mighty call sounds forth to you and says: I will indeed be all to you, I will be your God and establish my covenant with you; I shall no longer be to you a mere poem that inspires you in a happy moment and perhaps eludes you when your mind grows dark with anxious thoughts; I shall be with you, and even if you sometimes go astray from yourself, even if you sometimes forget me, I shall nonetheless not forget you, I shall caution you and warn you, call upon you in the opportune hour, that you might cleave to me, and when you feel yourself powerless and annihilated, the heavenly powers will stir

within you, and when you doubt, you will feel the heavenly certitude at the opportune time,—in the heat of battle God's grace will overshadow you.

On Perseverance in Expectation. 191

The world too teaches this and chides the childish impatience that wants to harvest at the same time as it sows.

We must ask, what are your expectations?

If they were worldly and perishable,—yes indeed, fulfillment could then come too late and your impatience would be fair enough. For if it was honor, power, and earthly dominion your youth was thirsting for, yes indeed, it could then come too late; for how would it help you if, when your arm was weakened, when your [advancing] age fearfully reminded you more and more clearly that everything earthly is vanity, how would it help you if you were handed a scepter you could not bear?—Or if it was the many-colored abundance of pleasures that enthralled you in your youth, after which your soul thirsted, yes indeed, they could come too late; for you would almost feel it to be a mockery if the cup of intoxication that you vainly stretched your hand toward in your youth was handed to you in your powerless old age.

But if your expectation is directed toward what is imperishable, the heavenly, the eternal, then fulfillment can never come too late; for even if you had become as old as Anna, as grizzled as Simeon, even if you were as miserable in the world as Lazarus, so, nevertheless, in the hour of death, if not before, the hope of the glory of God with its exceedingly great blessedness will pour out its blessing upon you. (Paul, 2 Cor V.)

66

On Communion. 192

You find that it is a beautiful sign of the brotherhood there should be among all people … or even more, you feel the loftiness of the idea that it is also a sign of the brotherhood there shall be between Christ and us, which is the condition of our brotherhood with human beings.

But should it not be more?—I would ask you this: where then

does the custom come from of also giving it to the dying? which is a custom that you nevertheless by no means feel to be superfluous, meaningless, or a custom that should be abolished; for it is also your wish that it should be given to you in your last hour. But is there any moment in life, other than the moment of death, in which we feel more strongly how alone we stand in the world; even if our deathbed were surrounded by many people, all our relatives and friends, they would still stand there without the power to do anything for us, perhaps not even knowing what was stirring in us in that moment, what anxiety troubled us or what comfort smiled upon us. And yet it is in this moment that you wish to have a share in the venerable sacrament. Is its purpose to remind you, even in this hour, of the brotherhood from which you are now taking your leave, as a kind of farewell, so that you will allow this beautiful thought to permeate your soul one more time. Or is it not because your thoughts are turning to your God, going beyond earthly relationships into trackless places and unable to find rest, because you feel that as surely as you were and are a link in the great chain, you are just as surely the object of God's attention, owing him an account of your conduct and your efforts. Therefore you want to be certain of your reconciliation with God, and so indeed should this already have taken place in you; this then is the eminent meaning of communion,—but the other, which should also have its due, the derivative: because you can only be a member of a brotherhood, because you are something self-sufficient, and only a worthy and profitable member insofar as in and with yourself you are certain of your reconciliation with God.

67

But when we are preparing ourselves for the Holy Communion we must be watchful in case something that could seem meritorious were to sneak in, as if our preparation, our repentance for our sins, our brokenness, had made ourselves worthy of grace. But the certainty of the forgiveness of sins and of our fellowship with Christ, that is here pronounced to us, is not a reward but a gift of grace; and too great an anxiety about going to the Lord's table can often have its basis in wanting to receive as little as possible as grace.

What It Is to Sanctify One's Joy. 193

If a person came to you bowed down and troubled, and said: "There is a grief that devours my soul, that embitters my joy and makes my other griefs even heavier," and it was in your power to help and soothe *this* grief, would you not be right to expect of him that he would now find strength within himself to bear all his other troubles, that every time he was out of sorts he would say to himself: this here may be as heavy as it likes, but there was one grief that rested much more heavily on my mind, and *that* was taken away and *therefore* I will be *joyful*.

Now we do indeed know that there are many tribulations in the world in which one person can greatly help the other; but if a person's grief concerned what is heavenly, if what he was striving for was conciliation and peace with God, and if he were to say to God: "There is one grief that robs me of every joy, that makes my life a burden; there is a longing in my soul that consumes me if it is not satisfied," and since this person sought to be joined to that society that bears witness to the forgiveness of sins, God gave him the witness of the Spirit to the forgiveness of *his* sins; would he not be permeated by a new life, would not joy take up its dwelling in him, 68
so that for all his grieving he would nevertheless have to say: I have now experienced one suffering more painful than everything that has happened to me: yet I possess one joy that is as high above every grief as Heaven is above earth, and even if the earth opened to swallow me up, I would still see Heaven open to receive me.

This is *the Christian joy*, not that of the world; it is *holy*, it is not to be enjoyed in a hasty moment accompanied by the anxiety that it will suddenly vanish; it is not behind us, as earthly joy always is, but ahead of us, and yet not *so* far ahead of us that we have to say: who will climb up to Heaven to fetch it down;—no, it *is in us* … Be *always* joyful! Rejoice, and again I say: rejoice in *Christ*!

But how many were there whom earthly joy summoned, and they took it vainly and did not sanctify it; they enjoyed it and it vanished, and their mind was not opened and prepared for what is heavenly. Job was an old man, and he prayed that his children, when they were joyful, would not forget God.

194 **Those Who Were Called at the Eleventh Hour**.

(Those who were called in the hour of death; the Thief)

We saw them, they wandered so lightly along the road, so merrily, so full of life's joys, with the light-mindedness of youth and its high-flying expectations, and the younger among us tagged on close and near to them, the older ones were rejuvenated at the sight of them.—And now they stood there, full of days, tired of life, and yet, it was not glory or honor, not a striving for a glorious memory that had consumed their powers, no, it was the confused enjoyment of pleasures, in the service of which they had placed the courage of their youth, their hopes. Or should I portray for you the many who stood there in the world, who even in the years of their youth were without power to work and without heart to pray, like shipwrecked sailors, who had lost everything, even the faith and the confidence 69 that it was possible to start over once more; they stood there among us like the dead, spectrally, and if a spark of strength sometimes blazed up within their souls, they then lifted their gaze toward Heaven so bitterly and demandingly and impudently demanded back what they themselves had wasted, or if their annihilation had not vented itself in such forceful outbursts, a silent despair brooded over their spirits, … but *they* too were called at the eleventh hour; the serious yet gentle voice perhaps also called to them, creating hope in them.

This is where the great difference between Christianity and the world becomes apparent; for the world is not without feeling: it will bestow a tear on them, mourn for them … and let them go down the path of perdition—but Christianity won't do that, and if the divine call were now to conceive a living hope in such a person in the night of despair, a hope that flared up within him with rejuvenated power, then perhaps the world would be struck by this and could tolerate him; but if it sometimes failed to work out for him, if he found the way so narrow and often marked by backsliding, then the world would certainly write him off; but if it has to hear that those who were called in the 11th hour should have the same reward as those who bore the toil and heat of the day, then it would be *offended*.

But it is not like that among the Christians.

70
195

Discursive Raisonements and Incomprehensible Apropos concerning the Category of Higher Madness.

[a] This work is dedicated to all the occupants of Bistrup and generally to all the highly respected contemporaries who are mad enough to understand what I mean.

Preface.

I believe that I would do the philosophers a great service, if they would adopt a category I myself have invented, and with great success and profit used to empty and dry out a mass of relationships and attributes that had not yet quite been subsumed into others—the category of the higher madness. My only wish is that it is not called after me, but there is certainly no need for that, and in any case the usual thing in analogous cases is not to call them after the active but after the passive, the birch rod is not called after the one who wields it, but after the one who first got it.

It is the most concrete of all categories, the fullest, since it stands closest to life, and does not have its truth in an otherworldly supernatural sphere, but in an underworldly down-below, and thus if it were a hypothesis, it would be possible to put forth a grand experimental proof for its truth.

It is this category by means of which the transition from abstract wildness to concrete madness is formed.

Its formula is expressed on a page by Baggesen, vol. 7, p. 195

Madness's One in All-ness's Two.

but speculatively this is expressed

All-ness's One in Madness's two.

All-ness, that is, signifies the manifold, i.e., Quodlibet or the madder the better.

Madness's Two. We could in fact no longer remain stuck with discrete and partial lunacies, but the concept of species and genus must also be valid here.

31 Quodlibet] *Latin,* Whatever one wants

71

196 (Under this category I will treat the ridiculous combinations of the two conflicting parties' separate (specific) stupidities in a higher unity. Orthodox and politicians,[a] e.g., in the matter of parochial freedom. Philosophers and theologians, etc.)

[a]it seems to be altogether the case that the politicians and the orthodox are really in with one another; apropos being in with one another I have never been so really intimately in with anyone with the exception of my brown striped trousers.

197 Under the title "summistic summa summarum" there should first be developed a compendium of every part's meager quantum satis and thereupon comes the unity or the discursive raisonement, that is broken off every moment by an apropos of a polemical and sarcastic kind.

[a]apropos matters of conscience, I would love to be able to see through the crowns of people's hats when they hold their hats in front of their eyes when praying, one would certainly catch faces that physiognomy has still not described.

6 summa summarum] *Latin,* sum of sums **8** quantum satis] *Latin,* sufficient amount

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#

1 In what does the concept of *myth* and *mythology* consist—doesn't every age have its own mythology—Novalis, etc.—how does it differ from poetry (the subjunctive—the novel, poetic prose = a hypothetical sentence in the indicative).

13 Sept. 36.

#

2 In what relation does the development of the single individual stand to the whole—the earth rotates on its axis and goes around the sun—the Romantic outlived—to what extent does every single individual go through the development of the entire world—going through it from the beginning up to the stage reached by the entire development.

25 Sept.

#

3 mad Peter in Kalundborg, when they warned him not to stand too near the fire: "Isn't a slice of sourdough bread with roast beef on it better than a bare piece of rye bread" (Miss A. Lund)

26 Sept.

#

4 Philosophical knowledge is first completed (is absorbed into the System—idea and form—therefore no absolute principle? No—it is first completed by the form.

6th October.

5 "My God, my God . . (11/8)

6 The bestial sniggering

7 The conversion scene in *D. Giovanni* is the sounding board for the great aria that follows: "Cool grapes."

Why is it only after her chance encounter with D. Giovanni that D. Anna tells her bridegroom about the mix-up—Jealousy with respect to Elvira—But Hoffmann is right, her aria, too, is specifically different from the one in the second scene—compare with the delaying aria in the 4th act **8**

#

On the vaudeville-like character of the buffa aria in *Figaro* (The appeal to the audience). **9**

#

The old man I met in the theater who had been seeing *D. Giovanni* for 30 years (tradition). **10**

#

In life it is very important to be on the watch for one's cue. **11**

#

Bourgeois philistinism. Hoffmann's *Meister Floh*. The tale of the tailor who was given balloon gas. In itself this is not at all humorous, but when it is reported that he had chiseled his customers to such an extent that his wife had got a new outfit; when it is related that every Sunday, after coming home from church, he was permitted to go to the pharmacy; in brief, when this commensurable finitude with respect to all life's affairs is placed in relation to something so extraordinary; and when Hoffmann, with the thoroughness of a natural scientist, then tells how the tailor first ascended to the ceiling, bounced down again, and was finally swept sidewise out through a window by a draft—then the humor emerges.— **12**

#

Isn't the enormous predominance of prose in fact a parody. It is quite interesting to see how the verse form and everything connected with it gradually disappears. In the case of the troubadours, the novel was in verse, and to my knowledge, only the short story **13**

was in prose (a contribution to the clarification of the concept of the short story). Most of the books popular today were originally written in verse.—

Nov. 36.

#

14 Judaism had developed into a parody of itself by the time Xnty arose: in the Law, with the Pharisees—in the prophets, with the notion of an earthly Messiah.

#

15 The parodic (as the final stage of development) also manifests itself in the way in which childhood repeats itself in old age: "to enter into one's second childhood."

#

16 Just as upbringing exists for the purpose of having the individual relive what the entire development has undergone, so also does every nation, prior to *coming of age world-historically*, have a stage in which it passes through what the world has experienced in its development. And, just as with upbringing, the more this hidden life is kept apart from the world debate, the better, the more distinctive it is.

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78

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17 Bourgeois philistinism is really the incapacity to transcend the absolute reality of time and space, and thus, as such, it can concern itself with the loftiest things—prayer, for example—at specific times and with specific words. This is what Hoffmann has always known how to elicit so admirably.

#

18 If Mozart were alive now and had to compose music for *D. Giovanni* and was thus compelled to use dance music, would it be right to use a gallopade, or wouldn't the onrushing, despairing

music stand in contrast to D. G.'s character—while a delicate minuet, unfolding with so much grace, accords splendidly with D. G.'s enjoyment, just as its propriety is ironized so splendidly by D. G.'s moral laxity. The only moment when D. G. could dance a gallopade would be in the final act, with the Commendatore—provided his exuberance was sufficient to carry him away and inspire him with the requisite joie de vivre.

#

19 What does it mean and to what extent is it true that every age has its Faust, etc.—No, in the development of the world there is only *one* Faust, only *one* Don Juan; but for a given individual, just as for a particular nation in the development of the world, there is naturally one for each. And this is precisely why, for example, in a certain sense Faust can reform—because it is a new era's understanding which, NB, is not an understanding of Faust, but is an idea of this era.—

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20 *Maanedsskrift for Litt.*, volume 8, number 11, bottom of p. 400 (in a review of Oehl.'s *Socrates*.): "If the tragedy with which we are concerned is viewed from this angle, a peculiar disparity emerges between the purely Greek portions and most of the rest of the work. 79 The former is characterized by a clear reasonableness, expressed in simple words that delineate the idea so laconically. In the latter we frequently encounter poetic language bearing the stamp of modern times, always ready to set the mind moving in many directions by means of spiritual combinations and images, etc."

#

21 What are the limits of opera? Our opera—i.e., as we present it here—approaches vaudeville.

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22 Encounter Nov. 30th—when they presented *The Two Days*—with an unknown but beautiful lady (she spoke German)—she was alone in the orchestra stalls with a little brother—she understood the music.—

#

23 What is meant by these words: If they do not believe Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead.—

3 Dec. 36.

#

24 Mythology is the idea of eternity (the eternal idea), fixation (repressed being) in the categories of time and space: in the category of time—for example, Chiliasm or the doctrine of a kingdom of heaven that begins in time;[1] in the category of space—for example, when an idea is conceived of as a finite personality. Therefore, just as the poetic is the subjunctive but makes no claim to be anything more than this (poetic actuality), the mythological, by contrast, is a hypothetical indicative statement (cf. p. 1 in the present volume). Mythology inheres precisely in the conflict between the two, in which the ideal, losing its gravity, is fixated in its earthly form.

[1]therefore, in a certain sense it is profoundly comical to think of Pastor Stiefel (a contemporary of Luther), who predicted that the end of the world would come at a particular hour and minute and gathered his congregation in the church, but nothing came of it—though it could easily have been the end of him, because people were so indignant about it that they came close to killing him.

25 The antithesis of the petit bourgeois mentality is really the Quaker mentality (in its most abstract sense), where it also includes the indeterminacy and accidental character that is found in the lives of many people, the annihilation of any historical development whatever.

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26 The entire development of idealism in Fichte, for example, certainly did discover an "I," an immortality, but without content, like the husband of Aurora, who though indeed immortal, lacked eternal youth, and ended by becoming a grasshopper.—

In despair, Fichte threw the empirical ballast overboard and capsized.— **27**

The first aria in *The Two Days* is an example of an aria which, in a certain sense, is incidental to an opera, but which nonetheless from another point of view is absolutely essential to it. It is occasioned by the old man's desire to hear it because he likes it so much (this is what is accidental about its existence). On the other hand, the fact that it has so deeply moved the young Savoyard, who in a way must view it as having been composed for him, for his life; the fact that it turns out that his rescuer is the count whom his father in turn rescues without knowing it; the profound inner life that the Savoyards lead in the midst of the noisy hubbub of existence, which in a way is the keynote of the work; this is what makes precisely this aria a part of the heart of the opera.— **28** 81

It is certainly true (as I see from a German critique of Baggesen published in *Kiøbhsposten* today) that B. lacks that "ineffable something," but this is precisely the Romantic element, a continual grasping for something that eludes one, a grasping which therefore can never provide it, but only its image, its shadow, etc.—that is: *the allegory*, cf. my papers on the Romantic; the classical really has no allegory. **29**

* *

I hope that gradually the momentary consolation and satisfaction—which is nothing other than the bush that sprouted up and provided shade to the prophet Jonah during his difficult mission of proclaiming doom to the inhabitants of Nineveh, only to wither immediately thereafter (and to the extent that we have, so to speak, the *same* mission with respect to *ourselves*, we can at most enjoy the same solace)—will be supplanted by a much deeper peace in which the surface may certainly be painfully affected while what is innermost is not affected. **30**

17 Jan. 1837.

31 There are many people who arrive at answers in life just like schoolboys; they cheat their teacher by copying the answer out of the arithmetic book without having worked the problem out themselves.

17 Jan.

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32 [Quotation from Hamann]

33 But there must be something that is so blessed that it cannot be expressed in words. Otherwise, why were the men to whom something truly great was revealed struck dumb?—

82 At the highest level, the senses blend into one another. Just as *Lemming* almost made the notes visible when he strummed the guitar, so does the moon shining on the water almost make the surface colors audible.

Jan. 37.

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34 There are people who speak by associating ideas, but far beneath this there is a standpoint I would call "the Selbstsucht of words," where one word carries another along with it, where words that are often in each other's company seek one another out—something like what would happen if the words in a dictionary came alive and wanted to position themselves in the order to which they were accustomed.

30 Jan.

35 If something is to be truly depressing, a presentiment must first emerge, amid all possible favorable circumstances, that, despite everything, something might nonetheless be amiss. One does not oneself become conscious of anything particularly wrong; rather, it must lie in the familial situation. Then the corrosive power of original sin manifests itself—it can rise to the level of despair and seem much more frightful than the specific detail that confirms the truth of the suspicion. This is why Hamlet is so tragic. This is why Robert le diable, driven by an anxiety-laden presentiment,[1] asks why it

18 Selbstsucht] *German,* egoism

is that he perpetrates so much evil.—The blessing is changed into a curse.—It is a very poetic Governance that causes the girl—the one and only person who is in a position to know what is concealed under Robert le diable's feigned madness (his penance)—to be mute.

~~~~~~~~~~ ·

[1]When he sees his image in the water, Høgne asks his mother, who had begotten him with a troll, why his body was formed as it was. cf. *Stories of Nordic Heroes* by Rafn. Part II, p. 242.

83

Xt is at every moment equally much God and Man—just as the heavens appear to be as deep in the sea as they are high above it.— **36**

~~~~~~~~~~ ·

When a person first comes to reflect upon Xnty, it must at first—before he has immersed himself in it—undoubtedly have been his downfall, a cause of offense. Indeed, he must have wished that it had never come into the world, or at least that the question regarding it had never arisen in his consciousness. It is therefore revolting to hear all this talk by officious and chattering middlemen about how Xt is the greatest hero, etc., etc.—therefore the humorous view is far preferable.— **37**

The D. Juanian life is truly musical, and that is why it is so fitting that in his *Faust* Lenau has Mephistopheles *strike up a tune* at the moment that Faust is to portray D. Juan. Marthensen has not seen the deeper significance of this situation.— **38**

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The idea, the philosophy of life, adopted by a sect of Gnostics, in which one acquaints oneself with everything evil, is profound; one need only be receptive to it, something that is hinted at in the legends where those who have not been baptized see things that others do not see.— **39**

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40 Metaphysical Lectures by the tax collector Zacchaeus in a sycamore tree. For diversion and consolation of anguished consciences in dark and sorrowful hours, tediously compiled by his grateful colleague, the former assistant tax collector, with immortal
84 commentary by a young philologist. In order to promote sales of the book, a short summary of conversation topics belieblich arranged zum Gebrauch für Jedermann is included.

The Drone House, printed this year.

Enclosed please find a list of abusive words one can use without be-
10 ing taken to court.

41 Someone dies at the very moment that he has proven that Hell's punishment is eternal, caught in his own theory. Remarkable transition from theory to practice.

15

42 Yes, I therefore believe I would surrender myself to Satan so that he could show me every abomination, every sin in its most terrifying form—it is this inclination, this taste for the secret of sin.—

43 Faust did not want to familiarize himself with evil in order to re-
20 joice over not being so bad (only the bourgeois philistine does that). Rather, on the contrary, he wanted to feel all the floodgates of sin, the entire kingdom of boundless possibilities, open up in his breast. Yet all this will not suffice. He will be disappointed in his expectations.—

25

44 What does all the nourishment that the world's wisdom offers a person amount to in comparison to what is given by Xnty, which bestows upon us its founder's own body and blood.—

45 Although I rail against others for studying compendia and not sources, I am myself a living compendium—although I can prevail

6 belieblich . . . zum Gebrauch für Jedermann] *German,* conveniently . . . for the use of the general public

in every argument, I am saddled by a phantom of my own imagination, and I cannot argue it away.—

85

The entire attitude inherent in the Greek sense of nature (harmony) meant that even if they were divided by strife, things nonetheless did not become so heated. In those days, harmony was in nature— irony was in the individual. Then came the revenge: irony in nature, humor in the individual. If someone wants to say that irony and humor are the same thing, different merely in degree, then I will say what Paul says about the relation of Xnty to Judaism: "Everything has become new." **46**

Sometimes I see myself cornered by a terrifying phraselike figure—I would call it a compendium of a person—a brief resumé of feelings and concepts—a belieblich tall, lanky man whose every development has nonetheless been thwarted by nature: he ought to have long arms, but look how the part from his shoulder to his elbow is so infinitely long and the distance from his elbow to his hand is so very short, as are his fingers, his face, etc. And every speech begins with a very promising opening phrase, so that one entertains hope on a grand scale—but look, it comes to nothing.— **47**

This is the path we all walk, over the Bridge of Sighs into the peace of Eternity.— **48**

So one has achieved peace, when, like the Alcedo ispida (the kingfisher), one can build one's nest upon the sea.— **49**

The Hottentots always cut off the head of a snake that has been killed, fearing that someone might get bitten by stepping on it carelessly, since they believe that even after its death the snake can cause harm with its poison.— **50**

14 belieblich] *German,* specified according to one's own wishes

86

51 Where does it come from (the dog's howling)

52 It is remarkable that the devil

53 I feel like the poor parrot to which people always shout "*What* do you want? Do you want sugar?—Yes, ... You will have sh-t!"

---

54 I stand like a *solitary* spruce, egoistically self-enclosed and pointing toward what is higher, casting no shadow, and only the wood dove builds its nest in my branches.

Sunday (9 July-37) in Frederiksberg Gardens
after calling at the Rørdam place.

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55 Sometimes it happens that
ing are reconciled in a misty, dreamy, fairy-like existence—the purely aesthetic—Ah! More's the pity, one reawakens, more's the pity, the same endless questions begin about what I am, about my joys, about what other people see in me and in what I do, while maybe millions are doing exactly the same.—

~~~~~~~~~~.

56 Once again, there is new life on Amagertorv and the variegated floral carpet of popular life unfolds itself there. At midnight last night, a man in ragged clothes was arrested there because, according to the watchman, he had verbally abused some people. The watchman who is supposed to file the report did not see it. And they had struck the arrestee, probably without cause, and no one protested against it. No one knows about it. Today life in the marketplace is the same as ever, and this is only Amagertorv—what is that compared to Denmark, Europe, the earth, the world.—

87

~~~~~~~~~~.

There are remarks and feelings that are expressed in the sort of medium in which they only become visible when they are fired by the warmth of sympathy and the flames of enthusiasm—as with the sort of paper on which writing only becomes visible when it is held up to the light.— **57**

With respect to the higher realms of poetry, to the more fantastic realms, most superintelligent people are in a situation like that of Colonel von Plessen when his horse became restless one night because of some unheimlich phenomena. Well, because he was a *good horseman*, he mounted his otherwise *well broken-in* horse and wanted to subjugate it to his will, but it was impossible. Indeed, he could not even dismount, but had to sit on it for an hour during the most terrifying leaps and springs.— **58**

Cf. J. Kerner, *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur*, 1836, p. 299.

It is so impossible for the world to exist without God that if God could *forget it*, it would instantly cease to exist.— **59**

Hamann and, more generally, personal life in its immediate emergence from the depths of character are the *hyperbole* of all life. **60**

Daub's sentences are true labyrinths; so, in order to read them one must have a thread of Ariadne—namely, love and enthusiasm. **61**

9 June 37.

88

It is curious that the blue-violet hue of Italy, which is otherwise absent in this country, can be produced on a clear evening by looking at the atmosphere through a window, with a candle between oneself and the window.— **62**

May 37.—

10 unheimlich] *German,* weird, uncanny

63 Danish has an excellent term for the poetry of the Middle Ages: *ingeniousness*, these strange leaps—illogical—thus one could say that beehives are ingenious—not rational—and the same with all of nature's spontaneous productions, also including the folk songs and poetry of the Middle Ages:

A tree is standing in my father's courtyard.
It has such strange branches.
And all the lasses got their men this year,
And I must walk here, alone.

Cf. Thiele, *Danish Folk Legends*, Part II, Third Collection, p. 152: Boys, boys, peppercorn, The cat blows in the silver horn.

#

64 There are some things one never tires of—for example, when one is in the woods and hears the reapers cutting grass and they all stop at once to sharpen scythes, a sound that recurs monotonously like the refrain in ballads, like a sort of prayer and invocation.—

#

65 The moon is the earth's conscience.

#

89

66 Situation
Someone wants to write a novel in which one of the characters goes mad. While writing it, he himself gradually goes mad and ends it in the first person.

#

67 It is an odd start to a cemetery visit: at the gravedigger's house, the head of a lovely little girl, her face pressed against the window pane, peered out curiously.

68

The refrain that repeatedly recurs in heroic ballads is also one of the very characteristic images of the Middle Ages. Specifically, it is the lyrical rhythm, yet to be equaled, that runs through it: the melodic—or, rather, the melodious mood. The same thing recurs in later times in the instructions "to be sung to such and such or such and such a melody," an external indication of the music that in fact still survives in the headings accompanying hymns, "to be sung to such and such and such and such a melody"—except that here the music has been differentiated into discrete elements, while in the original case, on the other hand, the music lay dormant in a unity concerning which one could say that, just as all thought is a talking with oneself (thus, very softly), so is all poetry a singing for oneself—we have a word for this: humming. And this of course is why I also the composer of genuine ballad melodies (as an example, I could cite the elder Hartmann) truly am reproduces the mood of the poet by reciting—or rather by ritually chanting—the words to himself at such length, until this recitation rises to the level of music, thus separating the purely musical element from the music's point of departure in the lyrical.—

#

69

I don't feel like doing anything. I don't feel like walking, it is strenuous. I don't feel like lying down, because then I would either remain lying down for a long time, and I don't feel like doing that, or I would get right up again, and I don't feel like doing that either. I don't feel like going riding, it involves motion that is too strenuous for my apathy. I just want to go for a drive in a carriage and let a great many objects glide by while I rock along, steadily, comfortably, pausing at each beautiful spot merely in order to feel my own lassitude. My ideas and impulses are as fruitless as the lust of a eunuch. In vain do I seek something that might stimulate me. Not even the pithy language of the Middle Ages is capable of dispelling the emptiness by which I am dominated. Now I truly feel the meaning of what is said about Christ's words—that they are life

90

and spirit. In brief, I don't even feel like writing what I have just written, nor do I feel like erasing it.

70 They talk a lot about variety as a necessary element of the Romantic, but I could almost say the opposite. Because the absolute solitude, where not even a breeze is stirring,[a] and no dog is heard baying in the distance—and yet the trees bow toward one another and repeat their childhood memories from the days when nymphs dwelt in them; it is precisely here that the imagination revels in the greatest delights. And indeed, what is the Romantic other than this? And to the person who concerns himself with such things I would merely pose a Socratic question as to whether Pompeian taste is not motley and varied.

[a] and yet one does sense the chattiness of the air, just as, on other occasions, one senses its visibility.—

71 The distant baying of a dog, calling one to far-off, friendly, familiar places—constitutes the most beautiful proof of the immortality of the soul.

72 Would to God I were a fiddler—a peasant dance in the forest!—oh, God, they are surely the happiest class of people, the peasants and peasant girls. But at the moment I cannot express all my feelings. Oh, while I was out there, would that I had had one person with whom I could communicate—one of those few to whom I now cling more than ever—and had been free of these bourgeois philistines and these cadets, who do not view shortcomings in childlike, good-natured fashion, the way most people do, but with their fine manners they fail to see what is good.

73 Every flower of my heart turns into a frost flower.

My ideas suffer the same fate as do parents who, though they bear healthy children, forget to have them christened in time; then subterranean beings come and put a changeling in place of the child (what is lacking is not the natural element, but solicitous care and development). **74**

Oh, but it must be dreadful on Judgment Day, when all souls come back to life again—to stand absolutely *alone*, solitary, and *unknown* to everyone, everyone. **75**

I feel like the hero in a novel, an *aberration* who ought to be put on display in a short story. **76**

A good idea **77**

Oh, how profound is the folktale that supposes that elves play with human beings more or less as we play with a fish on a line. **78**

It seems to me as if I were a galley slave chained to death; every time life stirs, the chain rattles and death makes everything wither away—*and it happens every moment*. **79**

92

"Everything that is human lies, hope as well as despair," a quotation I read in an old devotional work. **80**

There are few words with which people say so much, without knowing it, as with the words: "to orient." It is a world-historical reminder: the entirety of history comes from the East, the starting point of the human race. **81**

82 That is something we should learn from (the Palau Islands)

83 At the very moment that the hero in a novel is about to make a remark, the author takes it off the tip of his tongue. This makes the hero angry and he says that it belongs to him, pointing out that it is the only [remark] adequate to his individuality, and: "If it's going to be like this, I simply won't be the hero any more."

84 My ideas and their elaboration are like the biting of fish during certain months of the year—they nibble. There are plenty of bites, but no fish.

85 As essential to each person as his shadow is his need for a particular object of his life's polemic, a Hamann, whom he thrashes on every occasion. But something remarkable becomes apparent when one notes the innumerable nuances, ranging from those who polemicize against a particular person in their own neighborhood, in their own line of work (we are speaking of Pryssing), or who polemicize against a particular concept—all the way to those who 93 polemicize against an entire corporation, against nations, against worlds, against eternities.

86 Post scriptum: Now and then I get a strange desire to make an entrechat with my legs, to snap my fingers, and then—die.

87 It is not Chr. justice that one sees depicted at Vesterport, wearing a blindfold and holding a pair of scales; it is Jewish justice. Chr. justice is the *one-eyed* grace that does not weigh things and make complex calculations. Chr. justice is not blind and does not wear a blindfold; it is not deaf and therefore does not need scales.

23 entrechat] *French,* a ballet leap during which the legs are crossed several times

88 It is precisely in little things that the greatness of God's governance consists, whereas with human beings there is something lacking in this respect—just as lace looks disorderly and unbeautiful when viewed through a microscope, while nature's weaving, viewed in the same way, shows itself to be more and more ingenious.—

89 Now I see why genuine humor, like irony, cannot be captured by the novel—and thereby cease to be a concept of life, precisely because not-writing is a part of that concept—just as Socrates did not leave any writings, nor, in similar fashion, did Hamann, except to the extent that the writing mania of modern times made it something of a necessity—occasional pieces.—

90 Irony in relation to the linguistic structure of antiquity—before the reflective verbosity of modern times.

94

91 To what extent might there be something humorous in prayer, in the setting aside of all worldly relativity implicit in prayer, in being on familiar terms with God.

92 What will now be the crucial point—which, if done properly, will become the classicism of our times—is continuity of mood, rather than continuity of concept, kept in its nec. relation to a literary, scholarly development, starting with Hellenism or even earlier, always walking the path of intelligence, not that of feelings (for example, love of the opposite sex will not appear at all, while there will certainly be what Hamann calls "spiritual pederasty").

93 I am a Janus bifrons: with one face I laugh, with the other I weep.

94 Seeing is like looking at the sun: one can only see the sun in its reflection; someone who wants to stare right at it will see nothing but black dots before his eyes.

6 Sept. 37.

95 The Xn, however, must not lack the eye—in the human sense, the illumination—that makes it seem easier for me to understand a landscape painting than nature; it is there and in history that *he* encounters God's eye.

96 The dualis of the Greeks—what relation to parallelism—what relation to the tonic of Greek music (cf. Bindesbøll).

97 One way to prevent the theft of your watch: Let the hair on the back of your head grow, braid it into two pigtails which are wound around your neck, and hang your watch from it.—

98 When I have felt inclined to thank God (in the thought that however bad and dismal things were, there was still something good—for example, that I am now able to sleep at night), I so often wondered: Is this true thankfulness or is it cowardice, the fear that in the next instant it will be taken from me and I will despair.

99 There are certain governmental institutions (certain authorities) that originally were in continual flux in the life of the state, but which because of the petrifaction of the life of the state are said to govern a case, just as prepositions do, although strictly speaking they do not—they are prepositions that have become adverbs.—

29 Sept 37.

. . . . . therefore the Chinese have neither light or shadow in their paintings. **100**

Happy are those who have not yet awakened to the universality of duty, who acknowledge another hum. being as their lord. This is why the years of boyhood are so happy: one makes a racket, gets thrashed, etc.—one tries to deceive one's teacher.— **101**

But humor is also the joy that has triumphed over the world. **102**

96

The Lord's Prayer, in its individual parts, is the genuine counterpart of the Ten Commandments as the only thing commanded. **103**

There are people who lack the comparative; as a rule, they are the most interesting. **104**

Xt did not concern himself with writing—he wrote only in sand. **105**
2 Oct. 37.

Paganism never comes closer to the truth than Pilate: What is truth—and then they crucify it. **106**
16 Oct. 37.

Fantasy: A man who had gone mad and who, regardless of what one said to him, never replied with anything but school marks. If someone asked him how he was, he replied "B-minus," etc. **107**

108 Hegel really started where Charles V ended—setting clocks in a monastery.

109 Life is like musical pitch: perfect pitch hovers between the true and the false, and it is in this that beauty consists. For the musician, perfect pitch in the narrower sense, like perfect logic, ontology, or abstract morality—in this case mathematics—would be false. 97

11 April

110 What is man, this anther in the flowers of eternity (the transfiguration of history).

12 April.

111 As in his life (his earthly life), the path Xt walks in history leads between 2 thieves—one of them hardens his heart, the other repents.

12 April.

112 That the earth is in the center can also be seen from this: Xt was in heaven, descended into the abyss, but remained on earth, so that no one needs to ascend to heaven to bring him down—or to the underworld to bring him up. Therefore the Church teaches quite correctly—without being able to comprehend him—that Xt is in it [the world], even though it also teaches that he is in heaven.

113 Why is it that, when a person wants to say that he—when a person wants to say that he understands something quickly, he says that he understands a fragment of a song? And why is it that it is much easier for a person to fix music rather than words in his memory? To which side of the soul does music address itself—the imagination?—

The Greeks had much purer intervals in their music; therefore their notes were resonant and full of life. But they were incapable of dying and of losing themselves in heaven in their dying away. **114**

98

Fantasy: A mad schoolmaster has in his hand a Shrove Tuesday birch; he claims it is Aaron's priestly rod, bearing ripe almonds. **115**

This literature of ridicule, so called because its unscholarly contents have here been made laughable before they can be put to use. **116**

10

There is absolutely no respect for property rights in the spiritual sense—they shout, Crucify him, crucify him, and then they cast lots for his cloak. **117**

Genuine depression is like vapeurs—it is found only in the highest circles (the term understood in a spiritual sense in the case of the former). **118**

14 April.

Ussing is an exclamation point at the end of a sentence which, NB, is supposed to give that mark its significance. In this respect our times form a strange contrast to the writing conventions of the Middle Ages and classical antiquity. Those eras produced words that merited exclamation points but, apart from the heart's "Amen," did not receive them. Our times, by way of compensation, produce nothing but exclamation points. **119**

25

14 April.

Our times have one annunciation after another, and yet no John the Baptist is born—not to mention anything greater. **120**

30

99

121 It ought to be possible to say *"drawing a thought"* just as one says "drawing a breath."

122 Life can only be interpreted after it has been lived, just as it was only after he was resurrected that Xt began to interpret the Scriptures, showing how they taught about him.

15 April.

123 In the O. Testament

124 Bjørn the barber

125 If Gjødwad (I want to call him the licentiate, because he takes such great license) is convicted, one could call him "former idol in the editorial offices of *Kjøbenhavnsposten*." Incidentally, it will be easy for *Kjøbenhavnsposten* to find a new editor, since of course they appoint chance incarnations of Brahma—or Rosenhoff could add the post to the ones he already has and become a county barber with 3 tonsorial basins: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, *Den Frisindede*, *Concordia*.

15 April.

126 Christianity appeared to *Heine* in such a baroque form that he became fearful. In the course of these sufferings the poetic element in his soul refreshed itself by producing lovely lyrical works (*Buch der Lieder*). But then came reflection, which really ought to have focused on Christianity in order, if possible, to determine whether *this* was really how things were with Christianity, but instead it focused on Heine, on his own doleful form (in a profound sense, he is our times' Knight of the Doleful Countenance), with which he became infatuated. And then the phenomenon became entrenched, so that what arouses our sadness in his *Buch der Lieder* is what

arouses our disapproval in his prose; and he hardened himself in this position.

16 April.

If Xt is to come and dwell in me, it will have to happen in accordance with the almanac heading containing the gospel verse for the day: Xt enters through closed doors. **127**

The Holy Spirit is the divine "We" that embraces an "I" as well as a third person (an objective world, an existence)—the fact that there are 2 subjects makes it a plural, and the fact that there is a first person gives this first person superiority. **128**

23 April 38.

I would like to write a novella that begins with a perfect still life until, called forth by music from *Don Giovanni*, a new light suddenly dawns, and everything is drawn into a world of sheer fantasy. **129**

In Grabbe's *Don Juan* there are several quite marvelously powerful ideas, each of which shoots up suddenly and stands before us like an enormous spruce tree. **130**

. . . . And the deeds of the past lie like oak leaves before the feet of the person who treads among them. **131**

Funeral oration for a bundle of firewood, delivered in Charlottenlund, 3 May 38.

101

One cannot deny that politicians display a certain vigilance and watchfulness everywhere—they are indeed everywhere, like bad pennies. **132**

133 Equal strokes,
Don't pause long.
Hold on strong,
Danish blokes.

134 *Die Ironien in den Reden Jesu* by Fr. Joseph Grulich, Leipzig, 1838.

135 the heavenly screeching of parish clerks.

136 An author ought always offer something of his personality, just as Xt feeds us with his body and blood.

137 This morning I encountered a curious procession on Lovers' Lane: several young girls, who were dancing down the path with one another—at first I thought, What flirts; but when I approached closer I found that there were two young people behind them, playing flutes, to which they were dancing—I came close to dancing along with them—so there is still poetry of that sort in the world.—If I encounter more phenomena of this sort I will surely become a D. Quixote who will see such things everywhere.

102
138 Notarius publicus of public opinion.

139 I am now living more or less as a spirit-duplicator copy of an original edition of my own self.

When it is said that in drunkenness human beings place themselves beneath the animals, this implicitly acknowledges that human beings harbor a dormant sinfulness, for otherwise they would of course merely be placing themselves on the same level with them; but now a hell of inclinations awakens.— **140**

It is quite suggestive that the Greeks call a madman θεοβλαβης; for madness surely has its basis in the wrath of the gods, who deprive a person of the opportunity to improve himself and make use of his time. **141**

In recent days I have read Görres's *Athanasius*, not only with my eyes but with my entire body—with the pit of my stomach. **142**

A person almost never makes use of the freedoms he has—freedom of thought, for example—so in compensation he demands freedom of speech instead. **143**

There is a certain reservatio mentalis that is absolutely necessary in order to pass proper judgment. **144**

103

Just as Socrates had to stand still in order to reflect upon himself (the individual), the Middle Ages had to go in search of adventure in order to reflect upon the world. **145**

With a presentation copy of my dissertation: Since I know that you probably will not read it, and that if you did read it, you would not understand it, and that if you understood it, you would disap- **146**

7 θεοβλαβης] *Greek,* injured by a god; being made mad (by a god) as a punishment for an offense; insane **19** reservatio mentalis] *Latin,* mental reservation

prove of it, I will therefore direct your attention solely to externals: morocco leather and gilt-edged pages.

147 The very reverend tree-lined avenue of Church fathers, in whose shade I can still at times find rest.

148 Yet every truth is only truth to a certain degree; when it goes beyond this, the counterpoint appears and it becomes untruth.

149 That God could create beings who are free in relation to himself is the cross that philosophy could not bear but upon which it has remained hanging.

150 A midnight hour
Satan—devil—flyspeck, etc.: You have deceived me, cheated me out of the moments I should have enjoyed.—The watchman cries: "There is no other Savior."

104

151 The politicians accuse me of always contradicting. But in this they are my masters, for they always have one more person they contradict—namely, themselves.

152 The paradox is the authentic *pathos* of the intellectual life, and just as only great souls are susceptible to passions, so are only great thinkers susceptible to what I call paradoxes, which are nothing other than grandiose thoughts, not yet fully developed.

Indeed, it takes a long time before one truly comes to terms with, finds one's place (knows where everything has its place) in the divine economy. One gropes among a multiplicity of moods, not even knowing how one ought to pray. Xt does not take on any definite form within us—one does not know the meaning of the assistance of the Spirit, etc. **153**

7 July.

[a]God creates out of *nothing*, which is wonderful, you say. Yes, indeed, but he does something even more wonderful—he creates saints (the communion of saints) out of sinners.

In many ways, my ideas and longings are like those of Nebuchadnezzar, who required not only that his soothsayers interpret his dreams, but also that they should tell him what he had dreamed. **154**

+

This is how one knows that a person has become a Xn—he receives someone just as Rebecca did: Not only will I give you something to drink, I will water your camels as well. **155**

18 July 38.

The other day I was in a strange mood. I sat sunken into myself (feeling like an old ruin must feel), losing myself and my "I" in pantheistic dissolution, and I read an old folk song (published by Sneedorf-Birck), which tells of a girl who waited for her beloved one Saturday evening, but he did not come—and she took to bed "and wept so bitterly." She got up again "and wept so bitterly." And suddenly the scene opened before me, I saw the Jutland heath with its indescribable loneliness and its solitary lark—and then one generation after another rose before me, and all the girls sang for me, and wept so bitterly, and sank into their graves again. And I myself wept with them. **156**

Oddly enough, my imagination works best when I am sitting alone in a great gathering of people, when noise and hubbub provide it with a substratum for the will to hold on to its object. Without those sur-

roundings, it bleeds to death in the exhausting embrace of an indefinite idea.

30 Dec. 37.

157 In our times, hatred of the monarchical principle has gone so far that people want to have solo parts for four voices.

31 Dec. 37.

158 Div. Providence operates in accordance with a higher association of ideas, so to speak, whereas the world operates in accordance with its finite association of ideas. Thus, whereas finite individuals each realize their ideas separately, the Deity, on the other hand, never forgets its grand plans. And when no one is expecting it, the miraculous makes its entry into history, and in so doing, through its association of ideas, the Deity returns to its premise. The recurrence of the refrain in folk ballads (especially those of the Middle Ages, in which the refrain often bears no relation whatever to the contents) is similar: although the refrain binds the song together—and in its binding together of the song allows the idea in the verse to realize itself—the refrain also has its own independent development.

31 Dec. 37.

159 Irony is an abnormal development which, like the abnormality in the livers of Strasbourg geese, ends by killing the individual.

1 Jan. 38.

106

160 I would like to write a short story accompanied by mottos composed by myself.

Motto: Fantasy for a post horn.

=

A man is writing his autobiography; his childhood made absolutely no impression on him, and viewing it with commonsensical narrow-mindedness, he sees it as merely ridiculous—until, by becoming a teacher of children, he now discovers the significance of childhood and reproduces his own. **161**

For a motto, I will choose the Italian text to the words in *Don Giovanni*: "Though they wither and soon die."

A recollection of his entire childhood will pass before him, occasioned by the song "My Full Glass and the Hearty Sound of Song."

It is remarkable that the view of life expressed here (and the fact that it contains a view of life is what makes it interesting) caused people to enjoy wine, etc., in moderation with their friends—the fear of Chr. compulsion caused them to become drunkards (this latter is much more frequent in our day).

⧺

Winter is the abbreviation of summer. **162**

The book should be published with random refrains written by a madman.

The prototypical element in his predilection for the stock exchange (its ruinous recession) caused by his relationship with families of vastly reduced means.

2 Jan. 38.

How curious that one day I walk in cothurni, the next day—in boots. **163**

⧻

107

The other day I met a lady (Mrs. Ross) who really belongs in a hospital ward; all she talks about is illnesses and medicines and precautionary measures concerning her health—but she really gets to her main point when she discusses whether one ought to allow the closest relatives to visit someone who is sick, someone who is more or less on the verge of dying.— **164**

3 Jan. 38.

I am a weed in literature—but still I am at least the one they call "Good King Henry." **165**

#

166 The bass part in *The White Lady* (in the great aria "The White Lady hovers around us") has a very great effect; it undergirds it like a dark cloud, bearing the passion contained in this number

4 Jan. 38.

167 Vaudeville is the musical association of ideas.

#

168 A man who has himself flayed alive in order to show how the humorous smile is produced by the contraction of a particular muscle—and then accompanies it with a lecture on humor.

6 Jan. 38.

169 I was just searching for the right term to designate the class of people I would like to write for, in the conviction that they would share my outlook, and now I find it in Lucian: παρανεκροι (someone who, like me, is dead), and I would like to publish a journal for παρανεκροι.

9 Jan. 38.

108

170 There is an excellent dialogue in Lucian between Charon and the Cynic Menippus, which begins with Charon demanding an obol for the trouble of taking him across the Styx, but Menipp declares that he doesn't have one.

10 Jan. 38.

171 Curious Juxtaposition

The plasterer in Østergade has, standing in his window, a Venus who turns her back on people, and next to her is an officer in full uniform; I think he is even wearing the key of a chamberlain. What a contrast: Madame Venus's admired loins and their surrogate, a chamberlain's key.

10 Jan. 38.

14 παρανεκροι] *Greek,* fellow dead

When I read a book, it is *not* so much *what it is* that pleases me as the infinite possibilities that must have existed at every point—the complicated story, rooted in the author's individuality, studies, etc.—which every expression must have had and must still have for the author. **172**

13 Jan. 38.

Like the beast of prey, the humorist always walks alone. **173**

13 Jan. 38.

There are people who deal with other people's ideas so frivolously and disgracefully, snatching them up, that they ought to be prosecuted for illegal trafficking in lost property. **174**

17 Jan. 38.

It is strange that no one has had the idea of having a man who was in the process of dying address Death, saying: If you don't die, I'll kill you. What confusion this would cause in the world if it happened—how embarrassing for those who were awaiting the death of a wealthy man. **175**

18 Jan.

Those who have gone beyond Hegel are like people who live out in the country and who must always give their address as "via" a larger town—in these cases the addresses read "To Mr. X via Hegel." **176**

17 Jan.

When we hear that someone can stimulate his spirit by means of drink, then, even if he produced the most splendid things, we sense that something unpleasant—an intimation of something forbidden and impermissible—is implicit in this approach to the tree of knowledge. It is what the Middle Ages called selling one's soul to the devil. **177**

4 Feb. 38.

178 A Union of the Classical and the Romantic.

A nude Apollo clad only in a modern frock coat with long tails, and with one of them he chastely conceals his shame.

6 Feb. 38.

179 As unreasonable and unjust as it is to collect a head tax, what is equally unreasonable is the competence of heads which asserts itself in our times.

6 Feb. 38.

180 These instructional assistants in modern philosophy seem to me like scorekeepers, but not even like the scorekeepers at sharpshooting meets, who at least participate in a sort of danger, even if in a very superficial way. Rather, they are like those who serve as scorekeepers in a game of billiards, who repeat their quatre à pointe, etc., in their sleep.

8 Feb.

181 When at times there is such a racket in my head that it seems as if my cranium has been lifted up, as when gnomes lift a mountain up a bit, celebrating and making merry inside.

9 Feb. 38

[a]God forbid! 1

182 Even if everyone is very much in favor of the government, even if everyone is willing to do everything, you can nonetheless be sure that there is some mistletoe that will be directed against that unanimity by the hand of a blind (anonymous) man.

12 Feb.

183 Kornmann: Mons Veneris.

∔

At present the state is obviously suffering from an abdominal disorder (tiers etate bellyache); earlier, it was a headache. **184**

19 Feb.

The dialectical element in modern developments is certainly dominant, but it ought not for that reason weaken the substantive element. It must be like the sword of Vaulunder—so supple that he can wrap it around his waist and so sharp that it can cleave boulders as if they were clay. **185**

═

the liberal press writes entirely without being requested; thus its situation is not even like that of the more lowly papers: "in response to the *express request* of countless well-distilled egg schnapps brewers." **186**

111

⧺

The abstract character of the Jews can also be seen in their preference for money—rather than property, etc., that has monetary value—because money is a pure abstraction. **187**

⧻

With respect to continuity of mood, the aphorism resembles various linguistic expressions (for example, the Latin word oppido) that are monuments to the entirety of an earlier formation. Some of them are really antediluvian fossils, and like such words, they have become fossilized in a particular case.— **188**

═

Our politicians are like the Greek reciprocals (αλληλοιν), which lack the nominative, the singular, and all subjective cases. They can only be thought of in the plural and in the oblique case.— **189**

My good humor, my tranquillity, takes to the air like a dove, pursued by Saul's evil spirit, by a bird of prey, and it can save itself **190**

20 oppido] *Latin,* very much, entirely

only by continually mounting higher and higher, by getting further and further from myself.

17 Aug. 38.

191 If a true and faithful friend were to say to one of us, "Dear friend, you seem to be unhappy. Come to me. Perhaps my company will console you," wouldn't you gratefully accept his invitation? Wouldn't you gratefully remember his loving offer even after he had finished his race here on earth and could only be together with you in the lightning flash of thought? And yet, there must have been moments when—dispirited or even broken-hearted—he did not approach you in as friendly a fashion as he had on other occasions, 112 moments when it seemed to you that he, too, was lost to you. Yet you had felt the blessedness of particular moments, and you know what they mean. And yet you hesitate to follow a voice which is by no means foreign to you, but which, on the contrary, you have known from an early age, which has resounded for you since your childhood, a voice which calls out so gently, so warmly, so freely: "Come unto me, all ye who suffer and are heavy laden."—And still an embrace opens for you, in which you can rest as securely, as sweetly, as in the embrace of your best friend, even though this embrace encompasses "all those who suffer and are heavy laden," encompassing all of them with equal tenderness. For it was only in our Savior's earthly life that it was John alone who lay closest to his breast.—"Come unto me, oh, come unto me": this is how the servant of the Word must cry out as well. But is his voice, then, the voice in the wilderness that prepares the way of the Lord? Doesn't it also apply to us, who have been brought closer to Christianity through our upbringing, our family relationships, and through the whole of our development? Yes, indeed, to us, too, it sounds like a beckoning voice, which is prepared at every moment to console us and is prepared at every moment to lead us onward: "Come unto me, oh, come unto me!"—until it divests itself of all the sadness that at present is sometimes heard blended with it and, filled with eternal love, it sounds like the singing of angels, like familiar notes, to everyone who has listened to it: "Come ye, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from before the foundation of the world!"

18 Aug. 38.

These scribblers belong to the category of those who bear tales from person to person. They belong to a species of plants that has a very fitting name: gossip mushrooms (cf. Miss Nielsen's cookbook). **192**

#

Just as human walking is a continual falling, all consistency is a continual inconsistency. **193**

113

#

When in the course of its development the world had become a widow, merely gazing back sadly on its memories of the past—then, in the year of mourning, God visited it. Thus, too, does God visit us. But let our situation not be like that of the Jews, who at Nain exclaimed truthfully: "God has visited us." And yet this was the same people over whom Xt wept, lamenting that they did not recognize what was for their own good—they did not recognize the hour of their visitation.— **194**

#

it is apparent that modern philosophy makes the historical Xt into a sort of *illegitimate son*, at most into an adoptive son.— **195**

#

The Hegelians undertake many conceptual sublations which are not worth the trouble of so much elation.— **196**

Actually, the divine and the diabolical merely consist of mysteries. But the mystery of God has been revealed in Xt, while the mystery of the devil (mysterium impietatis) will not be revealed until there is a corresponding manifestation—the Antichrist.— **197**

An aesthetic thought-bridle on Knight Andersen's wild chase through the shadowy dales of self-contradiction. **198**

25 mysterium impietatis] *Latin,* the mystery of ungodliness

#

199 Even if *Khavnsposten* were published in imperial folio, this would not make it a magna charta.—

114

#

200 My standpoint is *armed neutrality*.

#

201 Sir Knight saw many fall down from the ladder,
But the way to the *churchyard* is open and broad
la la! la la! la la!
la la! la la! la la!

#

202 Put off thy shoes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground … Of course, it does not help that many of them are—trouserless.

#

203 I will advise them to answer promptly sub poena præclusi et perpetui silentii.

#

204 But, as in the fairytale, the liberals have a tongue and an empty head like the tongue in a church bell.

205 The story of clever Else could be reprinted in its entirety or used as a heading: My, don't we have a clever Else!

#

206 Every state, especially one that has as much of its own history as Denmark has, always

16 sub poena præclusi et perpetui silentii] *Latin,* under penalty of exclusion and perpetual silence

Den Frisindede is related to *Khavnsposten* the way Niels Klim's caraway pretzels are related to himself. **207**

115

#

There are various means of self-protection. As is well-known, the musk animal exudes such a strong stench that no one can approach it. **208**

#

Khavnsposten is *bent by the wind* (it bends with the wind). **209**

#

This foreword of mine must be handled carefully because the same thing happens to it as happened to the treasure: **210**

> But if you speak a single word
> It disappears again.
> (Oehlenschlaeger's *The Treasure Hunter*)

#

Anyway, Andersen isn't so dangerous. From what I have been able to learn, his main strength consists of an auxiliary chorus of volunteer undertakers, some wandering aestheticians who continually give assurances of their honesty, and this much is certain: they certainly cannot be accused of having any reservatio *mentalis*; for they have nothing whatever in mente. **211**

#

My witticisms, he says, are affected. His aren't—they are rejected.— **212**

Precisely because politicians pay no attention to continuity, they acknowledge only two of the three hallmarks of genuine public-spiritedness—only these two, consensus and universalitas (and even these in a rather trivial and arbitrary sense)—but they entirely overlook the third one, antiquitas. **213**

20 reservatio mentalis] *Latin,* mental reservation **21** in mente] *Latin,* in mind, in recollection **26** consensus] *Latin,* agreement, unity **26** universalitas] *Latin,* universality **28** antiquitas] *Latin,* antiquity

116

⁜

214 However the battle goes, I will nonetheless pray only that the god of war not saddle me with:

One of those street tarts
Who turn up right away
When some Jack whistles.—

215 Come out here, Wolle-Petersen, or I'll pull you out so your rib bone cracks.

cf. the passage in Claudius; it is marked.—

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119

1 Copyist Exegesis.
or

On the Relationship between the N. and the O. T.
After Hierax or Hierakas had over a long period nourished himself in his Christian life by *transcribing* the Holy Scripture, in his wisdom he finally discovered that the difference betw. the N and the O. T. was that celibacy was not taught in the latter—such a grasp of the matter is however only possible for people who stand in such an external relation to the matter as a copyist does.

6 Aug. 38.

2 *Matth.* XI:19: καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. Many varied opinions have been advanced that shall be passed over; but since I see that already Chrysostom and Theoph. had been of *the* opinion that τεκνα αὐτῆς is to be understood as applying to the Jews (see de Wette, p. 121 bottom of page), and that one or another later interpreter held the same opinion, it strikes me that given this assumption the following interpretation could be advanced: "Wisdom is justified" in that it was taken away from, snatched from its "children" (ἀπὸ as at 2 Thes 1:9). That is to say, as wisdom suffered an injustice, in a manner of speaking, by not being recognized by the Jews, to whom it was first offered, so it now found justice by being taken away from them. This seems to be confirmed by what follows, where Christ especially highlights the towns in which most of the miracles took place and where he thus demonstrates the Jews' ingratitude. Without this interpretation I don't see any natural transition to v. 20, while on this account vv. 20–24 become a more serious working out of what Christ had said: that they were like children.

12 Jan. 39.

120

3 *Clausen*, and before him a great mass of commentators have remained stuck in understanding the concept of *miracle* solely by means of *moral* considerations (regarding the beneficial consequences for human beings, and they therefore find difficulties with the miracles where one or another individual suffers a loss, e.g., the Gergesenes). But even if one is not prepared to go into the much deeper investigation in which the miracle is seen as belonging to the

11 καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς] *Greek,* yet wisdom is justified by her children **14** τεκνα αὐτῆς] *Greek,* her children **19** ἀπὸ] *Greek,* from

new order of things that the New Testament calls the Kingdom of Heaven, it still seems to me that the *purely aesthetic aspect* of the miracle could lodge just as great a claim to be heard as the moral aspect. This is striking, e.g., at the wedding in Cana, in Christ's walking on the sea, and elsewhere, and it seems to me that this consideration at least opens our eyes to a much greater ideal infinity than the view that Lazarus's awakening was a miracle *because* it was *bene*ficial for Lazarus. This *finite intention* robs the miracle, along with everything higher, of its true infinity, its true divine *freedom*.

14 Jan. 39.

He who cannot understand the, so to speak, *Kingly* element that in this respect is found in the miracle, must either be a philistine or a Judas (Jn XII:4).

Matth. XI:11: μικροτερος. This word seems to me to have an emphatic, terse quality. Naturally this cannot be understood in such a way that the comparison from which the comparative is taken is to be placed within Christianity's own borders, i.e., the least in God's Kingdom; on the contrary, I think that this comparative is taken from the Christian worldview according to which God's household has only two stages: Judaism and Christianity, and that Christianity is thus a permanent comparative in relation to Judaism, and that this thought stirred obscurely in the apostle's mind when he used this comparative.—It is certain that the more modern interpreters have all too often forgotten to keep this comparative in mente in their interpretations. **4**

14 Jan. 39.

121

It seems to follow from Mt XII: 24–29, that Xt did not think that demons could be exorcised by the devil's power; for if such an exorcism could really happen, then Xt would not have confounded the Jews with his question: by whom do your sons drive them out. At its heart, the question is whether such an exorcism is thinkable, and one could reply to this by saying that the devil could of course have broader aims in view with such an exorcism, e.g., to entice more people, so that his kingdom was not divided against itself. But on the other hand we must nevertheless recall that such an exorcism by no means occurred in order to tear the individual out of the devil's power, which in casu would indeed be a contradiction **5**

14 μικροτερος] *Greek,* the least **24** in mente] *Latin,* in mind **37** in casu] *Latin,* in the present case

and an impossibility; but we should rather say that such an individual fell even more deeply under the devil's power, so that Xt's word 43–45 about the evil spirit's departing from a pers. could apply. The difference, then, is that with Xt's miracle, the individual is not merely healed of his illness but is torn away from the power of the evil one and carried over into God's Kingdom; in the miracle performed by the devil he is freed from one evil to be subjected to a still greater one, and in this sense one can say that *in truth* evil spirits cannot be exorcised with the help of the devil.—

15 Jan. 39.

6 Rom IV. Some people have been surprised that in emphasizing Abraham as an example of faith P. did not rather take that moment of his life when he was willing to sacrifice Isaac; but it seems to me to be altogether in keeping with the Pauline spirit as a whole and with the syllogistic force of this passage to take the example of Sarah's barrenness; for then everything was indeed left to God, and all life apart from Xnty, Jews as well as heathens, was similarly barren in Paul's eyes.—

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125

1 Cphgn. 14 June 1840.

2 *Everything is New in Christ*.

this will be my standpoint for a speculative Chr. epistemology. (New not merely insofar as it is something other, but also in the sense of the renewed, the rejuvenated, in contrast to the antiquated and depleted.)

this standpoint will be at once polemical and ironical.

it will also show that Xnty is not a fixation on a particular object or a particular, normal disposition; it is not as a new patch on an old garment, but an elixir of youth.

By way of comparison, the standpoint from which Xnty's relation to the past has previously been defined is this:

There is Nothing New under the Sun.

This standpoint relates negatively to the phenomenon and instills an abstract monotony which destroys life, unlike the other position, which fructifies.

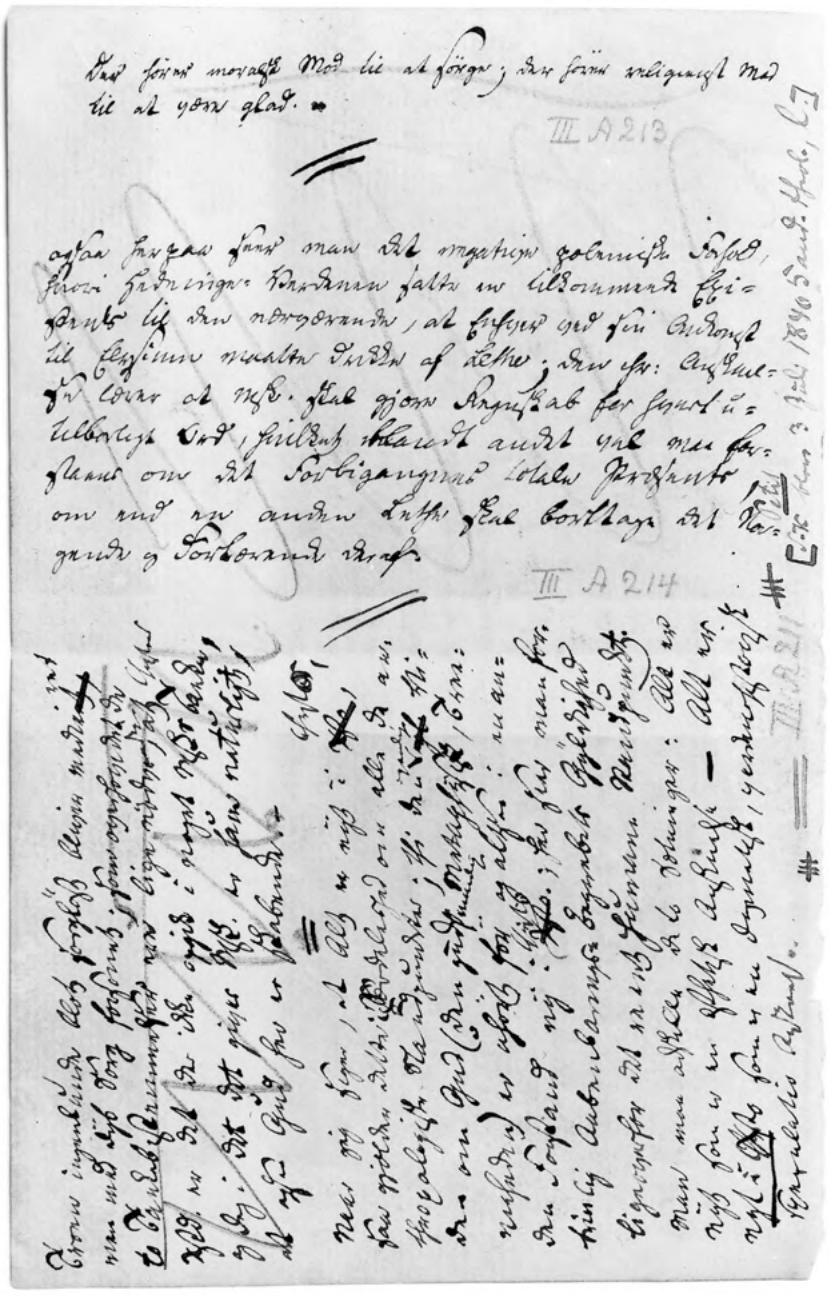
the very notion of mediation, the watchword of modern philosophy, is the exact opposite of the Xn standpoint. From the latter perspective, previous existence is not so easily digested, but rests heavily both in it and upon it, just as the existence of the single individual prior to faith is by no means painlessly mediated but is reconciled in profound sorrow; on the whole, two axiomatic thoughts are equally necessary: that Xnty did not arise in the mind of any hum. being, and nonetheless, since it is given to a hum. being, it is natural to him; here, too, God is creating.

3 When I say that everything is new in Xt, this applies particularly to all anthropological standpoints; for the genuine knowledge of God (div. metaphysics, the Trinity) was previously unheard of and therefore in another sense new in Xt; here, the validity of the con-

[a]fortes fortuna is the pagan position; God is mighty in the weak is the Xn; one sees immediately that the former is a category of immediacy, since happiness in this case is merely a reflection of the given immed. genius of the individual, the immed. harmonia præstabilita: the latter is a category of reflection, arrived at through the annihilation of the individual.

8 harmonia præstabilita] *Latin,* preordained harmony

Journal HH:1–2



Journal HH:2–5

cept of revelation in contrast to a purely human standpoint is exceptionally clear. One must distinguish between the two propositions: Everything is new, which is the aesthetic viewpoint— Everything is new in Xt, which is the dogmatic, world-historical, speculative viewpoint. 126

It takes moral courage to grieve; it takes religious courage to be joyful.— **4**

here, too, one can see the negative, polemical way in which the pagan world related the life to come to present existence, since, upon arrival at Elysium, everyone had to drink of the waters of Lethe; the Xn view teaches that hum. beings must account for every careless word, something which, among other things, surely applies to the total presence of the past, even though another Lethe will efface from it all that gnaws and corrodes. **5**

New Year's morning **6**

On the resolution **7**

129

8 We read: and God tested Abr., and he said to him: Abrh., Abrh., and Abraham answered: Here I am. We ought attend particularly to this trusting, God-devoted disposition, to this cheerful and unhesitating willingness to face trials, to answer bravely: Here I am. Is it the same with us, or are we not, if anything, eager to evade the situation when we sense that difficult trials draw near, wishing for nothing so much as an out-of-the-way corner of the world in which to hide ourselves, wishing that the mountains would conceal us; or we struggle impatiently to shift the burden from ourselves to others; and even those who do not seek to escape—how slowly, how reluctantly, they drag their feet. Not so with Ab.: he answers bravely: Here I am; he troubles no one with his suffering—not Sarah, whom he knew beyond doubt would be sorely grieved at the loss of Isaac, not Eliezer, the faithful servant of his house, to whom he would have turned for comfort before any other. We read: He rose early in the morning. He hastened as if to a joyous festival, and at dawn he was on Moriah at the place appointed by the Lord. And he split the firewood and he bound Isaac and he lit the fire and he drew the knife. My listener: there was many a father in Israel who believed that to lose his child was to lose everything that was dear to him, to be deprived of every hope for the future; but there was no child who was a child of promise in the same sense as Isaac was for Abr. There was many a father who lost a child, but then it was, after all, God's almighty and unsearchable governance; then it was, after all, God himself who, as it were, dissolved the promise he had issued; like Job, such a father had to say: the Lord gave, the Lord took away. not so with Abraham; it was required that he do it with his own hands; Isaac's fate was placed, together with the knife, in Abr.'s hand. And here he stood on the mountain, early in the morning, he the old man with his only hope. But he did not doubt; he looked neither to the right nor to the left; and he did not challenge heaven with his laments. He knew it was the weightiest sacrifice that God could demand, but he knew, too, that nothing was too great for God.
130 We all know now the outcome of the story. Perhaps it does not surprise us any longer because we have known it from our earliest childhood; but then, in truth, the fault lies not in the story but in ourselves, because we are too lukewarm to really feel with Abraham, to suffer with him. He headed home joyously, cheerfully, with trust in God; for he had not wavered, and he had nothing for which to blame himself. If we were to imagine that Abraham, by anxiously and desperately hunting about, had discovered the ram that would

save his son, would he not then have gone home in disgrace, without trust in the future, without inner assurance that he was prepared to make any sacrifice whatsoever for God, without, as it were, the divine voice from heaven in his heart, proclaiming to him God's grace and love.

Nor did Abraham say: Now I have become an old man. My youth **9**
vanished, my dream remained unfulfilled; I became a man, and you denied me what I desired. Then I became an old man, and in a wonderful way you fulfilled everything; grant me now a quiet evening, do not summon me forth again to new battles, let me enjoy what you have given me, let me enjoy the consolation of my old age.

On the edification which lies in the thought that we are **always** *in the* **wrong** *before God*. **10**

otherwise we might be tempted to despair of providence. For if there were one pers., one single person, no matter whether he were the most powerful who had ever lived in the world or the lowliest, who on Judgment Day could truthfully say: I was not provided for, in the great household I was forgotten; or one who, though reproaching himself for much, could truthfully say: I confess I went astray in the world, I drifted from the way of truth, but I have indeed repented of my sin, I have strained my powers in sincere dedication to the Good, I have lifted my voice and cried out to heaven for help, but no one answered, and I saw no way out, no 131
reassurance, however distant … If this were so, then surely all would be absurdity. Where then would the limit be.

—Anyone who has yielded to temptation must nevertheless confess that there was a possibility that, a moment later, help would have arrived; and this is not a sophism, as it might seem to a skeptical soul who would say, One can always say that; rather, it is an observation.

On Christ's sacrificial life among us.— **11**
Xt's suffering has at different times been understood in a variety of ways—the great physical pain, etc., but you have surely perceived that, however consuming the sorrow of remorse may be, the sorrow that grips us when we suffer innocently, when we must bear the

consequences of another's guilt, is that much deeper. So it was with Xt's sorrow. But in all that suffering he was not one who thought of himself or burdened others with his cares, he who with so much justification could have said to the sorrowing who sought comfort from him: Do you not see how much I suffer and how heavy a burden rests on my shoulders—and yet he was nevertheless always ready, at each moment, to listen to others' complaints and hardships and to offer comfort

12 **God's tests.**

. . . Or did you never see him, my listener, he the loving father, who sent his child far away from himself, out into the world, to become mature and to be tested for his life's work; did you not see how tenderly his gaze rested upon him as far as his eyes could follow him, how anxiously he sat at home, waiting longingly for news from the beloved child[?] And yet it was of course he himself who tested him. He was quite free to summon him home again, to let him grow up and grow old under his own eyes, to protect him, insofar as possible, from every noxious breath of temptation. But he 132 realized that this would not be fatherly love but unwarranted weakness, and therefore he sent him away; but the reason for the test was love . . Or did you never see him who tested the one he loved most in all the world; did you not see how inventive he was when it came to devising ever more difficult, ever more strenuous tests in order to convince himself, to assure himself more and more deeply, of the love whose possession was his blessedness[?] Did you not see how anxious he was, how uneasy, how often it was he who suffered, and suffered more, than the one he tested[?] And yet it was of course his own idea[;] he could have allowed the love which he knew he possessed to suffice; but that he would not do; and the reason for the test was love; isn't it so that it is only what we love that we seek to possess through trials.

God's tests are grounded in love.

And even if the picture of this loving father who sits at home, so concerned for his child's welfare, seems ever so beautiful to you, so beautiful that you feel something would be lost if it were to be turned into a representation of the almighty Father in heaven, the contrast itself is nevertheless uplifting: because the reason he does not wait for news from us is that he indeed is always with us; and the reason he is not anxious about us is that he is indeed the almighty God;

As already suggested in the two chosen illustrations, God's tests serve to:

1) educate and shape us.

2) establish a deeper communion with God.

We know full well that in this earthly life we stand, in many ways, in constant need of upbringing, and we would not wish to pretend that we have outgrown this need—one day, of course, the education must come to an end, and an intimation of this may already be felt here in this life.

13

You complain about hum. beings and about the corruption in the world; we will not decide whether or not you are right, we will admit that much holier men than we have with greater authority raised the same complaint:

133

there is no ground
in deed or word
upon which we can build
every heart's a trap
every vow is dung
every rogue acts the child,
every promise a mere shadow.

But much depends on you yourself; for there remains a battle which no one else can fight for you, a doubt which no one else can allay; a care which no one else can put to rest—the care and uneasiness about God; only when you have found assurance regarding this will you experience the world as much better; because then you will not search in the world, demanding of it what it cannot give—then you yourself will be able to console and reassure others.

14

We will turn our minds to you, our God, and allow you to rule entirely therein; for you are the one who raises up and who casts down: however honored we might be in the world, highly trusted by people; and were the fate of many to rest in our hands, ourselves perhaps looked up to by many with envy—if all of our efforts, our work, our longing, our hope in the world did not find favor in your eyes, righteous God, what would such glory be beside this

unblessedness[?] Though we might be broken and troubled, misunderstood, abandoned, alone with our sorrows—if your eyes, which see in secret, looked with approval upon our efforts, our work, our hope, our longing for you, what would such hardship be beside this blessedness; though we stood humbled and crushed at the thought of our own guilt, though our sins had so alienated us from the hum. race that no word of comfort reached us—if our contrition found its way to your throne, merciful God, and found favor in your eyes, oh what would such suffering be beside this blessedness

15 Xnty wants to be everything to us.

134

16 powerless before the heavenly powers above, in the heat of battle God's grace will over*shadow* you.

17 *God's Fatherly Love.*

. . . . and even if it seems to you, when your thought ventures forth from the paternal home, losing its way in the wide world in order to ascend to the idea of Him, the Almighty Creator of all things as well as the common Father of all; [if it seems to you then] that you forfeit some of the preferential love that was your portion in your father's home, because he, your earthly father, was your only father and you his only child; if it seems to you in consequence that such earthly representations ought to be put aside, since the image falls short of its aim—well, then we admit that the image does fall short. But when, anxious and troubled, you went to your earthly father to find comfort and reassurance, and you instead found him melancholy, weighed down by grief, his sorrow serving only to magnify your own rather than relieve it (though for a moment you did forget your own suffering out of sympathy for his); and when, by contrast, you, crushed and powerless, turned your mind and your thoughts to Him who provides for all and found him ever powerful in the powerless, more powerful the weaker you yourself became, then, my listener, the earthly image again falls short of your situation, and the more you notice the shortcomings of that image the better off you are. And if this was why, in what was said earlier, you sensed with a certain sadness that, even though you took the best you had on earth in order thereby to express the heavenly, this

still did not attain the heavenly but in the very attempt disintegrated and disappeared before your eyes—now this is not so; for now you have perceived that God's name is not derived from any earthly designation, but, on the contrary, it is as the Scriptures say, that all fatherhood on earth and in heaven is named for the heavenly father, and the name of the father does not strive upward from earth to heaven, but descends from heaven to earth. So even if you have had the best possible earthly father, he, too, is only your stepfather, only a reflection of the fatherly love for which he is named.—

only a shadow, a reflection, an image, a simile, an obscure expression of the fatherliness from which all fatherhood in heaven and on earth takes its name. O! my listener: may you understand this blessedness, or, rather, may my presentation have succeeded in reminding you of what you yourself possess, better and more richly and more joyously; or, rather, that I may have disturbed nothing for you.

18

What it is to want to have experience
on the Gosp. reading concerning Nicodemus.
Prayer

19

. . . and when You grant us an auspicious hour, we pray that it might not issue in one of the many fleeting moods that serve only, in one way or another, to disquiet our spirit, but that each such hour might contain within itself a promise that it will not be the only one, lest anxiety so overwhelm us that we not be able to collect ourselves when the time of visitation comes, or lest joy so transport us that the moment of blessing escape us unnoticed and unused. We are well aware that we frail hum. beings are not granted the constant indwelling of the div., but we also know indeed that this is the aim of our striving, and that You will not leave us without witness, and that Your grace is not a spring that dries up because we draw from it, but one that gushes all the more prolifically and leaps all the higher the deeper we dig. It is not for us to decide the time or the place, but teach us to prepare our spirits so that, when the opportune moment comes, we might not be incapable and unworthy of receiving, [might not be] cold and unfruitful.—
to gain experience—yes, this is a grand thought; to have lived fully, to possess an inexhaustible spiritual treasure that can never be

taken from us—yes, this is a noble goal. It is this wish which inspires the young person whose heart swells with vague longings,
136 who desires that nothing might escape his glance and nothing remain foreign to him, that he might try his strength at all pursuits
5 (though this is often related to the vain wish to be able to say truthfully: This, too, I have felt). And he wants to test his mettle not only in the happy times but also in the sad, in order later to remember with satisfaction that the cup of sorrow had also been extended to him, that he had tasted its bitterness but held his head high.

10 But the confusion here lies in wanting to have experienced everything before he has truly begun to live.

We take for granted that an older person is experienced, and even if youthful yearning might often persuade itself that what another has experienced is nothing compared with what it will itself experi-
15 ence, even if a hopeful youth were proudly to picture himself an old man, full of days, far richer in experience, he has nevertheless a certain deference for what an older person possesses—the fruit of experience. For would it not be sad if we were to imagine an old person who throughout his whole life had merely been contempo-
20 rary with his own life, who knew of his own life in the same way that he knew of any other extern. event, knew the hour and the minute, but the inner appropriation of it,— We see here that neither the restless striving outward into the world nor mere living in the world is enough to constitute experience. In a certain sense
25 these do count as experience; but since they do not develop into the power that overcomes the whole and surveys it, they do not make one *wise from experience*. For this an act of will is required that forges something from experience, which *in time of sorrow* **will** *recall the joy it has experienced, and in the hour of joy will not forget the sorrow which*
30 *threatens*

20 Xn Experience.

. . . . . this hour of devotion, too, will soon pass; perhaps it will come to have significance for you, and you will remember it often, or it will disappear without a trace, and in a short time you will try in
35 vain to recollect it—we do not know; who knows the workings of the Spirit, which moves like the wind, and no one knows whence it
137 comes or where it goes; but this we do know: if your presence here in the house of the Lord, your devotion in his Temple, is not, as it were, the fullest unfolding and flowering of the quiet private devo-

tion which daily strengthens you for your work, makes holy your joy, ennobles your sorrow

. . . . . and when temptations draw near, we will not avoid them, because we know that they are not overcome in this way, but on the contrary return strengthened; we will not sink into a listless slumber, of which it would be more proper to say that things happen to us than that we act, so that we do not become ashamed in the manner of those who, even if they withstand the temptation to fall, must admit that it was only fate that saved them, not their own strength. We certainly do not say this because we want to harbor the vain thought that we save ourselves by our own strength, for we know that we are capable of nothing without God, but, when God is with us, we are capable of everything. It was for this reason that we insisted that it was as though fate had saved us, for how could we dare call it a governance and thereby elevate our thoughts to God when we at the same time became conscious that we ourselves had not taken action[?] For just as God must be with us if anything is to be accomplished, so too must we, after a manner of speaking, be with God, be awake, and be Xt's fellow workers, not dozing off or escaping into fantasy; for to be torn free of temptation without our participation provides no security in the face of new struggles, no battle-won, renewed, and confirmed trust in God's aid.— **21**

the second time a temptation strikes is always the worst, whether it finds us overconfident about having conquered it the first time or anxious about having evaded it.— **22**

and God will make the temptation and the way out such that we can bear it. You, my listener, you who have been subjected to great temptations, and you have, perhaps often, fought the good fight and emerged victorious. But when, alas, you at times succumbed to temptation, when you stood there as it triumphed over you, alas, and you stood there with the consciousness that the battle was lost, and you looked out over the wasteland in your soul, and it seemed to you as if all were lost, and despair beckoned to you, its rapture already intoxicating you; perhaps then these words came to mind: God will make the way out of temptation such that we can bear it, **23** 138

for though the way out of temptation is not always a victory, God will surely make the way out such that we can bear it, and your soul will again be sober and awake.

24 *The Relationship of the Congregation to Xt*
viewed through the Image of the Bride's Relationship to the Groom.

it may perhaps seem inappropriate, . . . in our age, the div. has been elevated much too high to be satisfied with such images .. this is both good and bad, and one should never overlook the significance of the image . . . though one ought neither play with such images nor *flirt* with them. . . . Is not the reason for one's dissatisfaction with this image, if it is otherwise understood chastely, that love in our day is not so very sacrificing, not so enthusiastic or enduring[?] Here we must remember that all of life is a time of engagement, the grave is the bridal chamber, heaven . . . . . or is it not so, if we imagine the blessed moment when the believer, after the many mistakes, the many misunderstandings, after having overcome the many adversities and the many temptations, now finally sinks into the arms of his Savior.—

25 On the Forgiveness of Sins.

Xnty has often been spoken of with a certain contempt when compared with the great tasks the hum. race has otherwise undertaken. Its belittling of what is great in hum. has been deplored, or people have derided its ease, its total failure to promote hum. initiative, its embrace of a passive receptivity, and this was what was understood by faith. But if Xnty is the easiest, it is also the hardest of all, precisely because it is difficult for hum. beings to subjugate themselves . . . hence the forgiveness of sins. You are not commanded to do this or that, you are not given a way to work off your guilt; but you must believe that there is a forgiveness of sins

It is impossible, you say, you who in your wisdom have already dispensed with Xnty; it is impossible because it is incomprehensible . . . . . it is impossible, you say, you who so wish it were true, you who still look continually to Xnty, because you feel that it must come from there, if it is ever to come at all . . . . It is impossible you say, you who nevertheless felt that it is real, you whose repentance

was transfigured into quiet sorrow; it is impossible, you say, and in so doing you express your inexpressible gratitude to God, who by his incomprehensible grace and mercy has in Xt reconciled himself to the world.—

Good Works

26 Surely we all remember a time when we wanted to please and, if possible, surprise a father or mother or someone else dear to us with a gift; and when we came with it, half shy because of its modesty, with countenance averted (this is how good deeds ought to be—bashful …), we did not then stand with our account book open and say: I am giving this to you, and in return I demand that of you .... the left hand ought not to know what the right hand is doing, [it ought to be] free of all self-consciousness. As children, we often brought our parents the gifts which they themselves had given us, and this is how it always is with God.

27 … What was the use of shutting your eyes so the splendors of the earth no longer delighted you, what was the use of closing your ears so the vanity of the world could not enter, what was the use of having a cold and calm heart, no longer affected by worldly achievements, what was the use of it if your eyes were not also opened to heavenly glory, your ears not opened to the ineffable words from above, your heart not moved and full of heavenly courage.?

28 O Lord, our God, teach us to pray rightly, so that our souls may open themselves to you; so that they do not hide a secret wish which they know you will not fulfill, nor that we harbor a clandestine, hidden fear that you would deny us something that could promote our peace and salvation; so that we may seek our peace and find it in the only place it is to be found, in humble gratitude to you; for only when we have learned

always to thank you, only then have we overcome the world.

29 . . and of course Xt does not always *sit* at the right hand of the Father, but, when dangers threaten, he *rises* up and he stands erect, just as Stephen saw him standing at the right hand of the Father.

30 on the Gosp. reading concerning Nicodemus.

*On **wanting** to have experience.*

this is what the younger person aspires to, what the elder person is proud of.

. . .

This hour of devotion, too, will soon pass; perhaps it will come to have significance for you, and you will remember it often; perhaps it will disappear without a trace, and in a short time you will try in vain to recollect it—I do not know; who knows the workings of the 141 Spirit, which moves like the wind, and no one knows whence it comes or where it goes; but this I do know: if your presence in the house of the Lord, your devotion in his Temple, is not, as it were, the fullest unfolding and flowering of quiet private devotion which daily strengthens you for your work, makes holy your joy, and ennobles your sorrow—

31 . . . . And when temptations draw near, we will not avoid them, because we know that they are not overcome in this way, but on the contrary return strengthened; we will not sink into a listless slumber, of which it would be more proper to say that things happen to us than that we act, in order that even if we withstand temptation, we do not become ashamed like those who must confess that it was not by their own strength

[a]that we do not doze off and dream ourselves away from temptation; for such an avoidance of temptation, without our participation, provides no security in the face of new struggles, no battle-won, renewed, and confirmed trust in God.

that they did not fall, but that it was fate.[a] We say this not because we want to harbor the vain thought that we saved ourselves by our own strength—for we know that we are capable of nothing without God—but because we place our joy and our salvation in knowing that *with* God we are capable of everything.

Our communion with Xt **32**

a Homily.

on Romans: "neither angels, nor devils, . . .["]

Angels (Gal 1:8[)].
Devils (Eph)
Things present
Things to come
Height
Depth.

. . . . Paul mentioned everything, though there is one thing he did not mention, but he was of course an Apostle of the Lord. We will name it: nor *we* ourselves. This is yet another enemy.

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The Congregation as the Bride of Xt **33**

on the Gospel story of the king who held his son's wedding feast.

. . . . If we imagine the blessed moment when, after the many separations, the many trials, those who love each other are finally united.

We have no choice but to use images; why not the best?

He learned from what he suffered **34**

This is said of Xt himself—and yet if anyone should have been exempted from it, it was surely he who knew all things.

this method is that of *Inwardness*

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1 1842.

May.

I find a perfect example of the *Romantic* in the Old Testament, in the book of Judith, chap. 10, v. 11:

> "Judith went out, she and her handmaid with her; and the men of the city looked after her, until she was gone down the mountain, until she had passed through the valley, and they could see her no more. And they went straight onward through the valley."

---

2 Wherein lies the comic in the following incident[?] A Ladegaard inmate approached me out on the Esplanade today and handed me a letter, which he asked me to read. It began like this: I throw myself most humbly on my knees before you, etc.—Involuntarily I glanced over the sheet to see if he was doing it, but he wasn't. Would it have been more comical if he had? Does the comic lie in this contrast between a manner of speaking and reality?

---

3 It could be a theme for a tragedy to allow the hero to have accomplished a genuinely great deed, but one involving a collision he would discover only after the fact rather than in the moment of action itself, and the play would begin with *this*. He would become uncertain of whether what he did was defensible, of whether one dare violate the common laws etc. Thus, e.g., have Queen Elizabeth regret having had the strength of mind to allow Essex to be executed, having not followed the decision of the heart but the dictates of the political situation. Or have Brutus regret having let his son be executed.

146

4 A Spanish song (Lessing vol. 17 p. 281)

Gestern liebt ich,
Heute leid' ich,
Morgen sterb' ich,
Dennoch denk' ich,
Heut' und morgen,
Gern an gestern.

30 Gestern liebt ich, … gestern.] *German,* Yesterday I loved, Today I suffer, Tomorrow I'll die; Yet today or tomorrow, I would rather think of yesterday.

There was a woman today who said about the absence of rain, our Lord surely knows when it serves best, so with God's help it will surely come. **5**

It is always a matter, though, of not letting oneself be put off by the external. Thus if people, in order to refute the proposition that there is some moral absolute, have pointed to the contradictions in accepted practice, have come with such revolting examples as savages putting their parents to death, then they have become fixated on the external. If one could show that the savages claim one is to hate one's parents, that would be another matter. But that's not what they think; they think one should love them and the mistake is just the way they express themselves, but certainly it's clear that they don't mean to harm their parents but to do them good. **6**

"Schreibe" sprach jene Stimme und der Prophet antwortete "für wen?"—Die Stimme sprach: für die Todten, für die, die Du in der Vorwelt lieb hast."—"Werden sie mich lesen."—"Ja, denn sie kommen zurück als Nachwelt."

See Herder, *zur Litteratur und Kunst*, vol. 16, p. 114. **7**

147

So long as one has unfinished business with someone, one will not be happy. Ilithyía was the goddess who came to assist women in labor. When she sat with hands folded, the woman in labor was unable to give birth. Similarly, when another pers. folds his hands, one cannot be happy. It might be a supplicant whom one has refused something.— **8**

1 [a]See also the same volume, pp. 8, 9, 10, concerning a poem by Bishop Synesius that is worth reading.

20 "Schreibe" . . . als Nachwelt."] *German,* "Write," said that voice and the prophet answered, "for whom?"—The voice said: for the dead, for those whom you have loved in times gone."—"Will they read me."—"Yes, for they return as the world to come."

9 Contradiction is really the category of the comic.

10 The more developed a body organically, the more dreadful the decay. When grass rots there is a fragrance. When an animal rots it stinks. A man's perdition is dreadful, even more dreadful than a woman's. Is this proof of man's superiority over woman?

11 I could indeed conclude my Antigone by letting her be a man. In that case he would have forsaken the beloved because he could not keep her along with his own agony. To put matters right he would have to turn all his love into a deception toward her, for otherwise she would have been quite unjustifiably party to his suffering. This indignity would occasion the family's wrath; a brother for example, would come forward as avenger. I would then have my hero fall in a duel.

20 Nov. 42.

12 *Plot*. Someone publishes a novella. To divert attention from the historical features in it, he uses fictitious names. Fortune has it that he uses the name of an actual girl, whom many of the small traits fit. The girl in 148 the story is portrayed in an unfavorable light. The actual girl is disgraced. The author can only save himself by admitting the truth. But he cannot. Collision.

20 Nov. 42.

13 "Inter accidentia sola , non autem inter formas substantiales individuorum ejusdem speciei, plus et minus reperitur."

Cf. Cartesius, de methodo p. 1.

[a] Aeschylus's life could be the occasion for such a tragedy, since he unwittingly reveals the mysteries.

Cf. Arist. *Ethics* 3, 2.

29 Inter accidentia sola … plus et minus reperitur] *Latin,* There are differences of degree only between the accidents, and not between the forms (or natures).

#

Descartes has largely laid down his system in the first 6 meditationes. So it is not always necessary to write systems. I will publish "Philosophical Deliberations["] in pamphlets, and I can come out with my interim provisional reflections in these. It might not be such a bad idea to write in Latin. **14**

#

Solon's proposition that no one, as long as he lives, dares count himself happy, contains a profound sorrow over life; for really it says no one is happy until the moment he has been so, and then in a way he is unhappy, because he knows his happiness as something bygone. **15**

#

To what extent does the anc. saying: opposita juxta se posita magis illucescunt have speculative validity in relation to the whole structure of human life; to what extent is it merely an aesthetic-practical rule[?] If it has speculative validity, then the double nature of life is established. **16**

#

Which view contains the profoundest grasp of life: that opposition unites people or that unity and likeness do? Heraclitus taught that only things standing opposed to one another are mutually useful, Empedocles that everything is attracted only by the like. **17** 149

Cf. Arist. *Ethics* 8, 2.

#

It has happened in the world of the sciences as in that of business: exchange first took place in natura, later money was invented. Now in science all transactions occur with paper money, which no one bothers with except—professors. **18**

#

No orthodoxy has ever indulged as extravagantly in idolatry as was done in the imperial period with the image of the emperor: a **19**

14 opposita juxta se posita magis illucescunt] *Latin,* opposites become clearer when juxtaposed **27** in natura] *Latin,* in kind

man was convicted of high treason for striking his slave who had a silver drachma stamped with the emperor's image. (See Philostratus, *Leben des Apollonius v. Tyana*, p. 185. Annotation cited by Suetonius, *vita Tiberii*, 58.).

#

20 It would be a really apt motif for a tragedy if modernized a little, that story told in Aristotle's *Politics*, 5, 4, about the origin of political disturbances in Delphi arising from a matter of marriage. The bridegroom, for whom the auguries prophesy a misfortune that would arise from his marriage, suddenly changes his plans on coming to fetch the bride. The family, assuming it was being deliberately made to look foolish, is insulted. To avenge itself it has a sacred vessel from the temple put among his household articles, and he is condemned as a temple thief.

#

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21 In Aristotle's *Ethics* book 5, chap. 10, there is a host of examples of how kings have brought revolutions upon themselves. There are often many interesting collisions, a fine banquet for a poet.

#

22 One should be enthusiastic like Dion when, with few companions, he went to war against Dionysius. For him, he said, it was enough that he took part. Were he to die the moment he went ashore, without achieving anything, he would still regard that death as happy and honorable.

Cf. Aristotle's *Politics* 5, 10 (in Garve, p. 468.)

#

23 There are 2 things, says Leibnitz at the very beginning of the *Theodicy*, that have especially caused difficulties for hum. beings: the relationship betw. freedom and necty. and the coherence of matter and its particular parts. The first problem has engaged *all hum. beings*; the latter the philosophers.

#

[a]and p. 518, § 55, le sophisme paresseux (λογος αργος) sophisma pigrum.

It's excellent what Leibniz says about idle reason: "la raison paresseuse[.]" Cf. Erdmann's edition p. 470, second column.—Chrysippus has also used it, cf. Tennemann, *Ges. d. Ph.* vol. 4, p. 300. **24**

⁜

It is a psychological curiosity. Vindex raised a revolt under Nero. What embittered Nero most was that he had said that Nero was "anything but a lute player and more of a lute player than a king." What offended him was that Vindex thought him a bad lute player. **25**

Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 5, 10. p. 151 430 in translation

In the note Dio Cassius LXIII, 22–24, is cited.

Sueton. *Vit. Ner.*, 41.

⁜

The general of the Augustinian order, Gregorius Rimini, accepted the damnation of children and therefore received the nickname tortor infantum, cf. Leibnitz, *Theodicee* 1, § 92. **26**

⁜

A Jesuit, Johan Davidius, has written a book, *Veridicus Christianus*, which is a kind of bibliomancy in which one can open a page at random and be gripped by the sudden and thereby become a Xstn **27**

Cf. Leibnitz, *Theodic.* 1, 101.

⁜

A satirical publication came out against the Gomarists: fur praedestinatus. Cf. Leibniz, *Theodic.* § 167. **28**

⁜

What sort of novel could it be that Leibniz mentions in his Theodicee, § 173, under the title: *Mademoiselle de* **29**

1 le sophisme . . . pigrum] *French, Greek, Latin,* the idle sophism (i.e., the fallacious argument)

Scudéry? It is also the title of Hoffmann's well-known story.

#

30 Augustus seems to have died very content; in the hour of his death he recited a Greek verse which means: plaudite; Suetonius quotes it:

Δοτε κροτον, και παντες υμεις μετα χαρας κτυπησατε.

Cf. Leibniz, *Theod*. § 261.

#

152

31 It's a piece of real comic conceit, that extension by Apollonius of Tyana of the saying "Know thyself." This was considered difficult and the highest thing—but he was not content with that; he says about Pythagoras what he would also like to apply to himself, that he not only knew who he was, but also who he had been. In a curiously comical way this takes away the profundity of the former principle. Similarly in our time with many philosophers: they want to say something more, and in doing so they make everything ludicrous, even though there will always be enough of those who see an immense wisdom in it.

#

32 Someone who has one thought, but an infinite one, can be borne along by it through his entire life, lightly and on wings, just as the Hyperborean Abaris who, borne by an arrow, traversed the whole world.

Herodotus, IV, 36

#

33 Cantantur hæc, laudantur hæc,
Dicuntur, audiuntur.
Scribuntur hæc, leguntur hæc
Et lecta negliguntur.

[a] cf. Book 6, 11, p. 500.

[b] A similar piece of foppish conceit comes from one of Heraclitus's disciples. Heraclitus had said, You cannot cross the same river twice. A disciple wanted to better that and said, You cannot do it even once. The nerve is thereby removed; the principle, so far as anything became of it at all, turned into the opposite, an Eleatic principle, and denies movement.

6 plaudite] *Latin,* applaud **7** Δοτε . . . κτυπησατε] *Greek,* Give me proper acclaim and all of you shall clap with joy **30** Cantantur hæc, laudantur hæc, . . . negliguntur.] *Latin,* We sing of this and praise it/ We tell and hear about it/ We write of it and read it . . . / And then we do without it.

#

Situation **34**

One pers. receives a letter from another. Just by seeing the letterhead he straightaway guesses the content, which is utterly decisive for his whole life. He doesn't take time to read the letter, rushes off to the other. The latter assumes he has read the letter, and since what it in fact concerned was what the former had suspected, the latter is strengthened in his misapprehension. It surprises him that no attention is paid to its content; he must assume that this is a kind of obstinacy. It still lies in his power to present the matter in another light, one which changes everything and their relationship. That works. Much later the first comes to read the letter and sees 153 how in his haste he did everything wrong and the other an injustice. (this guilt is a tragic guilt. Queen Elizabeth in the well-known situation with the ring has no guilt; the guilt lies with another, which is the imperfection). (The haste could be motivated by something having to be done that instant because time was short, and so the former pers. in his hurry focused attention exclusively on acting, which was forgivable, so much the more because he well knew that he must know the general situation.)

#

If one regards faith merely as knowledge of historical things, one **35** comes logically and straightforwardly to the ludicrousness of, e.g., thinking that whether the earth is flat or round is a matter of faith. In *Erasmus Montanus* Hieronymus therefore says quite properly that Erasmus has erroneous ideas in faith, and cites this one: that he believes the earth is round.

#

In King's *de origine mundi*, in the 4th section of chapter 5, there are **36** undeniably a good many entries which are quite useful from an ethical point of view.

#

Leibniz tells of a Baron André Taifel, who had a satyr and the following inscription in Spanish on his coat of arms: mas perdido y **37** menos arrepentido plus perdu et moins repentant, and how later a

34 mas perdido y menos arrepentido] *Spanish,* the more (I am) lost, the less I am repentant. **35** plus perdu et moins repentant] *French,* the more (I am) lost, the less I am repentant.

Count Villamedina, who was in love with the queen, used the same motto to indicate a hopeless passion one will not give up
cf. Erdmann's edition of Leibniz, p. 652, column 2.

154

38 It could be a small epigram on the relationship betw. paganism and Xnty, those words found in Philostratus the Elder's *Stories of Heroes* (in translation, p. 20): on wild trees the flowers are fragrant; on cultivated trees, the fruit.

#

39 When Amor left Psyche he said to her: You will be mother to a child who shall be a divine child if you are silent, a mere hum. if you betray the secret.—Every hum. being who knows how to keep silent becomes a divine child, for in silence lies a concentration upon one's divine origin; he who speaks remains a hum. being.—How many know how to keep silent—how many understand what it means to be silent

#

40 "What I predict will either happen or it will not happen; for Apollo granted me the gift of prophecy."

Tiresias.

(I believe these words are to be found somewhere in Leibnitz's *Theodicy*, quoted from Bayle.)

#

41 παντως γαρ ουδεις Ερωτα εφυγεν η φευξεται μεχρι αν καλλος η και οφθαλμοι βλεπωσιν.—
cf. the last words of the preface to Longi Pastoralia.—

#

42 Abelard was superbly suited to dramatic treatment. In Bossuet's *Geschichte*, vol. 6 pp. 315 ff. I have underlined several intimations concerning his life. The situations would be extremely interesting; Heloise has not just fallen in love with Abelard but been philosophically infatuated with him, proud of his renown, envious of his philosophical distinction.

23 παντως . . . βλεπωσιν] *Greek,* For there never yet was one who has not felt of that passion first or last; nor will there be any whilst there is beauty in the world, and there are eyes to see it, and hearts to feel it. *(see explanatory note)*

155

#

Where is the comedy in these words of Erasmus Rotterodamus **43**
neque enim sum nescia (that is stultitia introduced in speech) quam male audiat stultitia etiam apud stultissimos.
cf *Stultitiæ Laus* p. 1.

#

The more elevated a pers. is over someone he loves, the more **44**
(humnly. speaking) he feels tempted to draw him up to himself; but (divinely speaking) the more he will feel moved to climb down to him. This is love's dialectic. Strange that one has not seen it in Xnty but talked constantly of Christ's becoming hum. as a compassion or as a necessity.

#

Should I ever be charged with something, I would immediately **45**
enter a petition to His Majesty to be granted the favor of promptly being sentenced to the (relative to the case) severest penalty, even if it meant being executed, and that it be carried out straightaway. I would request this for the following reasons: (1) because the trial costs money, (2) costs time, and I haven't time to wait for people to decide what is just, which is in any case a matter of indifference to me if I can only get the thing done with, (3) because all the talk about justice is just chat, and one can as well have oneself executed without due process as by the verdict of 3 courts.

#

156

The more significant an individual person is, the lighter he will **46**
find actuality, and the heavier possibility. This is the expression of an ethical view. Viewed aesthetically (i.e., in relation to enjoyment), he will find possibility more intensive than actuality.

#

Quod vero (perdix) supervolante masculo, vel audita solum voce **47**
ejus, vel etiam solo halitu oris concepto concipiat, Aristoteles refert.
Hieronymi Cardani *de rerum varietate* p. 375.

3 neque . . . stultissimos] *Latin,* I'm quite well aware that Folly is in poor repute even among the greatest fools. *(see explanatory note)* **30** Quod . . . refert.] *Latin,* Aristotle writes that the partridge conceives immediately when the cock flies over her, or she hears his song, or just inhales his breath.

48 Philosophical terminology and employment of the same degenerate to the plain ridiculous. I'd like to know what someone would say if, re. an earthquake, I followed the anc. terminology.

"Inter terræ miracula est motus ejus, de quo alias dictum est. Quatuor ejus differentiæ, ab effectu. *Chasmatichus, Brasmatichus, Clitimachus, Micematichus.*"

Everyone will easily understand the difference but not the terminology.

cf. Hieronymus Cardanus *de varietate rerum* p. 57.

#

49 It is interesting that the Pythagoreans took it that εν is both περιττον and αρτιον—it's like the Being that is both Being and Nonbeing, i.e., movement.

#

50 Hamann vol. 8. p. 307 bottom of page:

It is really a most interesting story that Lucian is said to relate about Demonax. Not only anyone who disclosed the Eleusinian mysteries but also anyone who refused to let himself be initiated into them was punished. The latter was the case with Demonax. The Athe-
157 nians, who even before they heard his defense had prepared themselves to stone him, were nevertheless moved when they heard his explanation, that he could not allow himself to be initiated into them because he could not fulfill the condition, that

[a]It is in Lucian in vol. 2.

51 It pleases me to see that Trendlenburg

52 What constitutes true madness

53 I'm afraid only a few may see the view implied in having *Either/Or* end with the saying, Only the truth that edifies is the truth for you. There has been a considerable disagreement in Greek philosophy about the criterion of truth (cf. e.g. Tennemann *Gesch. d. Philos.*, V, C. p. 301); it would be most interesting to pursue this matter further; yet I very much doubt that a more concrete expression is to

4 Inter terræ . . . Chasmatichus, Brasmatichus, Clitimachus, Micematichus.] *Latin,* Among the earth's peculiar phenomena is its quaking, of which we have spoken earlier. According to the consequences of the earthquake, one distinguishes among four different types: the chasmatic, brasmatic, clitimachic, and mikematic. **11** εν . . . περιττον . . . αρτιον] *Greek,* one . . . odd . . . even

be found. People probably think those words appear in *Either/Or* as a manner of speaking, that another might have been used. After all, they are not even italicized—Good God! Presumably then one mustn't attach too much weight to them.

My Judgment on Either/Or. **54**

There was a young man, happily gifted as an Alcibiades. He lost his way in the world. In his need he looked about for a Socrates but among his contemporaries found none. He then begged the gods to transform him himself into one. But look! He who had been so proud of being an Alcibiades became so humbled and mortified by the grace of the gods that when he had received just what could make him proud, he felt humbler than all.

158

That's what I wish to see in a pers., what the Stoic uses in a bad sense: ευκαταφορια εις παθος (cf. Tennemann, *Ges. d. Ph.* vol. 4, p. 129. n.). **55**

#

Even if I've proved nothing else by writing *Either/Or*, at least I've proved that in Danish literature one can write a work, that one can toil without requiring the warm poultice of sympathy, without requiring the incentives of expectation, that one can work against the current, that one can toil hard without seeming to, that one collects oneself in private, while practically every poor wretch of a student has the nerve to look upon him as an idler. Even if the book itself were devoid of meaning, its coming into being is still the pithiest epigram I have written over a prattling philosophic age. **56**

#

It is said that experience makes a pers. wise. That is a very unreasonable thing to say. If there were nothing greater still than experience, experience would make him mad. **57**

#

16 ευκαταφορια εις παθος] *Greek,* tendency to passion

58 Xst's appearance is and remains a paradox. To his contemporaries it lay in the fact that this definite particular pers., who looked like other people, spoke like them, and observed normal customs and practices, was the son of God. To every subsequent age the paradox is something else; not seeing him with the physical eye, it is easier for it to represent him as God's son, but now the shocking thing is that he spoke in the terms of a particular age's way of thinking. Yet not to have done so would have been to do his contemporaries a great injustice, for then their era would have been the only one to have had a paradox to be scandalized by.—At least in my view, his contemporaries had the worst paradox, for the sentimental yearning to have been contemporary with Xst, which many talk about, is of no great consequence; to be witness to such a paradox is a most serious matter.

159

#

59 There is a wonderful poem by Evald, "Warning against Suicide." One verse in particular:

Do the ocean waves obliterate?
Does poison corrode the stamp of God?
Can the dagger kill thoughts?

cf. 1st vol., p. 299.

#

60 Consciousness presupposes itself, and to ask about its origin is an idle question that is just as captious as that anc.: What came first, the tree or the seed? If there were no seed, where did the first tree come from? If there were no tree, where did the first seed come from?

#

61 It is quite odd that, in *Machbet*, Schakspeare has us learn of Lady M's nagging conscience in a sleepwalking scene. I think the effect would have been even greater if he had permitted her to learn for herself that she walked in her sleep and then she would never dare entrust herself to sleep out of fear that she would give herself away: In a nocturnal hour like this, when she had distanced everything from herself, when she could wish the whole world a sound and undisturbed sleep, merely so that she might dare to allow her-

self a nap—in this nocturnal anxiety, where she would only doze and each instant awaken, her agony would manifest itself terribly.

#

True brooding over an idea ought to be concealed from every profane science and from outside interference—thus a bird will not brood its egg if someone has touched it. **62**

#

The development of life is a curious retrogression; the child racks its brains to understand the most difficult things; the older person cannot understand the very simplest things. **63**

#

When I was very young I could not understand how a person went about writing a book. Now I understand this very well; on the other hand, I cannot conceive why anyone would bother doing so. **64**

#

What principally concerned ancient philosophy, the most ancient philosophy in Greece, was the question of *the movement* by which the world came into being, the constitutive relationship of the elements to one another.—What especially concerns the most recent philosophy is movement, i.e., logical movement. It would not be without significance to draw a parallel between these two spheres. Modern philosophy has never given an account of movement. Thus in the table of categories—which is so detailed in other respects—there is no category called mediation, which for modern phil. is nonetheless the most essential of all; indeed, it is truly the nerve of modern philosophy, that with which it wants to differentiate itself from every previous philosophy. **65**

#

66 Pythagoras said that the wisest man was the one who gave things their names and who had invented numbers.

cf. Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 101.

161

#

67 All infinite knowledge is negative ("always to be in the wrong" is also an infinite relation), and yet the negative is higher than the positive.[1] Thus Pythagoras also taught that the even number was imperfect, the odd perfect.

#

[1]thus the Pythagoreans also viewed the finite as superior to and more perfect than the infinite.
cf. Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 115.

68 One can only say that the principle of unity has sublated the principle of contradiction in the same sense that Pythagoras taught that one was not a number. One precedes differentiation, and numbers only begin with differentiation. Unity precedes contradiction, and existence only begins with contradiction.

#

69 Heraclitus withdrew from daily concerns, wrote his famous work, deposited it in the temple of Diana as a treasure that was only to be made available to the initiated.

#

70 One of the 7 sages has said that it was strange that on the running track, those who were experts in the art

[a]As the Pythagoreans in general did not view the perfect as that from which something arises, but as that which arises from something.
cf. Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 119.

[a]or in the same sense that Zeno the Eleatic said: μηδεν των οντων εστι το ἓν cf. Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 202 and note.

7 μηδεν των οντων εστι το ἓν] *Greek,* the one is not among the things that are

competed for the prize, while those inexperienced in the art were judges.

#

It is frightful when, right from childhood, a person's consciousness has acquired a burden that all of the soul's elasticity and all of freedom's energy cannot lift. Sorrow in life can certainly oppress consciousness, but if the sorrow begins only at a more mature age, it does not have the time to become part of one's nature. It becomes a historical element, not something that extends beyond consciousness itself, as it were. A person who has been subjected to such a burden from childhood on is like a child who was taken from the womb with forceps and who always has a memory of the mother's pain. This sort of burden cannot be lifted, but one need not despair over it, because it can be borne in humility. Undeniably, this is one of the most difficult tasks, because it is so difficult to fit it into the category of guilt. There was a time when, afraid of becoming proud of my sufferings, I entertained the notion that all hum. beings basically suffered equally. But this is basically a sort of Stoicism which in its abstractness abolishes the more concrete notion of Providence. In his *Explanation* Pontoppidan says that individual hum. beings are tested by unusual sufferings, but that this will one day be to the benefit of their souls. This is much more beautiful. **71** 162

#

When a person maintains that what I am saying is the same as what all the others say, I have no objection—if it is understood in the same sense as when Leucippus said that a tragedy and a comedy consist of the same alphabet letters, except that the sequence is different. **72**

cf. Tennemann, *Gesch. d. Ph.*, 1st vol., p. 264 bottom of page

#

That the son of God became a hum. being is certainly the highest metaphysical and religious paradox, but it is still not the most profound ethical paradox. The appearance of Xst contained a polemic against existence. He became a hum. being like all others, but he was in a polemical relation to the concrete, ethical elements of actuality. He walked about and taught people, possessed nothing, had **73**

no place to lay his head. Now, it is certainly inspiring to see the faith and the confidence in Providence which makes a hum. being as carefree as the bird of the air and the flower of the field, but to what
163 extent is this the ethical expression of a hum. life. Must not a hum.
5 being work in order to live; do I dare not worry about the morrow in this fashion[?] Here we encounter the most difficult problems. Xst's life had a negatively polemical relation to church and state. The highest ethical paradox would be if God's son entered into the whole of actuality, became a part of it, submitted to all of its pet-
10 tiness; for if I have the courage, confidence, and faith to die of hunger, this may be admirable—and in every generation there are perhaps not 10 who have it—yet we do in fact teach and proclaim that it would be even greater to subordinate oneself

God help the poor head that concerns itself with this sort of doubt,
15 the unhappy person who has enough passion to think, the silent letter who cannot do anything for other people except to remain silent with his suffering and if possible smile, so that no one will notice it.

#

74 If someone wants to call my little bit of wisdom sophistry, I must nonetheless point out that it lacks one characteristic it ought to have according to both Plato's and Aristotle's definitions: that one earns money by it.

cf. Tennemann, *Ges. d. Ph.*, 1st vol., p. 355., note 6.

25

#

75 I will say to myself what Socrates says to Theaetetus:

Ωδινεις γαϱ, ω φιλε Θεαιτητε, δια το μη κενος αλλ' εγκυμων ειναι.

cf. Ast, vol. 2, p. 22.

#

76 *Plot*.

In his early youth, while in an unbalanced state, a person once
164 permitted himself to get carried away and visit a prostitute. The whole affair is forgotten. Now he wants to marry. Then the anxiety awakens. He is tortured day and night by the possibility that he
35 might be a father—that somewhere in the world there could live a creature who owed its life to him. He cannot tell anyone else about

27 Ωδινεις γαϱ. . . ειναι.] *Greek,* That [the fact that Theaetetus cannot stop speculating] is because your mind is not empty or barren. You are suffering the pains of travail.

it, he himself is not really certain about the facts.—It must therefore have taken place with a prostitute in the wantonness of youth; if it had involved a bit of infatuation or an actual seduction, it would be inconceivable that he could be ignorant of it. But now this very ignorance constitutes the disquiet in his sufferings. On the other hand, precisely because of the folly of the whole business, these misgivings can only begin to develop after he actually falls in love.

#

It is better to give than to receive, but sometimes there can be more humility in being willing to receive than in being willing to give. Perhaps there was a person who was willing to give away everything out of love, but who would not receive anything. **77**

#

. . . a kiss that was something more than a little taste. **78**

#

Plot. **79**

A hum. being who has long concealed a secret goes insane. Here one would think that his secret might be revealed, but despite his madness his soul retains its concealment, and those around him become even more convinced that the false story with which he has deceived them is the truth. He is cured of his madness and is informed about the entire situation; he thus realizes that he has revealed nothing. Would this be fortunate for him or would it not? Perhaps he might have wished to have got rid of his secret during his madness. It is as though fate has compelled him to remain in his secret and will not let him escape from it. Or, wasn't it fortunate, wasn't it a kindly spirit, who helped him to preserve his secret?

#

80 Un sot trouve toujours un plus sot, qui l'admire
Boileau.

#

81 When I am not reus voti, nothing works for me. That was how I got my theology degree, that was how I wrote my dissertation, that was how I wrote the whole of *Either/Or*, from beginning to end, in 11 months. If anyone knew the real reasons behind it, ... Good Lord, people think that such a big book must certainly have a very profound basis ... and yet it is entirely concerned with my private life. And the intention—indeed, if people knew what it was, I would be declared stark, raving mad. People might perhaps forgive me if I had viewed it as an interesting work. But that I viewed it as a good deed—that this was what I found most appealing about the entire matter...

#

82 Where, after all, is the boundary between worldly wisdom and religiosity? Mynster's sermons are far from being always purely religious. He also gives consolation by saying that things may perhaps take a turn for the better, that happier days are coming, etc., which, however, is not really genuine religious consolation. People shrink from launching out into the current, they try to wade for as long as possible. As long as this is not definitely decided, there will always be a doubt about the importance of actuality to one's entire train of thought.

#

83 The point on which the skeptics should really get caught is the ethical. Ever since Descartes, all of them 166 have believed that during the time they were doubting, they dared not say anything definite with respect to knowledge. But on the other hand, they dared to act because with respect to action they could be satisfied with the probable. What an enormous contradic-

1 Un sot ... qui l'admire] *French,* A fool always finds a greater fool to admire him

tion! As if it were not far more frightful to do something about which one had doubts (for in doing so one assumes responsibility) than to postulate something. Or was it because the ethical in itself was certain? In that case there was something, then, which doubt had been unable to reach!

#

[a]The paradox of my life rests upon this point: With respect to God I am always in the wrong, but is this a crime against hum. beings?

Xst concealed something from his disciples because they could not bear it. This was loving of him, but was it ethical? One of the most difficult ethical doubts arises when I can shield another hum. being from pain by not speaking of something. Do I have the right to do this, or do I not infringe upon his hum. existence? **84**

#

The woman who was worshiped as "the goddess of Reason" during the French Revolution could provide useful material for a drama. As is well known, she later died in a hospital in the most wretched circumstances. **85**

#

Theodorus Atheos said that he offered his teachings with his right hand, but his listeners received them with their left hands. **86**

cf. Tennemann, *Ges. d. Ph.*, 2nd vol., p. 124, note 39.

#

Plot. **87**

Let us suppose—something unreported in both the Old Testament and the Koran—that Isaac knew that the purpose of the journey he was to take with his father to Mount Moriah was that he was to be sacrificed. Now if there was a poet among my contemporaries, he would be able to recount what these two men said to one another on the way.[a] I imagine that Abraham first looked upon him with all his fatherly love; his venerable countenance and his broken heart made his speech 167

[a] One could also portray Abraham's previous life as not having been devoid of guilt, and then let him rumi-

more urgent; he exhorted Isaac to bear his fate with patience; he let him obscurely understand that as a father he was suffering even more because of it.—But it did not help. Then I imagine that Abraham turned away from him for a moment, and when he turned back again, he was unrecognizable to him. His eyes were wild. His countenance was chilling. The venerable locks of his hair bristled like furies above his head. He seized Isaac by the breast. He drew the knife. He said: "You thought it was for the sake of God that I was going to do this. You were wrong. I am an idolater. This desire has again awakened in my soul. I want to murder you. It is my desire. I am worse than any cannibal. Despair, you foolish boy, who imagined that I was your father. I am your murderer, and this is my desire." And Isaac fell to his knees and cried out to Heaven: Merciful God, have mercy upon me. But then Abraham said to himself quite softly, "This is how it must be, for it is better, after all, that he believes that I am a monster, that he curses me and the fact that I was his father, and yet still prays to God—than that he should know that it was God who imposed the test. For then he would lose his mind and perhaps curse God."

—But where, after all, is the contemporary poet who has a sense for such collisions? And yet Abraham's conduct was truly poetic, magnanimous, more magnanimous than everything I have read of in tragedies.—When the child is to be weaned, the mother blackens her breast, but her eye looks upon the child just as lovingly. The child believes that it is the breast that has changed, but the mother is unchanged. And this is why she blackens the breast, because she says that it would be a shame for it to look so inviting when the child must not have it.—This collision is easily resolved, because the breast is only a part of the mother herself. Fortunate the person who did not experience more terrible collisions; who did not need to blacken *himself*; who did not need to travel to Hell in order to learn what the Devil looks like—so that he could depict himself like that and thus, if possible, save another human being, at least in his or her relation to God. This would be Abraham's collision.

168

nate quietly upon the thought that this was God's punishment, perhaps even let him have the melancholic thought that he must assist God by making the punishment as severe as possible.

—The person who explains this mystery has explained my life. But who among my contemporaries has understood this?

#

This was in today's *Adresseavisen*: "Because of a change in plans, ten and one-half yards of heavy black silk fabric is for sale." God knows what the original plans were. It would be a good rejoinder if you let a girl, who had been deceived during the crucial days prior to a wedding, place an advertisement to the effect that ten and one-half yards of heavy black silk fabric etc., that had been intended for a bridal gown. **88**

#

The circumstances of my love are quite unusual. The general tactic employed by theol. graduates is to begin as tutors, indeed, something like spiritual advisers to their chosen ones, and end by becoming lovers and husbands. I began by being a lover and am ending by being a spiritual adviser. However, if worse comes to worst, my behavior is nevertheless much better: I have not degraded the holy in the service of my love; I myself submit to the religious just as much I as seek to have another do so **89**

#

The edifying is the only thing that truly unites jest and earnestness. Thus it is a jest, more priceless than the entire world, that God in heaven is the only great being whom one can address as "thou" without further ado, even if one is very small, but this jest is also profoundly earnest precisely because every hum. being does it. On the other hand, it is a very imperfect, shabby hum. jest when a favored individual uses the intimate "thou" in addressing earthly majesty, and therefore this jest is devoid of earnestness. **90** 169

#

There is a place out here in Grib's Forest called the Nook of the Eight Paths. That name pleases me very much. **91**

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92 The more a person is able to forget, the more metamorphoses his life can have; the more he is able to remember, the more divine his life becomes.

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93 Quite strange, really. I had decided to change that little preface to the "Two Sermons," since it occurred to me that it harbored a certain hidden spiritual eroticism, and because I find it so exceedingly hard to give in so peaceably that the polemical contrast isn't clearly present. I rush up to the printer's. What happens? The typesetter begs me to keep the preface. Although I laughed a little at him, to myself I was thinking: Well let *him* be the "single individual"! It was my delight at this that first made me decide to have only 2 copies printed and to present one of them to the compositor. It was really wonderful to see his emotion. A typesetter—who you would have thought must be just as tired of a manuscript as an author!

* *

94 If at any time after my death

95 After my death no one will find in my papers (this is my consolation) the least information about what has *really* filled my life, find *that* script in my innermost being that explains everything, and which often, for me, makes what the world would call trifles into events of immense importance, and which I too consider of no significance once I take away the secret note that explains it.

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96 This is how one saves the religious in *our time*. One repays actuality with humor (for finitude after all is sin but not what one should grieve over) and can in this way preserve its health. One does not enter the monastery but becomes a fool in the world. One is reminded of Christ's words: When you fast (what else does this mean but: When you grieve, for the fast was only the outward sign of sorrow), put oil on your head and wash your face, so that your fasting may not be seen by others. In these words all the stuff and nonsense about community and living for the congregational idea is

repealed. The first thing the religious does is close its door and speak in secret.

Inwardness is, overall, far more incommensurable with outwardness, and no person, even the most open-hearted, manages to say everything and justify all antitheses.

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97 My destiny seems to be to discourse upon truth, to the extent I discover it, in such a way that I simultaneously annihilate all possible authority. By becoming a minor, in the highest degree becoming untrustworthy in people's eyes, I speak the truth and thus place them in the contradiction from which they can be rescued only by appropriating the truth themselves. Only *that* personality who can appropriate truth and make it his own is matured, no matter whether it is Balaam's ass talking, or a guffawing grouch, or an apostle and an angel.

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98 171 Being an author has become little by little the most pitiable thing of all. One must generally present oneself like that gardener's apprentice in the vignette in *Adresseavisen*, hat in hand, bowing and crawling, recommending oneself with good references. How stupid: the one who writes ought to understand what he writes about better than the one who reads; otherwise he shouldn't write.—

Or one must take care to become a smart pettifogger who knows how to thumb his nose at the public.—That I won't, that I won't, that I won't, no, no, to h— with it all. I write as *I* want and that settles it; the others can do as they want, refrain from buying, reading, reviewing, etc.—

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99 It is so strange how strictly, in a sense, I am being educated. Now and then I am put down in the dark pit where I crawl about in agony and pain, see nothing, no way out. Then suddenly a thought stirs in my mind, a thought so vivid, as though I had never had it before even though it is not unfamiliar to me, but previously I had been wedded to it, so to speak, only with the left hand and now I am wedded to it with the right. When it has then taken hold in me I am pampered a bit, I am taken by the arms, and then I, who had been

shriveled up like a grasshopper, grow up again, sound, thriving, happy, warm, and lively as a newborn child. Then it's as though I must give my word that I shall follow this thought to the uttermost; I pledge my life and now I am buckled in the harness. I cannot stop and my powers hold out. Then I finish, and it starts all over again.

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100 When I am in God's disfavor, I am more miserable than a tender calf; when he nods approval to me, I am prouder than the whole world.

172

101 I know very well that just now I am the brightest among the younger generation, but I also know that this can be taken away from me tomorrow—yes, even before I finish this sentence. When another discovers that he is bright, he believes he is taken care of for his lifetime. I do not believe this. Building on the finite in that sense is something I cannot do.

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102 One has to be developed aesthetically enough to be able to grasp the problems of ethics aesthetically. Otherwise to h—l with the ethical. How many can manage that? Daub says somewhere that when a soldier stands alone on guard on a stormy night, with loaded gun by a powder magazine in thunder and lightning, then he has thoughts that others do not have. No doubt possible if he is aesthetically developed enough; no doubt possible if he is aesthetically developed enough not to forget. How many could be told of that ascetic who lived alone and drank only dew and rain, and who only a moment abandoned his solitude, got to taste wine and fell to drinking—how many can be told this without it being more than just a curiosity for them? How many feel the anxiety and trembling that the *ethical* problem comprises?

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103 I sit and listen to the sounds in my inner being, the happy hints of music and the deep earnest of the organ. Working them into a whole is a task not for a composer but for a *human being* who, in the

absence of making heavier demands upon life, confines himself to the simple one of wanting to understand *himself*.—To mediate is no art when one has no elements within one.

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104 It's a merit of *Bournonville*'s portrayal of Mephistopheles, that leap with which he always appears and jumps into a plastic pose. 173 This leap is a moment that should be noted in understanding the demonic. For the demonic is the *sudden*.—

Another side of the demonic is boredom, in the way little *Winsløv* understood so well, whereby it passes into the comic (the way he 10 said: "Patience," like Pipin in *Charlemagne*—cf. his Klister in *The Inseparables*).

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105 In *Petrarch*'s poem "Amor's Triumph" there are many details which could be exploited in erotic respects, but it would be a pity to 15 accuse Petrarch of being a master in this area. For him it is something historical, something external he senses, not the heartthrob of the idea within it, and in observing it he doesn't have the concupiscence of the idea, no sensual thrill of bliss in the moment of conception. 20

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106 It is unbelievable what naïveté is to be found even in an author as cultivated as *Heiberg*, what frivolous nonsense concerning the category of time, what conventional stage talk, e.g., in *The Danes in Paris*, act 1, scene 12. The major briefly relates the story of his life. 25 He ends up by saying that in Copnhag. people will ["]look wide-eyed when they see him, whom they have always been pleased to call a confirmed bachelor, return with a wife and a seventeen-year-old daughter." So he has been married for eighteen years; no one has suspected it. He has had no anxious moment, no suffering, no 30 frightening misgivings, etc.; or he has had them, but none of them have managed to get through to him. It is really a shame for that man that he had become no more than a major, and that just recently. He ought at least to be a lieutenant colonel. My dear major, my dear professor, I would like to know a little about this feat, in- 35 deed I would, and in return I offer you the whole vaudeville as a

174 gift—just a page or two. For the person occupied with what is important doesn't need so many scenes. Even if I were paid 100 rixdollars, even if I were declared a genius, I would not have written such rubbish in earnest.[a] The major talks nonsense (on Heiberg's orders) in all seriousness, quite as if it were Holberg's *Ulysses*, who is also a man for the times.

[a]this is what I call letting the pen go on chattering on the paper.

107 On Easter Sunday at evensong in the Church of Our Lady (during Mynster's sermon) she nodded to me. I do not know whether pleadingly or forgivingly but in any case affectionately. I had taken a seat at a remote spot but she spotted me. Would to God she hadn't. Now a year and a half of suffering are wasted and all the enormous pains I took; she does not believe I was a deceiver, she trusts me. What ordeals now lie ahead of her. The next will be that I am a hypocrite. The higher we go the more dreadful it is. That a pers. of my inwardness, of my religiousness, could behave in such a way! And yet I can now no longer live solely for her, expose myself to people's contempt in order to lose my honor—for that's what I have done. Shall I in sheer madness go ahead and become a villain just to get her to believe it—ah, but what good would that do? She will still think that I wasn't [a villain] earlier.

Every Monday morning betw. 9–10 she has met me. I took no step to bring it about. She knows the way I usually take, I know the way she

in any case I do all I can for her not to suspect that she might bear some of the blame. A young girl should be calm and humble; instead it was she who was proud, I who had to teach her humility by humbling myself. She then failed to take my depression seriously, she thought it was because she was such a matchless girl that I was being so humble. Then she took up the cudgels against me. May God forgive it, she awakened my pride, that is my sin. I left her stranded. She had deserved it, that is my honest opinion, but not what happened later. It was then my depression was awakened, the more she passionately clung to me, the more responsible I felt. It would never have been so difficult had there not been that conflict. Then the bond broke.

108 The second sermon could also be set up differently. It could have begun with the words: If you who are evil know how to give your children good gifts, how much more should not God know how to

[a]Peop. have very little grasp of what the good is. They know what's what about wind and weather (cf. somewhere in the Gospel: when the sky is red then you say it will be stormy[])

Job 28:1–11, v. 12.

do it.[1] It should then begin with doubt as to whether a pers. really knew how to give good gifts. This doubt should be carried through to the most extreme paradox, so that even love (purely hum. love) became a doubtful good gift. Those words of Xst would then prove to be irony rather than as one understands them in general. After that the movement should be made.

[1]Xst will in this way prove God's goodness, and the proof is striking; but he will not prove the first principle.

Berlin, *10* May *1843*. **109**

The day after my arrival I was in a very bad way, on the brink of collapse.

In Stralsund I almost went mad hearing a young girl overhead play the piano, also Weber's last waltz, among other things. The previous time I was in Berlin it was the first piece that greeted me in Thiergarten, played by a blind man on a harp.

It's as if everything were designed just to bring back memories. My pharmacist, who was a confirmed bachelor, has married. He offered several explanations in that connection: one lives only once, one must have someone to whom one can make oneself understood. How much there is in that [thought]; especially when said with absolutely no pretension. Then it hits really hard.

In the Hotel de Saxe I have a room looking out on the water where the boats lie. Heavens, how it reminds me of the past.—In the background I have the church— and when it sounds the hours the chimes go right to 176 the marrow of my bones.

The thought that God is love in the sense that he is always the same is so abstract that it is at bottom a skeptical thought. **110**

111 The *absolute* paradox would be that the Son of God became a human being, came into the world, went around quite unrecognized, became in the strictest sense an *individual* human being who had a trade, got married, etc. (On this point the various observations could be discussed in terms of how Christ's life is planned according to a higher measure than the ethical). In that case God would have been the greatest ironist, not God and Father of humankind. (If my most worthy theological contemporaries had 4 shillings' worth of thoughts in their heads, they would have discovered this a long time ago, perhaps made a big fuss about it. But thoughts are just what I haven't found among them). The *divine* paradox is that he is noticed if in no other way than by being crucified, that he performs miracles, etc., which means that he is still recognizable by his divine authority even if it requires faith to solve the paradox—foolish hum. understanding prefers that he should have made progress, seized the age, inspired it, etc.: Great heavens! Something great in the world would surely have happened through seizing the age.

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112 Certainly God is love, but not love to sinners. He is so only in Xst, i.e., the Atonement.

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113 Really the only person I have ever had an obscene discussion with is the old China sea captain I talk to in 177 Mini's Café, and who thinks I am 40 years old. But the conversation is really more on the humorous side. When he begins to tell me how in Manila everyone has a wench, or about the fun he had in his youth with wenches (it is his favorite expression) in London, where one treats them to a glass of grog, "for they are so partial to it," it's a humorous enough situation, an old China sea captain (74 years old) talking with me in

that way about such things. Moreover, I doubt if he was particularly involved himself, for there is still a purity in him that speaks for him. As a result, what he says is more humorous than obscene.

#

It is another consequence of the development of understanding and wisdom in our age that nothing has become more distant from a hum. being than God, even though nothing is nearer to him. For this reason the religious assumes a certain silly solemnity wherein there is no meaning, and the name of God is mentioned with the same empty veneration with which the inkstand is regarded in the supreme court and which represents the king. In our age a simple and natural effusion of the religious therefore becomes almost blasphemy, and the way one allowed oneself to address God in the Old Testament would cause offense as something unseemly and in conflict with the ceremonial. Yet those men certainly maintained quite another and deep respect for God. **114**

#

May 17 **115**

Had I faith I would have stayed with Regine. Praise and thanks be to God, I have now understood it. I have been on the point of losing my mind these days. Humnly. speaking I have done the right thing for her; perhaps I should never have become engaged, but from that moment on I treated her chivalrously. In an aesthetic and chivalrous sense, I loved her far more than she loved me, for otherwise she would neither have acted proudly toward me nor alarmed me later with her scream. So I have just begun a story entitled 178 "Guilty / Not Guilty"; of course it might contain things to amaze the world, for in the last year and a half I have lived more poetry within myself than all novels put together. But I cannot and will not—my relationship to her must not be poetically dissipated. It has a quite different reality. She has not become any theater

princess,[a] so she should, if possible, become my wife. Good Lord, that was all I wished for! And yet I had to deny myself that [wish]. In doing so, humnly speaking, I was acting with perfect rectitude and have behaved most magnanimously toward her in not letting her suspect my pain. In a purely aesthetic sense I have acted with great humnty, I dare even praise myself for doing what few in my place would do. For if I had not thought so much of her own good, I could well have taken her, since she herself asked me to do so (which certainly she should not have done; it was a false weapon), and when her father asked me to do so, I could have done her a kindness and fulfilled my own wish. And if in time she were to become weary, I could have chastised her with the explanation that it was something she had herself insisted upon. That I did not do. God is my witness that it was my only wish. God is my witness how I have kept watch over myself lest any forgetfulness efface her memory. I don't think I've spoken to any young girl since that time. I have imagined that every scoundrel of a betrothed looked at me as an imperfect being, a villain. I have done my age a service, for in truth it was certainly a rather f

it would certainly have happened. But with marriage it isn't the case that everything is sold "as is" when the hammer falls; here it is a matter of a little honesty toward the past. Here again my chivalry is obvious. Had I not honored her more than myself as my future wife, had I not been prouder of her honor than of my own, I would have held my tongue and fulfilled her wish and mine, let myself be married to her—so many a marriage conceals little stories. I didn't want that, she would have been my concubine, and then I would
179 rather have murdered her.—But if I were to explain myself, I would have had to initiate her into terrible things, my relationship to Father, his melancholy, the eternal night brooding deep inside me, my going astray, my desires and excesses, which in the eyes of God are nevertheless perhaps not so glaring, since it was, after all, anxiety that led me go astray, and where

[a]How could anyone also have suspected that a young girl like that could go about nurturing such ideas? Such a very immature and merely vain idea, too, as was later proved, for had there been anything to it, the way in which I broke off the engagement would have been absolutely decisive. Things like that must impart that kind of resilience. But that's how … girl was first prudish and beside herself with pride and presumption, then cowardly.

was I to find a roof when I knew or suspected that the only man I had admired for his strength and power wavered?—

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Faith therefore has hopes for this life, but, be it noted, **116**
on the strength of the absurd, not on the strength of hum. understanding, otherwise it is only good sense, not faith.

#

Faith is therefore what the Greeks called div. mad- **117**
ness. This is not merely a witty remark, but is something that can be put directly into practice.

#

[a]it will be a scene between two lepers, one of them sympathetic, who does not want to show himself in order to avoid alarming people; the other wants to avenge himself by arousing anxiety. The one has brothers and only later discovers that they also are in the same situation, that the entire family is vulnerable to leprosy.

Whatever dark thoughts and black passions still **118**
dwell within me I will try to get rid of in a written piece with the title:

"A Leper's Self-Observation."

#

The highest expression that the ethical view of life **119**
has is to repent, and I must always repent—but this is precisely the self-contradiction of the ethical through which the paradox of the religious breaks forth, i.e., the atonement, to which faith corresponds. Speaking strictly ethically, I must say that even the best that I do is but sin, thus I will repent it; but then I can never truly come to act, because I must repent.

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180

I have considered treating Agnete and the Merman **120**
from an angle that has probably not occurred to any poet. The Merman is a seducer, but after he has won Agnete's love he is so moved that he wants to belong to her entirely.—But, alas, he cannot do so because then he would have to initiate her into the whole of his sorrowful existence, of how he becomes a monster at certain times, etc. The church cannot give them its

blessing. Then he despairs and in his despair dives to the bottom of the sea and remains there, but he leads Agnete to believe that he had only wanted to deceive her.

This really is poetry, not that wretched, pitiable nonsense in which everything revolves around ridiculous stuff and tomfoolery.

This is the sort of knot that can only be untied by means of the religious (hence its name, because it unties all spells); if the Merman could have faith, then his faith might perhaps transform him into a human being.

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121 I must take hold of my Antigone one more time. Then the task will be psychological: to develop and motivate the presentiment of guilt.—For this purpose I have thought about Solomon and David, of the relation of the youthful Solomon to David, because it is quite certain that both Solomon's wisdom (the major part of it) and his sensuality are consequences of David's greatness. Earlier, he had sensed the great agitation within David, not knowing what guilt may have burdened him, and yet he had seen this profoundly God-fearing man give such an ethical expression to his repentance; for if David had been a mystic, the situation would have been different. These notions, these presentiments, stifle energy (except in the form of imagination) and awaken the intellect, and this combination of imagination and intellect, in which the element of the will is lacking, is truly the sensual.

181

122 Jesus Sirach does not seem to like irony, cf. 41:19, "Better are those who hide their folly than those who hide their wisdom."

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123 If by repenting, a person can remain in a relationship of love to God, it is still essentially the human being

himself who does everything, even if the repentance is defined at its extremity as suffering. Repentance is no paradox, but when it gives way, the paradox begins. Therefore the person who believes in the atonement is greater than the most profoundly repentant person. Repentance constantly ensnares itself, for if it is to be the highest thing, the only thing, in a person, that which saves, then it falls again into a dialectic concerning whether it is truly deep enough, etc.

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124 The important thing is to be able to have faith in God with respect to lesser things; otherwise one does not stand in a proper relation to him. If someone wanted to say of a person, "He is my friend; I know that; and whatever happens, he will remain my friend. But the odd thing is that we always hold opposite views regarding specific things. But all the same I insist that he is my friend."—There would be something rather awkward about it, and it would really be a sort of fanaticism. Thus it is also important to draw God into the actuality of this world, where he surely is anyway. When Paul was aboard the ship that was about to capsize, he prayed not only for his eternal salvation, but for his temporal salvation as well. Perhaps he ought immediately to have thought, "Now it's over, etc. I will think only of the salvation of my soul." And yet he was an apostle of the Lord.

125 **NB.:**

"But what is the flattering voice of fame,
Compared to the sigh of love from a maiden's breast[?]"
Schack Staffeldt.

182

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126 Idea:

Memoirs of My Life
by
Nebuchadnezzar,
Formerly an Emperor, Subsequently an Ox.
Published
by
Nicolaus Notabene.

127 In a work recently published in Altona: *C. Cilnius Maecenas, eine historische Untersuchung* by Dr. Frandsen (Altona, 1843), I see near the top of p. 230, that he employed various means in order to fall asleep, the purling of a fountain, etc. This could be made use of. (It is recounted that he suffered from insomnia for 3 years. On p. 229 another case, lasting 10 years, is cited; an aristocratic lady who did not sleep for 35 years.)

128 Example of the Dialectical with Respect to Guilt and Innocence

On old sensualist, though still wittily ironic (a diplomat) leads several young girls into an art gallery of Greek sculpture. The group includes several young gentlemen. One of the young girls, the most innocent of them all, comes to blush, not because it disturbs her but there is something in the old scoundrel's look that offends her modesty. But this blushing does not escape his attention; she reads the judgment in his look, and at that very moment one of the young gentlemen looks at her—she has been offended, she cannot talk to anyone about it, and she becomes melancholic.

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183

129 Was Tarquinius Superbus in seinem Garten mit den Mohnköpfen sprach, verstand der Sohn, aber nicht der Bote.
cf. Hamann 3rd vol., p. 190, middle

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130 **NB.**:
periissem nisi periissem.

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131 Socrates says something very fine in the *Cratylus*: To be deceived by oneself is the worst thing of all, for how could it not be terrible when the deceiver never disappears, even for an instant, but is always ready at hand?
Cratylus § 428. Schleiermacher trans., Part 2, Section 2, p. 104.

21 Was Tarquinius ... der Bote] *German,* What Tarquinius Superbus said by means of the poppies in his garden was understood by the son, but not by the messenger.

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There is something oddly tragic and comic in the circumstance that God in heaven is the only potentate who is permitted to retain his incognito: usually human beings are quite busy discovering such things. **132**

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The original motto for *Fear and Trembling* was to have been: "Write"—"For whom?"—"Write for the dead, for those whom you love in a former time"—"Will they read me, then?"—"No!" **133**

#

In Shakspeare's *All's Well*. . . . **134**

I might like to write a counterpart to "The Seducer's Diary." It should be a female character: "The Courtesan's Diary." Depicting such a figure would be well worth the effort. **135**

184

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The sequel to "The Seducer's Diary" must be something *piquant*: his relationship to a young married woman. **136**

This is the way literature ought to be, not a nursing home for cripples but a playground for healthy, happy, thriving, smiling, vigorous little scamps, well-formed, complete beings, satisfied with who they are, each of whom has the express image of its mother and the power of its father's loins, not the aborted products of feeble wishes, not one of those born late, amid postpartum pains. **137**

It is absolutely not a sophistic view to believe that at every instant, one contains in one's soul the possibility that even at this very instant God could make everything good. If one does not hold to **138**

this view, one will exhaust oneself in despair and will not even be capable of accepting the good when it is actually proffered.

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139 *Pages from a Street Inspector's Diary*.

Under this title I might like to describe the various neighborhoods of the city over which a poetic atmosphere hovers, so to speak—for example, Kultorvet (the square with the most atmosphere), street scenes, a gutter plank, etc., fishing smacks. What a splendid contrast, at one moment to let one's thoughts rush off into the endless view across the water from Knippelsbro, the next moment to lose oneself in observing cod and flounder in a tank. Characters should be continually woven into it—love stories, servant girls, etc. It is altogether remarkable what a healthy sense of humor one often finds among servant girls, especially when they express their views of the finery of aristocratic ladies.

185 —These days I have taken on the project of eliciting a smile from every child I meet.

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140 her. If she knew of all my sufferings during this last year. She should never have discovered anything. But then my entire view of things would be transformed at once. At the wedding I will have to take an oath—that is, I dare not conceal anything; and on the other hand there are things I cannot tell her. The fact that the div. is brought into marriage is my ruin. If I do not permit myself to wed her, I offend her. Can an unethical relation be defensible—then I would begin tomorrow. She has asked me, and that is enough for me. She can depend upon me absolutely, but it is an unhappy existence. I am dancing upon a volcano and so must let her dance with me as long as it can last. Therefore it is humbler for me to remain silent. That this humbles me is something I know all too well.

#

141 The main thing, however, is that one is truly forthright with God, that one does not attempt to escape from anything, but pushes on until he himself provides the explanation; whether or not this will be what one might wish it to be, it is still the best.

#

142 This could be a good dramatic character: someone with a profoundly humorous nature who had established himself as a fashion designer and used everything—influence, pecuniary means—to make women ridiculous, while in his relations with them he was as ingratiating as possible, charming them with flattery and with talk, not because he desired any favor from them (he was much too intellectual for that) but in order to get them to dress themselves as absurdly as possible, and thus he satisfied his disdain for women, especially when such a woman found a man who was as great a fool as she.—In order to punish him the plan of the drama could be permitted to end in a situation in which the things he had maliciously introduced as the latest style were now really viewed by everyone as being in good taste, so that he himself was the only person who laughed at it, and yet he was completely right.—Then he himself falls in love with a girl. He wants to make her an exception, he cannot abide the fact that she must wear the ridiculous costume that he himself had made fashionable in order to prostitute the sex. But he cannot convince her and now he has to endure that his beloved dresses just like the others. 186

[a] For example, he invents a new women's outfit to wear to church, in order to prostitute them there as well.

[b] Dramatic line: What is everything in life? It is a matter of fashion.—fearing God is a matter of fashion, and love, and whalebone skirts, and a ring in the nose among the savages——I am different from others only in having realized this, and this sublime genius helps me in every way to roar with laughter at the most ridiculous of animals, i.e., the human being; but here comes Baroness von der Vüe, she probably wants to buy herself a new fool's costume.

[c] I do not deceive my customers; I always use the best material for everything—genuine gold, genuine Brussels lace—except I take pleasure in cutting everything wrong and producing something tasteless. Because the contempt I have for gold and silver and genuine shawls is just as profound as that which I have for the women who wrap themselves in them.

[d] He induces women to wish to dress in such a manner that their outfits indicate the various political parties into which menfolk are divided; this wins the approval of the men, and thus everything is prostituted.

*

143 Under the title "A Cross Section" (or "Crisscrossing") I would like to provide a somber sketch of life in Copenhagen as it is at various hours of the day: 9 o'clock, little children go to school; 10 o'clock, the servant girls; 1 o'clock, the fashionable world. The fact

that, on the whole, life takes on different colors at different times, just as water is colored by various schools of fishes—it should begin with a lyric to my beloved capital city and place of residence, Copenhagen.

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144 There is something odd about my little secretary Mr. Christensen. I bet he's the one who in various ways is scribbling in the newspapers and in little pamphlets; because not infrequently I encounter an echo of my ideas, not as I tend to write them, but as I let them fall casually in conversation. And I, who treated him with such kindness, paid him so well, conversed with him for hours at a time—for which I paid him so as not to mortify and humiliate him because his lack of money made it necessary for him to work as a copyist. I made him an initiate into the whole business, threw a veil of mystification over it all, and in every way made the 187 time as pleasant as possible for him.— But that little article in *Portefeuille*—it was a few days before *Either/Or* came out—was surely by him. It really wasn't very nice of him. After all, he could have confided in me and told me that he had a desire to become an author. But his writings do not have a clean conscience. He himself probably notices that I have changed a bit, even though I am still just as polite and kind to him. On the other hand I have weaned him off his inquisitive snooping around my room. He must be kept at arm's length; I hate all plagiarists.

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145 My journal entries regarding my relationship with Regine are oddly reversed, for what was first chronologically is always recorded last—precisely because what was first made such a decisive impression on me that I did not need to fear forgetting it. Thus, even now I have still not noted down one of the most decisive things: that she herself declared numerous times that if only I could convince her that I was a deceiver, she would be able to put up with everything. Incidentally,

now that I think about it, that utterance was itself a display of her arrogance—as if she had such an ethical constitution. Therefore it ought not receive so much emphasis. But existence is profound. I showed the girl my confidence in her by believing all the great things it pleased her to tell me concerning herself; it is by virtue of this that I act—oh, perhaps then things will be the worse for her. There we see what a disaster it is when a girl has not had a religious upbringing. When I consider that I read Mynster's sermons aloud to her once a week, and that some time actually passed before it really made an impression on her. It is in fact curious—that a girl can be so great in her own eyes; that she (qua the individual) honored me with her love (or rather, with being engaged)—that it should shake me like this. Yet if it were a matter of disagreements, I certainly believe that I could cope with her.

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188

That is what is difficult about having both the O. and the N. Testaments, because the O. has entirely different categories. For what would the NT say about a faith that believes that things should go very well for it in the world, in the temporal sphere, instead of giving this up to grasp the eternal? This is the source of the erratic nature of ecclesiastical discourse, all according to whether the O. or the NT is transparent within it. **146**

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I could perhaps reproduce the tragedy of my childhood: the terrifying, secret explanation of the religious that was granted me in a fearful presentiment which my imagination hammered into shape—my offense at the religious—in a novella entitled "The Mysterious Family." It would begin in a thoroughly patriarchal-idyllic fashion, so that no one would suspect anything before that word suddenly resounded, providing a terrifying explanation of everything. **147**

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. . . . For even if prayer does not accomplish anything on earth, it nonetheless labors in Heaven. **148**

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149 And even though you yourself are aware that you have suffered much and there awakens in your soul this human supposition that, after all, this will come to an end and that better times will come—what help is it to you, if you merely want to stare at what is past and draw new sorrows from it instead of having the happy expectation that perhaps the hour of your deliverance will strike soon, so that you will not be so exhausted as to be unable to hear its stroke when it sounds.

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189

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150 A deranged man who went around and looked at every child, because once—as he believed—he had got a girl pregnant but didn't know what had become of her and now had only one concern, to find the child, if possible. No one could understand the indescribable concern with which he could look at a child.

#

151 Nullum exstitit magnum ingenium sine aliqua dementia this is the worldly way of expressing the religious thesis: The person whom God blesses in the religious sense, He curses eo ipso in the worldly sense. So it must be—the first has its basis at the boundary of existence, the second in the duplicity of existence.

#

152 Life first begins to become difficult when the task of life itself becomes dialectical, that is, when a preceding dialectic must constitute the task. This is the case wherever freedom enters into the discussion. A hum. being is deranged; hum. strength, the freedom of the will, can of course work to counter this. Here is the problem: Must he, as it were, persecute himself and perhaps go mad because he cannot overcome it? Or must he humble himself under it? And yet, this humbling—isn't it weakness? Shame on people who complain when the task itself is not dialectical.

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19 eo ipso] *Latin,* by the very same token

The method of beginning with doubt so that one can come to philosophy seems just as sensible as having a soldier lie down curled up so that he can come to stand up straight. **153**

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190

There are hum. beings who divide up their speech just as definitely and abstractly as a clock, owned by someone in my family, divided up time. It probably thought something like this: How unreasonable to strike 12 strokes at one time, and then the next time strike only 1. It therefore let equal periods of time pass between each stroke: When it was 12 o'clock, it struck one stroke, and then one stroke each quarter-hour, so that it was 3 o'clock before it was finished with the 12. **154**

#

Dialogue: **155**

An individual with a sense of humor meets a girl who had once assured him that she would die if he left her. When he now meets her she is engaged. He greets her and says, "May I thank you for the kindness you have shown me. Perhaps you will permit me to show my appreciation." (He takes 2 marks and 8 shillings out of his vest pocket and hands it to her. She is speechless with rage, but remains standing there, hoping to intimidate him with her gaze. He continues): "It's nothing. It's to help out with your trousseau, and on the day you get married and put the finishing touches on your act of kindness, I promise by all that is holy—by God and by your eternal salvation—to send you another 2 marks and 8 shillings."

#

Instead of the plot in *Repetition*, I could imagine another. A young man with imagination and much more, but hitherto otherwise occupied, falls in love with a young girl (since to use an experienced coquette here holds little psychological interest except from another angle). This young girl we presume pure and innocent but very prone to fantasizing on erotic lines. He comes with his simple-minded ideas. She brings him out. Just when she is really delighted with him, it becomes clear he cannot remain with her. The adventurous desire for multiplicity is awakened and she must be disposed of. In a way, it is she herself who made a seducer of him, a seducer **156**

191

with the limitation that he can never seduce her. For that matter, it could be very interesting to have him at some later point, at the peak of his powers and improved by experience, proceed to seduce her as well, "because he owed her too much."

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157 *Plot*.

A genius, gifted in all possible ways, with the power to master all existence and to have men obey him, discovers in his consciousness one little sticking point, one bit of lunacy. He becomes so indignant at this that he decides to kill himself, for this one little point is for him everything; it makes him into a serving spirit, a human being. Moreover, this little point is not just something external (e.g., being lame, one-eyed, ugly, etc.; such things would not concern him), but has an element of spirit and one would therefore think it could be freely removed. Therefore it irritates him.

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158 It is really an imperfection in a personality that it can so abandon itself to another as not to keep a hold on itself. An authentically mature personality belongs to itself just as a homing pigeon belongs to the home loft. You can sell it to as many people as you wish and it always returns to the loft.

#

159 Repetition turns up everywhere. (1) When I am about to act, my action has existed in consciousness in idea and thought, otherwise I act thoughtlessly, i.e., I don't act. (2) Inasmuch as I am about to act, I presuppose that I am in an original integer state. Now comes the problem of sin. That is the second repetition, for I must return again 192 now to myself. (3) The real paradox by which I become the single individual, for if I remain in sin understood as the universal, there is only repetition no. 2.

On this point one may compare the Aristotelian category: Das—Was—war—seyn.) cf. Marbach, *Geschichte der Philos. d. Mittelalters*, § 128, pp. 4 and 5, and § 102 in his *Geschichte der griechichen Philosophie*.

#

26 integer] *Latin,* whole, pure, innocent **31** Das—Was—war—seyn] *German,* That—what—was—being *(see explanatory note)*

The relationship of the divine to the human, in the way all philosophy is in a position to conceive it, has already been splendidly expressed by Aristotle, when he says that God moves all things, himself ακινητος. (As far as I recall, Schelling pointed this out in Berlin). It is really the abstract concept of un-changingness, and his influence is therefore a magnetic charm, just like the sirens' song. Thus all rationalism ends in superstition. . **160**

#

There is an example I can use. In volume 7 of his reminiscences, Steffens tells of a mayor named Benda—a talented and energetic man, as it also happens—who wore a wig. As soon as he took it off, everything became confused for him.—This thralldom—in the sense of being bound to a wig. Not just that, like others, he caught a little cold but that he became mad. Cf. pp. 215 and 216. **161**

The trilogy about which there is so much fuss: art, religion, philosophy. Plato and particularly Plotinus already have it: music, love, philosophy. **162**

It is all very well saying that the ethical expression is to transform one's talent into one's vocation. But the issue here is far more difficult. In making a choice, to what extent ought not an individual take account of the religious? My own life is an example. If I had followed my inclination, chosen that for which I have clearly had a definite talent—to become a police official—I would have been far happier than I later became, even though everything is better now. My sharp-wittedness would have been turned outward. The religious would have become a mark of inwardness which would not have been pursued further, even if I would have returned to it often. By [going] through the religious to my proper task I turned my sharp-wittedness against myself. If this so-called actuality is the highest, I should have chosen otherwise. Here one sees a new difficulty. **163** 193

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4 ακινητος] *Greek,* unmoved

164 The law of delicacy, according to which an author is allowed to draw on his own experience, is that he never speaks the truth but keeps it for himself and only lets it be refracted in a different way.

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165 In his outburst over *Either/Or*, Heiberg remarked that it was really hard to tell whether some of the observations in it were profound or not. Professor Heiberg and his cronies have the great advantage that one knows in advance that what they say is profound. This is due partly to the fact that, with them, one seldom if ever finds a single original thought. What they know is borrowed from Hegel. And Hegel, surely, is profound—ergo, what Professor Heiberg says is also profound. In this way any theology student who confines his sermon to nothing but Bible quotes becomes the most profound of all, for the Bible, after all, is the profoundest book.

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166 There are many in our time who possess the result of the whole of existence and do not know how to account for the slightest thing.

194

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167 It is quite true what philosophy says, that life must be understood backward. But then one forgets the other principle, that it must be *lived forward*. Which principle, the more one thinks it through, ends exactly with temporal life never being able to be properly understood, precisely because I can at no instant find complete rest to adopt the position: backward.

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168 Still, there's nothing to be done with the age before it receives far deeper shocks. The whole age is divided into those who write and those who don't. Those who write represent despair, and those who read no doubt frown on it and think they know better. And yet, were they capable of writing, they would write the same. Basically they are just as much in despair, but without the opportunity of becoming important with one's despair, it's not worth the trouble despairing and drawing attention to oneself on its account. Is that a victory over doubt?—What one reads in *German Theology* can really be seen

as a motto for the whole age (perhaps the German word as the author meant it did not quite have that meaning; he hasn't glimpsed despair's maximum): "when we are no longer rich in spirit, we forget God and praise (rühmen) ourselves for being doomed" (cf. chap. 10, p. 41). It is this praise the age will have, so to speak, before God. Our time's despair shows in this way, that it still cannot avoid God, for the point of its despair is precisely that there is a God. It is just like a girl who, when she cannot get her way with the beloved, falls in love with another in order to spite him. Her very doing so shows her dependence on him, and the point in her first love is precisely the relation to the first. It's as though the age wants in the same way to be important in the eyes of God. It treats him just as Emmeline in *The First Love* treats the father. If she cannot get her will, then she'll become ill and die: "and once I'm dead, it's too late."—Presumably the age thinks that God shall be similarly embarrassed. 195

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169 The most dreadful that can happen to someone is that he becomes comical to himself in what is essential, e.g., that he discovers that the content of his feelings is nonsense. This is a danger someone can easily run into in his relation to another, e.g., by believing shouts and screams, etc. Here it is a matter of being well constructed.

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170 I repudiate all reviews. To me a reviewer is just as loathsome as a street-roaming assistant barber, who comes running with the shaving water that is used for all customers, and fumbles about my face with his clammy fingers.

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171 New Year's congratulations go too far. Suspicious persons (especially the shrewdest, who cause the police most inconvenience) congratulate the police officials. All we need is the executioner to congratulate the one to whom he has administered a whipping.

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172 *"Repetition"* is and remains a religious category. So Constantin Constantius can get no further. He is clever, an ironist, struggles

against the interesting but doesn't notice that he remains caught up in it himself. The first form of the interesting is to love variation; the second is to want repetition but still in Selbstgenugsamkeit, with no suffering—therefore Constantin runs aground on what he himself has discovered, and the Young Man advances further.

196

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173 *The Banquet*,
or perhaps better: In vino veritas,
or: Nighttime.
(The basic mood will then differ in relation to the title.)

The narrator goes for a walk in the Nook of the Eight Paths seeking solitude. There he meets a friend, "although he might rather have expected to find a frightened bird." He tells him all about the banquet. With the contrast of the deep silence of the forest, the story about the night of pandemonium takes better effect, more fantastic.—

Lecture on Eros.

The characters are assembled: Johannes nicknamed The Seducer, Victor Eremita, recollection's unhappy lover, Constantin Constantius, "a Young Man." The latter, a very young person, gives a talk in which he proves that erotic love and physical desire is the most ridiculous thing of all (its frightful consequences—getting children, plus the fact that the person fools himself in this lust and merely serves existence). He uses an essay by Henr. Cornel. Agrippa: ["]de nobilitate et præcellentia foeminæi sexus" (which I have). Making use of its naïveté will ensure the comic and humorous effect.

The decision is that each is to base his talk on a particular, personally experienced love story.—The young man declares, however, that he cannot come up with anything like that, since he has always been wise enough to stay clear. "One can make a fool of oneself by getting involved with a girl, whose nature is always chitchat. If one *has* to have anything to do with them, one must only seduce."

The banquet begins with a situation. They have gathered in a festively lit hall, where dinner music (from *Don Giovanni*) is being played; they themselves are most elegantly dressed and each has a
197 personal servant. While the dinner music is being played, Victor Eremita rises and proposes that they begin with the drinking song:

My Brimming Glass and the Joyful Sounds of Song.

The effect of this is immediately apparent upon the gentlemen present, who readily perceive the humor in the situation that in such

3 Selbstgenugsamkeit] *German,* (Selbstgenügsamkeit) Self-satisfaction, complacency, here also self-sufficiency (Kierkegaard's umlaut error)

a gathering, in its fantastic contrast to the times of drinking songs, a drinking song should be sung.

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174 .... for the prayer, when heard here on earth and mixed in with man's busy words, is no doubt idle talk; but in the heavens it is at work. And although prayer often sows what is perishable, it nevertheless reaps what is imperishable.

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175 If I want really to assure myself how wretched it is to want to do something for people—in the sense of thinking that at some moment one will reap the visible—then I read that scene in Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar* where Brutus and Mark Antony give their successive eulogies of Caesar.

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176 In our times, book writing is so wretched and people write about things they have never given a thought to, let alone experienced—I have therefore decided to read only the writings of those who were executed or faced danger in some other way.

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177 Albertus Magnus

178 Mathæus Parisiensis

198

179 "Denn wovon man frühzeitig als Kind sehr viel weiß, davon ist man sicher, später hin und im Alter nichts zu wissen, und der Mann der Gründlichkeit wird zuletzt höchstens der Sophiste seines Jugendwahns." cf. Kant's *vermischte Schriften* ed. by Tieftrunk, vol. 2, p. 253.

Welcher Philosoph hat nicht einmal, zwischen den Betheurungen eines vernünftigen und festüberredeten Augenzeugen, und der innern Gegenwehr eines unüberwindlichen Zweifels, die einfältigste Figur gemacht, die man sich vorstellen kan?

same book p. 250.

#

180 I must use Abælard sometime. He must be altogether modernized. The conflicts in his soul must not be between the authority of Pope and Church and what he himself knows, but between his sympathy, which inclines to maintaining the established order.— and then Heloise—

cf. p. 13 in this book.

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181 Constantin Constantius's journey to Berlin is no accident. He develops in particular the mood for farce and here reaches the peak of the humorous.

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182 . . . for it is only the day laborers in life who, like factory workers, demand pay every Saturday evening and could not possibly wait longer (which is not so surprising, seeing that what they work for has far too little significance for them to have to wait too long for it); but the high-minded soul has the courage to turn the whole of finitude into a week in which one works without pay.

#

199

183 *The Seducer's Diary*

No. 2

An Essay in the Demonic

by

Johannes Mephistopheles.

NB. It is what the age wants to have, to swoon over the horrific and then fancy itself better. It won't get that from me.

[a]and when all he gets for his pains is censure he will be really inspired, for then he can say truly that he works for nothing. 1

Foreword.

I am indebted to what Victor Eremita has published, and I can only regret that this author, instead of pursuing the excellent ideas at his disposal, has become edifying.

*

The scene is in the house of Cordelia, whom he meets now married to Edward;—in her house there is a young girl, who is the object, while the fact that it is in Cordelia's house is a subtle refinement.

*

He heightens the enjoyment by hanging on to the thought at every moment, and as it were portioning it into the enjoyment, that this will be his last adventure; he heightens it further by reproducing from everything erotic in the particular situation a compendious memory of the girl who was destroyed on this side of femininity's idea; he heightens [his enjoyment] by reproducing his entire life, bringing to light in this way his soul's psychological presuppositions.

*

He gets to know a courtesan, with whom he establishes a psychological union for pondering the relation between the seduction which originates in a man and that which originates in a woman; finally he decides to take her down with him.

*

He clashes with a Don Juan over the same girl. This throws light on the method, but he knows how to put Don Juan to good use in his plan.

200

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It could be amusing to have a play begin in this way (the scene would be in a man's living room, out in the country, and he is talking with his neighbor): **184**

"Yes, my friend and neighbor, it is as I said, our relationship is unchanged even if I have become a chamber councilor."

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The Incarnation is so hard to understand because it is so hard for the absolutely exalted to make himself understood to the poor one **185**

in the equality of love (not in love's condescension)—this is the erotic depth in it, which through an earthly misunderstanding has been understood as involving scandal and a fall. If a prince loved a lowly peasant girl, the task of finding equality would be very difficult. He would not only hide his royal dignity (not letting it peep through), but when she wanted him to reveal himself as king and draw her up to him, he would say: that is unbecoming, and this would show exactly the eroticism deep within him, that he was concerned not to hurt her, nor to satisfy her earthly vanity (which in another sense is sin against her even were she to ask for it), but to truly love her and be altogether equal with her.—

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186 . . . for time is the most dangerous thing to fight against; for then it wounds like the Parthian shot, in that it takes flight and attacks always worst from behind.

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187 The system in the Hegelian school is a similar fiction to that which Schelling brought to the world in the "infinite epic" and which in its time made a big-enough success.

201

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188 . . . today is a bird-in-the-hand, which will fly, and tomorrow is a bird on the roof.—

#

189 What is this life, where the only certainty is the only thing about which one cannot with certainty know anything: death. For when I am, death is not, and when death is, I am not

#

190 What is good fortune? A specter that is only when it has been? What is hope? An insistent tormentor one cannot be rid of, a subtle deceiver who holds out even longer than honesty, a quarrelsome friend who always retains his right even when the emperor has lost his. What is remembrance, a tiresome consoler, a faithless villain

who wounds from behind, a shadow one cannot sell even if anyone would buy it! What is bliss, a wish one gives to whoever will have it; what is faith, a cord upon which one stays hanging if one does not hang oneself; what [is] truth, a secret the dying man takes with him. what is friendship, one more affliction! what is expectation, an arrow in flight that doesn't move; what is fulfillment, an arrow that misses the target.

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191 Just as the idea of God develops from the hum. spirit through its relation to itself and the world, so the idea of Christ develops through the consciousness of sin. It was this that paganism lacked, not so much the historical revelation.

#

192 It is strange that, against miracles, revelation, etc., Spinoza constantly uses the objection that it was a peculiarity of the Jews to refer something immediately back to God and jump over the intermediate causes, just as if it were merely a peculiarity of the Jews and not of all religiousness, so that Spinoza himself would have done so if he, too, had had religiousness, and as if the difficulty did not lie just here: whether, how far, in what way—in short, inquiries which would give the keenest thinking plenty to do.

202

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193 It is and remains a thought one cannot dismiss without further ado—namely, how far reason should be regarded as temptation in relation to faith, how far reason is sinful, how far this—that truth and reason agree—is again an object of faith.

#

194 The view of life that sees its double nature (dualism) is higher and deeper than one which seeks unity or "undertakes studies toward unity" (an expression of Hegel's about all philosophy's striving); the person who sees eternity as τελος and the teleological point of view in general is higher than all immanence, or all talk of causa sufficiens. The passion that saw paganism as sin and accepted eternal punishment in hell is greater than the summa summarum of the

31 τελος] *Greek,* aim, goal, end **32** causa sufficiens] *Latin,* sufficient cause **34** summa summarum] *Latin,* sum total

thoughtlessness (a case of easy morals) that sees everything under immanence

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195 Interjectory comments
concerning
the review of *Fear and Trembling* in Scharling
and Engelstoft's journal
by
Johannes de silentio.

As soon as I had read this review, I said to myself, here we have
203 it, I said: This author is the man; he explains everything, explains all difficulties, and wastes no time on a provisional understanding of them. May I therefore take the occasion to wish this author every possible good fortune and success: joy over Denmark, praise to the author, goodwill to the journal

respectfully
Joh. d. s.

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196 There are only 3 positions betw. faith and knowledge.

1) Paul: I know in what I have put my trust

2) credo ut intelligam.

3) Faith is the immediate.

In all of them knowledge is later than faith.

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197 When you are a child and have no playthings, you are well taken care of; for then imagination takes care of you. I still think with amazement of my childhood's yarn spindle, the only toy I had—what acquaintance was as interesting as this! And yet it didn't even belong to me. It had, so to speak, its official duties as a real spindle, and then only in its otium did it become my amusement. One complains in our time that a functionary combines too many functions, but this combined all,

21 credo ut intelligam] *Latin,* I believe that I might understand. **30** otium] *Latin,* leisure time

#

I was born in 1813, the wrong fiscal year, in which so many other bad banknotes were put into circulation, and my life seems best compared to one of them. There is something of greatness about me, but because of the poor state of the market I am not worth much. **198**

And at times a banknote like that became a family's misfortune. 204

The fullfilment of maternal duties appears to best advantage in collision with the conventional forms. Thus today I saw a fine lady walking along with her little child in her arms. The child had presumably grown tired or weary of walking. In any case it was not according to plan and arrangement, for otherwise a domestic would presumably have been taken along. She walked along Østergade and was not at all put out, embarrassed, ill-tempered, but looked happily at her child. It was really a *beautiful* sight. **199**

That a person is bowed a little in life's adversity does him good, just as when the wax candlewick snuff is bent down—and so trims itself all evening. **200**

That I exist was the ancient world's eternal presupposition; that I am a sinner is the Christian consciousness's new immediacy; the one can as little be demonstrated as the other. **201**

Wanting to *prove* God's existence is the most ridiculous thing of all. *Either* he exists, and then one cannot prove it (no more than I can prove that some human being exists; I can at most let something testify to it, but then I presuppose the existence);—*or* he does not exist, and then it cannot be proved either. **202**

205

203 What contemplation of nature is for the first (human) consciousness of God the contemplation of revelation is to the second immediate consciousness of God (consciousness of sin). It is *here* that the battle is to take place—do not impute to people the likelihood of a revelation, but stop their mouths and put their God-consciousness under the consciousness of sin.

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204 In the realm of thought there is a haggling, an up-to-a-certain-point understanding, which leads to nonsense just as surely as good intentions lead to hell.

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205 If Christianity could become nature in the world, then there would no need for every child to be baptized; for in that case the child born of Christian parents *would* be Christian already at birth.[1] The consciousness of sin is and remains conditio sine qua non for all Xnty, and if there were any exemption there would be no becoming Xstn either. And precisely this is the proof that Christianity is the highest religion, that none has given so profound and so elevated an expression of man's significance as that he is a sinner. This consciousness is what paganism lacks.

[1]) Some, however, have actually wanted to naturalize Christianity. That is what, perhaps unwittingly, *Martensen*'s famous christening theory is about.

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206 It is no doubt true that one learns by teaching others, but sometimes one may be the worse for it. Thus, for a young theology graduate to preach to others too soon can easily bring its own punishment later. He becomes used to depicting the glory of faith e.g. as glowingly and imaginatively as he is now able. His actions, meanwhile, are in no proportion to what he says and so far have not had the chance to be so because he has been only little tested. Then, when it appears he is not becoming an apostle etc. right away, it can easily end with him losing heart altogether.

#

NB Drunk in the sickly exhalation of promises. **207**

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1 [a] Aristotle also says that animals, indeed women, are failed and imperfect forms.

Plato (and how odd this must be for people like Feuerbach, who are so occupied with making gender difference matter, in which respect they ought perhaps best have appealed to paganism) already takes the state of hum. perfection to be one of gender indifference. He assumes that originally only the male gender existed (without the thought of any female gender, the distinction is not made), but through corruption and degeneration the female gender developed. He supposes that, at death, bad and cowardly men become women, yet gives them hope of being raised up again to the male sex. In the perfect life he thinks the male gender will be the only one, just as it was in the beginning, i.e., gender is a matter of indifference. So much for Plato and notwithstanding the idea of the state was the culmination of his philosophy; how much more then the Christian view. **208**

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Basically this is how the matter stands, that if a pers. doesn't use all the strength he has been given against himself first, to annihilate himself, then he is either a dolt or a coward in spite of all his courage. The strength a pers. is given (in possibility) is always dialectical, and the only true expression for the true understanding of oneself in possibility is that he has the power precisely to annihilate himself, because even if he is stronger than the whole world, he is still no stronger than himself. Once this is learned, we will no doubt make room for religiosity, and so also no doubt for Christianity; for 207 the worst expression of this impotence is sin. And the only reason that Christianity is the absolute religion is that it has grasped the human being as sinner; for no other differentiation can in this way acknowledge the human being in his difference from God. **209**

Today, when *Spang* stepped up into the pulpit with all his aplomb and unctuousness etc., gesticulating far and wide,—a servant girl sat just under the pulpit. She had sung the hymn quite calmly, but as soon as the sermon began, she began to weep. Now it is quite difficult in general to reach the point of *weeping* over Spang, but **210**

particularly at the beginning of this sermon it was absolutely impossible; from which I conclude that she came to church *in order to* cry. It shook me: *from* the pulpit all those pretentious airs and waving, just *under* it a servant girl who hears not a word of what he says, or only occasionally picks out a word, and looks at God's house, if not as a house of prayer, then at least as a house of tears, so that she can cry her heart out for all the insults she has suffered since she was last here. Really it should be stipulated with every servant that they go out every Sunday and go to church every Sunday morning.—servant girls are to me the most endearing tribe anywhere, both in church and at Frederiksberg.

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211 What monstrous confusion in concepts in our time! It is especially in the priests' sermons that it is most clearly apparent. They have become so erudite, talk all the time of the whole of world history, and then perhaps a little about the individual in his singularity, but in conclusion. And then their categories! I heard a priest preaching on a gospel; it was about the Ascension. He wanted to underline the historical aspect within it, the actual historical occurrence, and he built up to a beautiful climax. For the apostles had seen it not just
208 with the eyes of faith (this is executed, for the sake of superstitious effect, of course, in such a way that it was *not* something extraordinary), but also with their physical eyes (considerable physical gesticulation). He banged the pulpit so the congregation at least heard it (that is, the blow), yes and the congregation was persuaded. What inexhaustible gibberish! His climax is built exactly in reverse, and the thought [itself] roars at him with laughter because his discourse doesn't ascend but descends (goes from higher to lower), though his gesticulating increases, going from lower to higher. That the caesura in a metrical line can fall at the wrong place and confuse thought, that is forgivable; but a contradiction like that—what comedy doesn't lie here? Alas, alack, but people so little trouble themselves about the spiritual that they do not notice it at all.

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212 Human beings seem to have acquired speech not so that they can conceal their thoughts (Talleyrand, and already before him Young in *Night Thoughts*), but to conceal the fact that they have *no* thoughts.

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213 The understanding disdains everything that imagination and feeling hit upon. That is quite right of the understanding; but feeling and imagination do the same with equal justice to the understanding. Or are not feeling and imagination as essential to a human being as the understanding? Or will the understanding perhaps undertake first of all to prove that *it* is supreme? And who does it want to convince of this? Itself? That is not necessary. Imagination? Feeling? That it cannot do. It is therefore just as arbitrary to do homage exclusively to the understanding as to do homage exclusively to feeling and imagination. Here lies the truth in taking understanding captive, abandoning understanding in order to come to the truth; for the understanding is just as selfish and deceptive as feeling and imagination.

209

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214 Next time I will call myself Petrus Ramus, and for a motto cite the historical report that he was censured, daß er gegen die Observants mit der Philosophie Beredsamkeit verbinde. (cf. Jacobi, *Smtl. W.*, vol. 4, part 1, the preface.).

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215 Nicodemus indeed came by night, but he did not depart with the dawn. Seeking the truth at night is like looking for the risen among the dead.

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216 The task is not, as human stupidity believes, to justify Christianity to human beings, but to justify oneself before Christianity.

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217 *Situation*:

A man standing on a pontoon bridge detects, with the help of field glasses, that something is moving in the water, until he sees that what he is seeing is the shadow, on the bottom, of a small animal lying on the surface, about to drown. He first bends down as far as he can to save it with a pole, but the current makes this

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17 daß er . . . verbinde] *German,* that, contrary to custom, he conjoined rhetoric with philosophy

impossible. He then takes off his clothes, wades out holding up the field glasses with one hand to keep it in sight, since the movement of the sea prevents a steady view—and finally rescues it. This has caused a number of people to gather to see what he is doing. A policeman comes along and arrests him because he jumped into the water at a place where it is not allowed. He then takes out his little animal, which however is no bigger than a ladybug, shows it and explains that *he* ventured out in order to save *it*,—and the whole crowd laughs at him, and the policeman fines him!

The mistake lies not in their being unable to understand his compassion (of that there is no question at all) but in an inability to perceive that through the power of a human being's imagination etc. something insignificant can come to occupy him *absolutely*.

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218 The natural point of departure for piety is *wonder*. But so long as wonder lacks all reflection, it is also at the mercy of, and can dream up, the most ridiculous things. Had Christianity not viewed paganism as sin, had the divine not been so holy that one was not tempted to make its laughable abuses and aberrations into an object of comic treatment, then this would have happened already long ago. Yet the fact that it has not happened shows perhaps how stupid the mockers of religion generally are—that they do not even have enough spirit to comprehend the tasks. When the pagan German went into the huge forest, when the rays of the sun fell deceptively over a tree stem so that it looked like a huge human being, when the pale light of the moon as it were animated such a figure—then he *believed* it was the god. Here there was material enough for an aesthetic understanding of the comical in the romantic surroundings—and now the comical thing: that *this* is the god. If a man like that went a little further into the forest and saw an even bigger tree that similarly amazed him—then *that* was the god.

As soon as *reflection* comes on stage, wonder is purified; but then comes understanding's colossal error, just as stupid as superstition, that reflection should take away wonder. No! it removes everything that was only human invention, which superstition had no cognizance of yet—but then one is standing exactly where the right decision lies, *there* where *absolute* wonder answers to the truly divine, which understanding has not come upon. This is where faith first begins.

*

Thus it is also comic (task for irony) that one says that a king has **219**
"introduced" Christianity into his kingdom, just as one introduces
an improved breed of sheep. Christianity is precisely the only thing
that cannot be *introduced*.

I could think of writing some "wedding discourses" in the same **220**
style as my "edifying discourses," so that the relations of the parties
concerned were set out in a purely poetic way.

This is the scale. **221**

The *immediate*. In relation to this, all probabilities are already folly
(as in falling in love—when Desdemona falls in love with Othello).
Yet most people live within a certain reflection, and so never do
anything altogether immediately, but merely dabble in the immedi-
ate and reflection.—Once reflection is totally exhausted, **faith** be-
gins. Here, again, it is just as bad to come with probabilities or
objections, since in order to have arrived at faith, all such interim
factors must be exhausted. So everything that can occur to reflection
has already been thought through by faith.

Hamann puts it excellently concerning abstract determinations: **222**
"die Jungfraukinder der Speculation."

212

Descartes' principle: I think, therefore I am, is logically speaking **223**
a play on words, because, logically, I am means nothing else but I
am a thinking being, or I think.
cf. Jacobi *S. W.*, vol. 2, p.102 n.

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Bacon says: tempus siquidem simile est fluvio, qui levia atque in- **224**
flata ad nos devehit, solida autem et pondus habentia submergit.
Jacobi *S. W.*, vol. 2, p. 134 n.

22 die Jungfraukinder der Speculation] *German,* the virgin children of speculation

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225 When one says that faith relies on authority and thus thinks that the dialectical has been excluded, this isn't so; for the dialectical begins with asking how it is that one submits to this authority, whether or not one can understand for oneself why one has chosen it, whether it is a contingency; for in that case, the authority is not authority, not even for the believer when he himself is aware that it is a contingency.

#

226 **The Quiet Despair**

A story.

In his youth, the Englishman Swift founded a lunatic asylum which he himself entered in his old age. The story goes that while there he would often look at himself in a mirror and say: Poor old man.

There was a father and a son. Both very gifted, both witty, especially the father. Certainly everyone who knew their home and frequented it found it very entertaining. Mostly they debated only
213 with each other and entertained each other like two clever fellows, not like father and son. On a rare occasion, when the father looked at his son and saw that he was very troubled, he stood there before him and said: Poor boy, you go about in a quiet despair. But he never questioned him more closely; alas, he couldn't, for he too went about in a quiet despair. Beyond that, not a word was ever exchanged on the matter. But in human memory this father and son were perhaps two of the most melancholy beings that ever lived.

This is where the expression "quiet despair" comes from. It is not used in any other context, for people in general have quite another idea of despair. Whenever the son so much as called the words "quiet despair" to mind, he would invariably break down into tears, partly because it shook him so inexplicably, partly because it reminded him of the troubled voice of his father who, like all melancholy persons, was laconic but also possessed melancholy's pith.

And the father thought he was the cause of the son's melancholy, and the son believed he was the cause of the father's melancholy, and so they never spoke of it to each other. And that exclamation of the father's was an outburst of his own melancholy, so that in saying what he did, he was talking more to himself than to his son.

#

The sketch I dashed off of an observer in *The Concept of Anxiety* **227**
will probably upset some people. However, it does belong there and is a kind of watermark in the work. In general I always stand in a poetic relationship to my works, which is why I am a pseudonym. Simultaneously with the book's development of some theme, the corresponding individuality is drawn. Now Vigilius Hauf. draws several, but in the book I have dashed off a sketch of him in addition.

#

214

This is also one of the misconceived climaxes one has constructed **228**
re Christianity. One sketches an image of Christ in word and picture and then says: An idea like this, let alone the reality, must be enough to move any pers. The fact of the matter is that it is much easier and far less hazardous for the understanding to admire the idea than to believe reality. The consequence is that the real point is left hanging: that it is the God.

A passage in Claudius, cited by Jacobi *S. W.*, vol. 3, p. 282, can be adduced as example.

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It is, after all, disconcertingly eloquent (if not the same, but as dis- **229**
concerting, as the voice of Abel's blood crying out to heaven) when one reads the brief words some deceased person has had put on his grave, the last word, the last wish, the last scream, in which he has placed his entire soul. What is all the priests' prating compared with this comment. Beneath the Church of the Holy Spirit there are some small cellar windows with iron grilles in front of them. A skull is portrayed and a short sentence accompanies it. This is how it cries out to one up from the grave.—Death's final struggle,

where there is no more time to offer great selections, or to talk of categories, or about the difference between paganism and Xnty.

#

230 There is a great difference with regard to the way one understands forgiveness of sins; one forgives another pers. the same sin, is convinced that God will forgive it; but if it is oneself, difficulties arise. Naturally, the philosophical chattering that explains nothing and understands nothing but simply goes further doesn't stop at sin.—This, however, is the first condition for going further: one becomes guilty in a way that, while all others could find forgiveness, one cannot find it oneself. One is willing to believe that there was so much that spoke in favor of excusing the others; but for oneself there is no excuse.— This is all quite in order, and this emphasis on subjectivity is necessary if all existence is not to be dissolved in highly inconsequential chatter about Persia, China.

#

231 In former times, one acquired importance by being noble, wealthy, etc.: Now one has become more liberal and more world-historical; all of us now become important by being born in the 19th cent.— Oh! You wonderful 19th century. Oh! What an enviable lot.

#

232 I could perhaps make my edifying discourses even more particular: edifying discourses for kings and queens,—for beggars,—etc.

#

233 What Jacobi says in a disclaimer (namely, that it is not so) about the good, the beautiful, the true, that they are ideas elicited by need, the category der Verzweiflung, this really applies to faith (fear and trembling) and is the significance of faith. It is an idea one only finds when in need and is a category of despair.
Jacobi, *S. W.* vol. 3, p. 435.

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27 der Verzweiflung] *German,* of despair

Is there no eternal agreement (harmonia præstabilita) made between the heavenly and the earthly? **234**

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God is really the terminus medius in everything a hum. being undertakes. The difference between the religious and the simply hum. is that the latter is unaware of it—thus Xnty is the highest connection btwn God and humanity precisely because it has brought this to consciousness. **235**

216

#

A deleted passage in an edifying discourse: about the thorn in the flesh. *Too humorous*. **236**

Perhaps at times, it also goes in life as it did in the case just mentioned, and since we are supposed to be talking of sufferings, and it seems to be a peculiarity of these times that one is less likely to acquire self-importance through honor, power, and superiority than by sufferings; and since there is a profound truth in regarding suffering as the true means of education, it is perhaps helpful to call the untruth of this view to mind. But since we do not have the authority to admonish, we choose another means. So smile only a little, my listener, at what I am about to tell you; it is still and continues to be an edifying discourse all the same, and if it causes you to smile at yourself on hearing it, then the discourse did in fact induce you to admonish yourself. There was once a man who had a steed; every time he came home after riding, he was somewhat fatigued but nevertheless pleased with the horse, pleased with riding. Then one day another man borrowed his horse and quickly came back, explaining in the strongest terms that the horse jolted terribly. The owner answered: Does it really? I never knew, for never having ridden another horse, I believed that this was how riding was and that the violent motion was part of the fun. Yet from then on a change came over him; he never rode again, because he could find no horse that was easy enough, and because finally he wanted the impossible—that the horse should move without one noticing it. Similarly, my listener, there may be many a person who bears life's sorrows and tribulations in the belief that they are part of living and that living is like this, and for all that a joy—until someone tells him it is so dreadful, and he never becomes happy again but extremely self-

1 harmonia præstabilita] *Latin,* preestablished harmony **4** terminus medius] *Latin,* middle term

important through not being happy and by being able to reject everything in life.—
217

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237 Let no one misunderstand all my talk of pathos and passion as if I intended to acknowledge every uncircumcised immediacy, every unshaven passion.

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238 In Fenelon's *Lebensbeschreibungen und Lehr-Satze*, Franckfurt und Leipzig 1748, I read in the section on Periander something I have not read before and which is extremely interesting and poetic.

The passage from pp. 80 bottom of page–87 bottom of page:

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239 Danish philosophy—should there ever be talk of such a thing—will differ from German philosophy in that in no wise will it begin with nothing or without any presupposition, or explain everything by mediating, since it begins, on the contrary, with the proposition that there are many things between heaven and earth which no philosophy has explained. By being incorporated into philosophy, this proposition will provide the due corrective and will also cast a humorous-edifying perturbation over it all.

#

240 Have I at all (however much I would like someone to share my point of view) the right to use my art to win over a hum. being[?] isn't it after all in a way to deceive him. When he sees me moved, troubled, enthused etc. he embraces my view for a quite a different reason than I do, and [it is] an untrue reason.

Prsmbly most have no grasp at all of what the discourse is about; when one has some art at one's disposal then one should use it; yes the person who does not use it is an immoral pers. who does not acknowledge duty, lacks seriousness, is selfish, etc. Answer: Bah!
218

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These days I have been so indolent that I could be bothered with nothing at all, and while I have moaned in melancholy, the only thing I wanted was to sit on a steed with "a lady in view who from the balcony on the castle waves with her veil," my idea that the castle should be in a forest but so situated that the balcony was visible from a distance; in front of the forest would be a field, a meadow separated from it by a little ditch, and I would ride over the meadow—and the lovely one at the castle would not be so distinct that she might not still be mistaken for the veil. This would take place in the afternoon, when the soft blending of the sun **241**

——— or in the late evening when the sky traffics with the sea. Then, breaking this connection, to cross the water and see her standing on the coast waving her veil, yet in such a way that she and the veil could be mistaken shapes of the evening mist.

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It is and remains the most difficult spiritual trial when a pers. doesn't know whether insanity or sin is the reason for his suffering. Here freedom, otherwise used as the means with which to fight, has become dialectical with its dreadful contrasts. **242**

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Is it not also a coup des mains that God's mighty hand, which he lays upon a hum. being in order to humble, is in the same instant the hand of blessing. **243**

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219

The silence of individual life is like a woman's virginity, and the one who breaks it is like a woman who is about to love for a second time, and a woman who is about to love for a second time is like a broken flower. **244**

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The way it is with my feelings is like an Englishman who got into financial difficulty; even though he had a hundred-pound note, there was no one there who could change it. **245**

#

21 coup des mains] *French,* lit. a blow of the hands; here, a sudden attack to gain a position

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246 There is really only one single quality, that is individuality. Everything turns on it, and this is also why everyone understands qualitatively about himself what he understands quantitatively about others. Individuality does this, but not every pers. wants to have it.

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247 I see best how essentially impatient I am from the fact that being a pregnant woman strikes me as the most terrible condition of all, because it has to last 9 months, and thus all one's will, all one's passion, the utmost efforts are of no avail.

#

248 Everyone hopes at least for something when he goes out into the world—and wants then to be trustworthy over that little. But the one who went out into the world possessing nothing except a precious memory, expecting nothing, but was faithful to that memory, was also faithful concerning little, and he will be given charge of more, for such a memory shall become for him the eternal.

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220

249 My listener, it's quite curious; it isn't for everyone to become an author, it calls for a number of talents. Ah! but just go out into the graveyard, look at the graves, and look! there on occasion a pers. has become an author without the least thought of it. These short inscriptions, a pious word, a reminder, e.g., the remembrance of the God-fearing person is a blessing—out there everything preaches, for as nature proclaims God, so every grave preaches. There is a grave monument that presents a young girl in bust, she has clearly been beautiful, now the stone has sunk and nettles grow about the grave. She seems to have had no family.—Another grave hides a warrior, his helmet and sword lie on the coffin, and underneath it says his memory shall never be forgotten. Ah! and yet the top of the railing is already pulled out of place, one is tempted to take up his sword and protect him, he no longer does so—and the mourners believed his memory would never be forgotten.

#

What else is Goethe in *aus meinem Leben* but a talented counsel for the defense of improprieties. On no point has he realized the idea, but talks himself out of everything (girls, love's idea, and Xnty, etc.); he knows how to do that. **250**

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If anyone wanted to cast doubt on the correctness of the proposition that we live in stirring times, let him consider that Pastor Grundtvig is alive, a man who far outstrips Archimedes and doesn't even need, or dream of needing, a fixed point in order to move heaven and earth; no, he does it without a foothold. So little does he need, or rather he needs nothing, to produce this tremendous effect, and since, as we all know, he is capable of becoming furious over nothing, one can easily see not only that these are stirring times but that it is downright alarming to be a contemporary of this Ale-Norse warrior hero. **251**

221

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it's rather odd that a young girl, the more pure she is, is the first to acknowledge her sinfulness. This has pleased me much, because it was really with this phenomenon that I had greatest difficulties in thinking about sin and placing everything under sin; with us others it is easy enough. **252**

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The one who, to prove the rightness of the truth, appeals to "several," to the approbation of the age [and] of the ages (not with respect to factual truth, for that indeed is purely historical) but with respect to the eternal, the eternal truth, with his proof he disproves the truth; for the truth is precisely that each must be personally accountable to God. This (i.e., the truth) he will not understand, and still he wants to prove its rightness **253**

[a] and all that is only a very poor thing when one wishes it, and he differs only in degree from a criminal who also poetizes away the guilt, "removes it from himself by poetic invention."

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254 It is calamitous enough to be surprised by someone when seeking solitude. It isn't so bad if one is surprised by someone who has lost his way, or a group that prsmbly comes there only seldom; but to have found one's solitary nook and then suddenly to be surprised by a solitary person who is looking for the same thing is just as calamitous as becoming the object of an insane man's fixed idea or the fixed idea of a[a] hysterical female.

[a](*Politivennen* writes this word: holsterical)

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255 I am now going to write discourses for occasions instead of edifying discourses. Wedding speeches, communion discourses, or funeral discourses.

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256 It's a fine phrase the common man uses about dying: that God or Our Lord brings him clarity, that is, for 222 the moment it has become precisely darkest—for where is it as dark as in the grave—God brings clarity.

#

257 The second marriage is only a mediocre, pirated copy, a mediocre second edition.

#

258 One busies oneself with the holy, goes regularly to church, prays, reads edifying works, ah! in this way one does even more than many others. But suppose now that God doesn't care about this, suppose with infinity's superiority he said: Of what concern are you to me? Could anyone bear that thought? to refrain from thinking it involves no similar difficulties.

#

259 The young mother (pretty, straight-backed, a velvet shawl, brisk) with her little son. She didn't allow the boy's little pranks to disturb her at all but joined in the prayers, followed everything in the hymnal during the mass. She had hit upon the precaution of assigning the child a small space on the pew where he took care of himself while she was wholly absorbed in worship. Alas! Usually, parents are so busy getting the children to sit still, as if this were their business in church. How good to see her choose the one thing needful, and how beautifully she solved the problem. Purely aesthetically, I thanked all good guardian spirits that everything went off quietly, and will not forget this beautiful picture easily.

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260 Exchanging the temporal for the eternal (commonly said about death) can be used to great effect in the edifying.

223

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NB. **261**

That the principle of identity is in a sense higher than, is foundational for, the principle of contradiction is not hard to see. But the principle of identity is simply the limit of hum. thinking, it is like the blue mountains, like the line the draftsman calls the base—the main thing is the drawing. So long as I live in time, the principle of identity is just an abstraction. Therefore, in no way is it easier to delude oneself and others into believing that one is thinking the identity of everything, than by ignoring the difference. But one has to ask such a pers. how he goes about living, for in identity I am outside time. Suicide is therefore the only ethical consequence of maintaining the principle of identity in time. The confusion arises, therefore, simply from living in categories other than those one writes books in—Oh! miserable book writing.

As long as I live, I live in contradiction, for life itself is contradiction. On the one hand I have the eternal truth, on the other the manifold existence that a hum. being as such cannot penetrate, for then he would have to be all-knowing.

The connecting link is therefore faith.

The identity can never be terminus a quo but is terminus ad quem, one constantly arrives only at it, namely by abstraction.

35 terminus a quo] *Latin,* boundary (or limit) from which; the place from which one starts **35** terminus ad quem] *Latin,* boundary (or limit) to which; the end at which one aims

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262 The dialectic of the beginning is no doubt hackneyed, but one side has been forgotten, that the beginning must be a breaking off and presuppose accordingly a whole train of thought in order to arrive at the beginning. Thus there is no presuppositionless beginning; for if nothing else, the action is presupposed whereby I abstract from everything. But at no moment can I do this, and so I cannot begin at all, since I use my strength to abstract from everything.

224

#

263 These days I suffer very much from the mute nausea of thoughts. There is an anxiety about me, I can't even say what it is I can't understand. Just like Nebuchadnezzar I must ask not only for an explanation of the dream, but that someone tell me what it was I dreamt.

#

264 A beginning is always a resolution, but a resolution is really eternal (for otherwise it is only fooling about and something that later examination will prove to be skepticism). As when I want to resolve to study logic. So I stake my whole life. Otherwise it is no good and I study only as if to the second examination. At the same instant comes the worry about whether it can be one's life's vocation, or defensible to use the whole of one's life on it. Unless I have this or a similar reflection, I don't begin by virtue of a resolution but by virtue of talent (or folly—fashion—etc., in order to belong) and begin therefore immediately, which explains nothing at all.

Which after all is why modern science has become so deceitful and keeps quiet on how the individual should conduct himself. The reason why one cannot understand them [i.e., those who do modern science] is that they don't know how they did it themselves. Even significant writings often conceal an untruth, because the author has not understood himself but rather a certain science, the latter of which is much easier than the former.

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If Hegel had written his entire *Logic* and said in the preface that it was merely a thought experiment in which he had even shirked things in various places, he would no doubt have been the greatest thinker that ever lived. As it is he is comical **265**

225

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[a]See Trendlenburg *elementa*, bottom of page p. 15 and top of p. 16, and many passages in *Logische Untersuchungen*.

The highest principles can be demonstrated only indirectly (negatively). This idea is frequently found and developed in Trendlenburg's *Logische Untersuchungen*. For me it is important for the leap, and to show that the highest can be reached only as a limit. **266**

As far as the inferential figures go, the possibility of a negative conclusion far outweighs the affirmative. cf. Trendlenburg's *Erlaüterungen* to his Aristotelian Logic, p. 58.

From analogy and induction one can reach a conclusion only by a leap.

All other conclusions are essentially identity.

Trendlenburg seems not at all aware of the leap.

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The double meaning of the immediate in Aristotle. **267**

Trendlenburg *Erlaüterungen*, p. 109, reference to § 51.

In Hegelian philosophy the immed. is used partly arbitrarily partly subreptitiously (as the sensuous).

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To be able to occupy oneself continually with the same thing is a good sign, for it is only gypsies who, once they have been to a place, never go there again. (cf. *Preciosa*, where the old Gypsy woman says it.) **268**

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226

269 Just as Tordenskjold deceived the Swedes about the number of his troops by having the same soldiers march around another street and then march back again—just as the person, who, on New Year's Day, sees the firemen tirelessly busy with rushing through the streets to offer their greetings, and might think that the fire company has a great many members, though they are the same people—so also one might also believe that our times are truly moved, that our times truly have something to say. But it is just the same old undernourished turns of phrase, which march around the corner and come back again, these undernourished turns of phrase—it is what the times require, a long-felt need, the danger is at the gate. Thus, the requirement of the times is now a new hymnal; Heiberg thinks it is astronomy—perhaps astronomical hymns should be chosen for inclusion in the Supplement.—I think that the times have only one requirement, namely to be hoodwinked. This requirement will surely be satisfied.

#

270 NB. God can only show himself to a human being in a miracle; that is, as soon as he sees God, he sees a miracle. But on his own it is not possible for him to see the miracle, for the miracle is his own annihilation. The Jews expressed this figuratively, saying that to see God was death. More correctly one might say that to see God or to see the miracle is by virtue of the absurd, for the understanding must give way

[a]NB. 1

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271 So little by little there is a bit more talk of the paradox; thus before long the chatter about it will help make the paradox a ενδοξον. How comical are these people, who are once and for all freed from having to think of anything when they speak, and who merely are hungry for a new word to bandy about.

33 ενδοξον] *Greek,* widely shared view

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227

The Sophist Gorgias is supposed to have said, die Tragödie sei eine Taüschung, bei welcher der Taüschende gerechter erscheine als der Nichttaüschende; und der Getaüschte weiser als der Nichtgetaüschte.—This referred to the fact that the art of acting is and remains a deception.—Rötscher cites the words in his *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*, Berlin 1841 p. 20, note, and cites this passage from Bode *Geschichte der hellenischen Dichtkunst*. **272**

[a] And it is true in many respects that the person who is deceived—that is, the person who lets himself be deceived—is wiser than the person who is not deceived. For example, in relation to illusion and enthusiasm.

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Much of what is said in in vino veritas will perhaps seem terribly sensual. I already hear an outcry of indignation, and yet what is it in comparison with Goethe, e.g., Philine in *Wilhelm Meister*. **273**

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Rachel says: So this is what it's like to be a mother? Isn't this true regarding many things in life: Is this how it is? **274**

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At Esrom **275**

Sunshine in the foreground. The clouds gather over Grib's Forest (toward Nøddeboe). The clouds wander down toward Esrom, the trees bend under them (due to the wind). It looks as if the whole thing were an army, a people migrating; the clouds are like the light cavalry along the flank.

#

the comical always consists in *contradiction*. If a man seeks permission to establish himself as a proprietor of an alehouse and is refused, it is not comical. On the other hand, if a girl seeks permission to establish herself as a prostitute and is refused, which sometimes **276**

1 die Tragödie . . . Nichtgetaüschte] *German,* Tragedy is a deception in which the deceiver properly appears as the nondeceiver, and the deceived as wiser than the nondeceived. (Kierkegaard's umlaut errors)

228 happens, then it is comical; it contains a number of contradictions and is therefore very comical.

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277 If the alehouse proprietor was denied permission because there were so many alehouses, it was not comical, but if he was denied permission because there were so few, it would be laughable, just as with the baker's quip to the poor person who asked for something: No, ma'am, she won't get anything—one can't give to everyone—someone was here recently, and he didn't get anything either.

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278 The discourses of the Seducer are like the clouds one calls scud.

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279 In connection with what I read in Rötscher on the ethical accent, it occurs to me that I have also made proper use of it in my personal life, both as a poet and as an orator, when I said—in connection with the abrogation of my relationship with Regine and the engagement and her certain death—She chooses the shriek, I choose the pain. Now I can say, She chose the shriek, I chose the pain.

#

280 In the intro. to his poem "Prometheus" Shelley remarks that the idea of Prometheus seems to him far more beautiful than the idea of the Devil because Prometheus is pure and lofty, not corrupted and corrupting like Satan. This is true, but there is an entirely different problem: vis-à-vis God to think an idea as justified as the idea of Prometheus. Satan is indeed great, but his corruptedness is precisely what makes it possible to think of him together with God.

#

229

NB. **281**

All talk of a higher unity which is supposed to unite absolute opposites is only a metaphysical assault on ethics. So, too, is all the stupid talk about the positive and the positive, that one is a denying spirit, but the speaker is a positive spirit—nonsense! To the same extent a hum. being has positivity he also has negativity. Freedom never forgets this dialectical origin of freedom. It is simply the result of a person being careless in his categories: one speaks of the Good and praises it; perhaps one cites an example, and look, it is a pure, immed. category—for example, a good heart, what one calls a good person. One says that one must doubt everything, and then when one writes on Hamlet one is shocked at this disease of reflection—and yet Hamlet had not even brought it to the point of doubting everything. Woe! woe! woe! Siebenbürgen.

#

I might like to apply Baggesen's words to Prof. David: Everything comes to an end, even the frock coat that Mr. N. had turned for a third time, even Jesper Morten's sermon at the last vespers had an end. **282**

#

Lines by an Individual. **283**

1 [a]Actually intended for the Judge in "The Wrong Side and the Right Side"

"When she was a girl, my wife taught me to write short sentences, for sometimes she sat with me, and she promised me a kiss at the end of every sentence. So when I had learned to write short sentences, for which my reviewer praised me, I got married, and then my wife taught me that writing books was not worth the trouble."

#

230

In the old days cloth must have been so fine that the nap grew out again on the inside. This was why one **284**

could have a coat turned twice (Father had this done with his "porcelain" coat) and only then was it both turned and scraped.

#

285 the stupid thing about Grundtvig (who now has completely dropped out and gone into vaudeville, for which he has always had a peculiar affinity—for example, in the mindlessness of wanting to be a prophet and seer without having the slightest idea of how such a figure must be modified in accordance with all the crises of Christianity) is that he always wants to have *certainty* about spirit. This is the source of the insipid heartiness and cleverness a la Lars Mathiesen. Fortunately, he chose the words "Ladies and Gentlemen," which are entirely reminiscent of The Hill at the Deer Park. As with his cleverness, so also with the Oh! Ah!, a bodyguard of interjections from the open-shirted, the only class of peop. whom Grundtvig has won over to himself.—He intends to produce such great effects by speaking. oh! yes, especially in the direction of obscurity. Incidentally, perhaps he could also produce an effect by standing on his head. In the end, sweating, furrowing his brow, striking his forehead, smiling self-confidently, swooning visibly under the power of the spirit, etc., become proof of the truth of the teaching. It is just like when Helveg leaped from his pulpit in honor of Christianity and prbly wanted to demonstrate its truth by the fact that he could leap a foot into the air.

#

286 The presupposition or, as it were, musical key of consciousness steadily rises, but within that key the same thing repeats itself. It is well known that a volley of cannon fire makes it impossible to hear, but it is also well known that one can become so accustomed to cannon fire that one is able to hear every word. Thus, for example, in modern times much more than in the days of the Greeks, the silence within which we hear is a

[a]it seems to me equally ridiculous when a strapping fellow of a priest strikes gladiatorial poses when he prays—showing the movement of the muscles in his arms, etc.—in order to show how passionately he is praying. It is not muscles that are needed in order to pray and to pray passionately—nor is this the sort of trembling which is of spirit and inwardness.

noise. This noise would have been more than enough for the Greeks, 231
but we speak, just as someone in the midst of cannon fire says
whatever he pleases, since for him the cannon fire is silence.

#

The difference betw. the art of the actor and that of reality. **287**

The actor must appear to be agitated while he is calm (if he is
really upset, it is a mistake). In reality one must seem to be calm even
though one is agitated (if one is not really agitated, it is a mistake,
and it is easy enough to be calm).

10

It is quite strange for me to read the 3rd chapter of the 3rd book **288**
of Aristotle's de anima. A year and a half ago I began a little essay "de
omnibus dubitandum" in which I made my first attempt at a little
speculative exposition. The motivating concept I used was: error.
Aristotle uses it as well. At that time I had not read the least bit of Ar- 15
istotle, but certainly some Plato.

But the Greeks remain my consolation. The damned mendacity
which was ushered into philosophy with Hegel, the unending in-
sinuation and betrayal and the marshalling and belaboring one or
another Greek passage! 20

Praised be Trendlenburg, one of the most sober-thinking philoso-
phers I know.

#

NB. I must again publish a little polemical piece like "Prefaces" by **289**
1 [a]NB Nicolaus Notabene. I think it could be done under the title "Spec- 25
imens, or Samples of Various Writing." The individual types will
then be parodied. This is also in order that irony might appear to bet- 232
ter advantage.

It is clear that the place which politics held in Greece has been **290**
taken in Xnty by religion (that which is genuinely of the people): 30
that which is spoken about and which acts through speech. From a

purely formal point of view, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* would shed much light on religious problems. He consigns the entire question of being and nonbeing—which is not found at all in Aristotle's philosophy (his ουσια πρωτη and δευτερα , cf. the *Categories*, are something completely different)—to the *Rhetoric*, as that which is especially to evoke conviction. πιστις, in the plural he uses πιστεις.

#

291 If my memory does not fail me, it is in *Minna von Barnhelm* that Lessing has one of the characters say that a wordless sigh is the best way to worship God. This sounds good, but it actually means that one does not really dare to or wish to get involved with the religious, but only stare at it once in a while, as at the boundaries of existence: the blue mountains. If one is to clothe oneself in the religious every day, then trying difficulties arise.

#

#

292 There are many vociferous and easily perspiring people who are stupid enough to assume that their stupidity is seriousness and seriously stupid enough to want to make other people believe it. So what is called seriousness is the easiest of all postures instead of having seriousness be the finest fruit of the uttermost reflection. The person who does not have a capacity for jesting against which to measure his seriousness becomes serious in the manner of Holberg's Jeronimus. This is the source of that hypocritical outcry against everyone who is not stupid enough but who is witty and
233 jesting and then, at the right point, serious: "He is not serious." On the contrary, the reverse is the case: Whoever does not dare at every moment to submit his seriousness to the test of jest, he is stupid, is comical

#

293 I have sent back a little piece that Reitzel has sent me but I will nonetheless make a note of the title:

Über die Aesthetik der Hegelschen Philosophie
by Wilhelm Danzel. Hamburg 1844.

#

Hamann's so-called marriage of conscience, which **294**
was not something civic, what is it all about. In the
preface to the 3rd volume, Roth merely mentions it and
says that there are documents but that he dare not
publish them. He also cites Reichardt's *Urania* for 1812.

Must be looked into

There is something quite droll about this: Hamann **295**
says that for God nothing is forgotten, but that human
beings are given ideas and thoughts which one never
gets more than once in one's life—and this statement,
precisely this statement, occurs *two* times in the 3rd
volume and in the 5th vol. I have noted these in my
copy.

the thinnest beer can foam just as powerfully as the **296**
strongest, but the difference is that the thin beer's foam
holds for one minute at the most, the strong beer's
foam in proportion to the strength of the beer. Thus also
with hum. beings, the difference is not that some can
foam and others cannot; they all have a time for this,
but the question is how long it holds.

#

234

When Father died, Sibbern said to me, "Now you **297**
will never get your theology degree," and then that
was exactly what I got. Had Father lived on, I would
never have got it.—When I abrogated the engagement,
Peter said to me, "Now you are lost." And yet it is clear
that if I have become anything, I have become so by
means of that step.

———

298 The same doubts that oppose belief in God—which arise through the consideration of the world, nature, oneself, the course of events—those same doubts may occur with respect to Xnty. With respect to Xnty I cannot require greater certainty or any other certainty than what I have with respect to this assurance of God's existence.—Someday it might be worthwhile to develop this parallel.—

#

299 *The Police Agent*

Should be treated dramatically.

A demonic figure who could just as easily have been a merry fellow, indeed, a murderer, etc., but who is now a servant of justice. (a misspent childhood and youth have filled him with hatred of the hum. race.)

The notion of the entirety of police justice merely as a form of self-defense against poverty, like the Spartans' relation to the helots. (The contradiction of the idea.)

The contradiction in having such a figure serve justice, and yet he does it so well that he is the most distinguished.

300 Under the title "Private Studies," and to be kept as delicate as possible, I would like to depict a female character who was great by virtue of her lovably modest and bashful resignation (e.g., a somewhat idealized Cornelia Olsen, the most excellent female figure I have known and the only one who has compelled my admiration). She would have the experience of seeing her sister marry the person whom she herself loved. This is the collision for resignation.

#

[a]There ought to be something uncertain in his conduct, something which has its origin in his inner uncertainty but which he himself, lying to himself and others, explained as cunning. His uncertainty was not a lie, but it was a lie when he subsequently explained it as artfulness. Sometimes he spoke the truth, which he had not wished to speak, but afterward he lied and explained that this was in order to spy on the others.

A counter-parable to the one about the different sorts of seed. **301**

It should be about preachers.

The owner of an estate gave each of his servants the same amount of the same good-quality seed corn.

But one stored the seed corn in a damp place so that it spoiled and began to sprout ahead of time.

And one mixed it with lesser seed.

And one thought, Well, the seed now belongs to me—why should I sow it? And he sold it for money.

And one who did sow the seed, but he broadcast it as carelessly as if it were worthless.

One sowed it but was too sparing with it.

This is sloppy work because the unity of the idea is not preserved, but it can be made use of. The idea is quite good and is especially suited to serve as a conclusion of a discourse or as a beginning, in order to remove misconceptions.

#

A reckless and vain individual always has an extraordinary notion of an apostle's excellence, e.g., how fortunate, how splendid it is to be an apostle; a humble and profound individual always has an extraordinary notion of an apostle's sufferings. **302**

The Popular **303**

One is not unpopular because one uses technical terms, for this is accidental and admits of accommodation, as happens, step by step, all the way down to the simplest man.

The person who is unpopular and remains so is the 236
person who thinks a thought all the way through. Therefore Socrates was unpopular despite the fact that he used no technical terms, because his ignorance, when it must be strictly adhered to, makes for a more

strenuous life than does the whole of Hegel's philosophy.

#

304 Indeed, it can also be healthy to keep a wound open: a healthy and open wound; sometimes it is worst when it heals over

#

305 A new science must be introduced, Christian rhetoric. It is to be constructed ad modum Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The whole of dogmatics, especially what it has now developed into, is a misunderstanding.

#

306 In the old days a person believed that what was heard concerned himself: de te fabula, that everything concerned oneself. Now everyone believes that he can tell a fable that concerns the entire hum. race, but not himself.

#

307 A genius who is misunderstood by his times consoles himself with the notion of a better posterity. these seem like grand words to people, but they are in fact feeble words. The world always remains more or less the same; or is a generation that pays homage to what he has said better because he said it? The generation that admires him at the same time crucifies a contemporary whom in turn a subsequent generation admires, for the world is always the same and what it cannot stand is to be contemporaneous with greatness.—I cannot understand why this sort of thing is so capable of preoccupying a genius. No—for example, to hope someday to encounter Socr. in order to confer with him in a beautiful dialogue—and then a pox on the contemporary world and on posterity.

9 ad modum] *Latin,* in the style of **14** de te fabula] *Latin,* the fable [tells] of you

[a] Here Carneades' doctrine of probability could also be noted; cf. Ritter *Gesch. der Philosophie* 3[d] vol. pp. 677, 78, 79.

[b] **NB**

[c] Aristotle situates rhetoric and the means of arousing belief (πιστεις) in relation to probability so that (as opposed to knowledge) it concerns itself with states of affairs that can also be otherwise. Christian rhetoric will differ from Greek rhetoric in that it only concerns itself with *improbability*, with showing that something is improbable in order that one can believe it. In this case, probability is just as much to be shunned as was improbability in the other case, but the difference from knowledge is the same in both cases.

#

237

If in order to avoid being recognized, a king dressed as a peddler, and by chance there was a peddler who resembled the king to a tee, one would laugh at both of them, but for opposite reasons: at the peddler because he was not the king, at the king because he was the peddler. **308**

#

When he gave the meager gift (he could not afford more) to a poor person, the simple citizen always removed his hat with a gesture as profound as if the person were his superior and in a manner as friendly as if the person were his best friend. **309**

#

It is certain that one learns more from children than from anyone else, but it is also certain that this is precisely what can easily corrupt a father. To have someone around whom one can subject to everything and yet require not only obedience but love, to have someone around with respect to whom one is always in the right—this is a dangerous matter. **310**

#

From a possible preface to my Occasional Discourses. **311**

. . . Or mightn't there be a woman who embroiders cloth for sacred use, who makes every stitch as carefully as possible and perhaps starts over many times; but wouldn't it make her sad if someone saw the wrong thing and looked at the beads sewn on instead of at the altar cloth, or saw a mistake instead of seeing the altar cloth? She found joy beyond price in doing everything as carefully as possible precisely because this work was without significance and was not supposed to have significance, for the seamstress was not able to sew the significance into the cloth—it resides in the observer

238

#

. . . . Instead of conscience and the spirit of God, to make a society from bestial effluvia of hum. beings, something that sweats out of **312**

them in crowds, something called public opinion and, by the philosophers, objective Spirit

#

313 among all glittering sins, the affected virtues are the worst.

#

314 Those strong breaths in the breast of the organ.

#

315 The contradiction, the coachman on the pauper's hearse, whose solitary horse he had only half covered with the horse blanket, the better to whip it. the profundity of death. the prosaic in this.

#

316 The sin in a hum. being is like the Greek fire which cannot be extinguished with water—in this case, only with tears.

#

239
317

A new writing.

God's Judgment.

A Story of Suffering.

Psychological Experiment
by

. . . . . de profundis.

Here the categories of sin are to be employed. The self-enclosedness is in the circumstance that he dare not let anyone know that he is suffering a punishment.

1 [a]A Married Man.

[b] it would be easy enough for him to be released if he would initiate her into his suffering, but his fear is precisely that this would totally destroy her or make her sympathetic in such a manner that she would follow him like Cain's wife, and that was exactly what he did not want.— On other hand, he thinks he owes it to God to remain silent about his sufferings in this erotic fashion.

cf. p. 185 bottom.
cf. p. 194.

241
318 Conclusion—Enthymeme—Resolution.

A Trilogy.

This will be an investigation of importance to my [work] on the leap and on the difference betw. a pathetic and a dialectical transition.

In the final analysis, what I call a pathetic transition is what Aristotle calls an enthymeme. Perhaps. How strange, that I am only now reading about the enthymeme in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

319 Sometimes one becomes impatient because one does not have greater success in willing the good, but this impatience is not, however, sorrow over one's sin, but an act of violence against God. and lack of sincerity.

#

320 sometimes it is an anxiety-producing memory, as when a runaway prisoner passes by or approaches a released criminal, like the memory of something long left behind which comes to visit, bringing anxiety. If a person becomes impatient or refuses to acknowledge it, he has lost. So he complains and thinks it unjust to be reminded of it, instead of humbly giving thanks that he is better now.

#

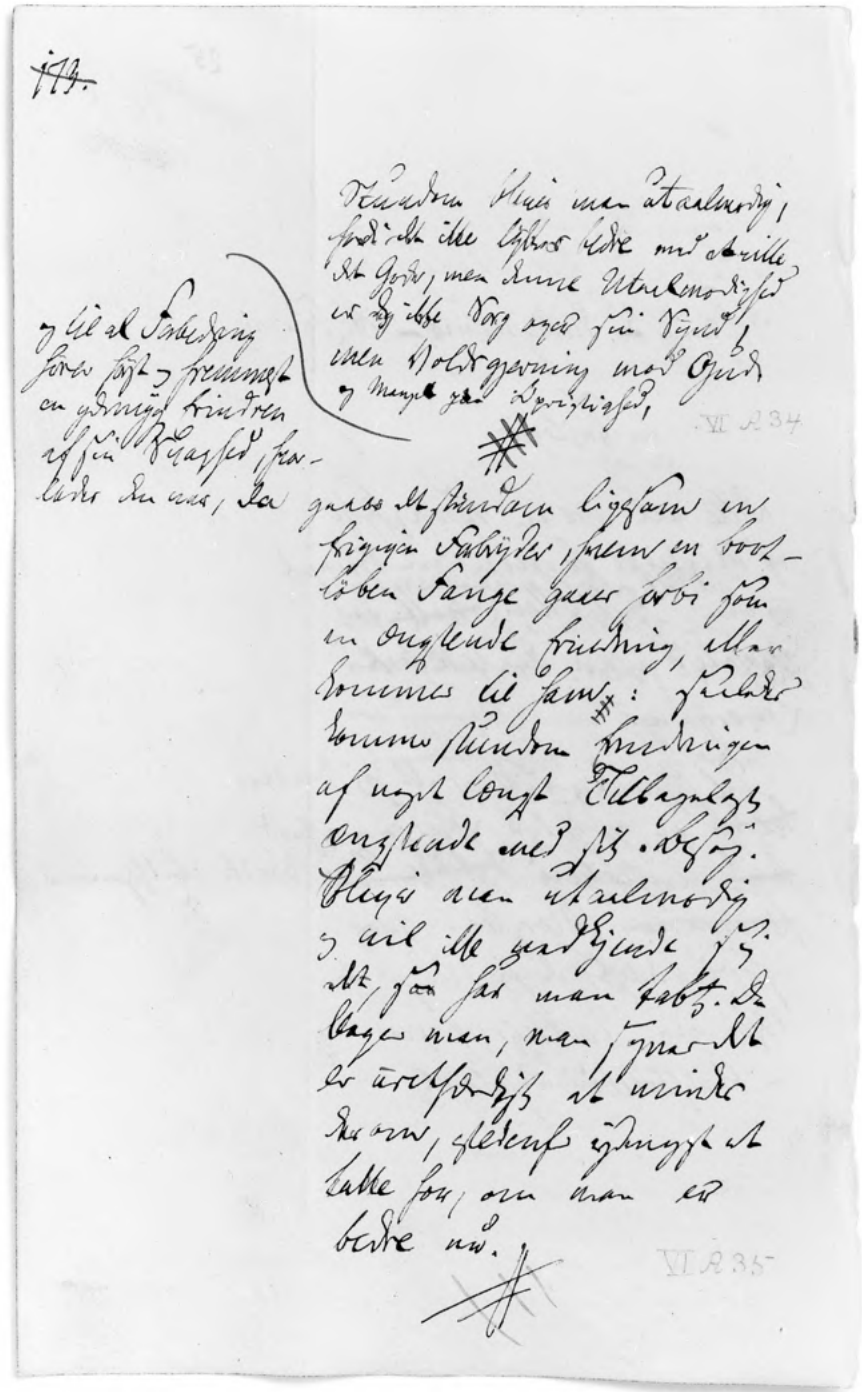
321 My situation with respect to marriage is like that of Diana with respect to those giving birth: unmarried herself, she helped.

#

242
322 The theater was a religious service, not only in Greece, but also in Persia, ni fallor. It was assumed that a person who paid out of his own pocket the costs of

[a]and, first and foremost, all reform includes a humble recollection of one's weakness, of how things were, when

29 ni fallor] *Latin,* if I am not mistaken



Journal JJ:319–320

mounting a play would be rewarded in Heaven. Thus more or less like building churches and monasteries in the Middle Ages.

#

323 *Definition of Irony.*

Irony is the unity of ethical passion, which in inwardness ethically accentuates one's own I, and cultivation, which in outwardness (in associating with hum. beings) infinitely abstracts from one's own I. the result of the latter is that no one notices the former—this is where the art of the matter resides, and this is what makes possible the true infinitization of the former.

324 It is laughable to hear priests in our time warn against the asceticism of the Middle Ages (monks and nuns, etc., flagellation, etc.). Münter especially exerts himself in connection with this—alas! to warn against such things in the 19th cent. (it is crazy).—And then they pass such stupid judgments on asceticism. There was something childlike in it; they had a notion of how frightful it was to bear a responsibility and a guilt throughout the whole of one's life, this unending continuation, while it grew day after day. Asceticism was therefore an expression of this view of life, just as a child suffers his punishment for the day and then everything is forgotten and the child is once again a good child.—in addition, it was an erotic expression. Or if a girl in an erotic relationship wronged the beloved, would she immediately be delighted by his unchanged love? wouldn't she say to him: Oh, scold me a little!—In the end, wouldn't everyone in our time—that is, every individual who has a bit of sense for religion—wouldn't he do the same, but in a different way, so that, for example, he denies himself some pleasure because he isn't happy or satisfied with himself, goes to church—

The priests we have now are the stupidest of all.—and then people 243 want to neglect Bishop Mynster, the only one who knows what's at stake.

#

325 Now is the moment, now is when it must be written: a dialectical guide to the pseudonymous books by all the pseudonymous authors.—

#

The Relation between *Either/Or* and *Stages.* **326**

In *Either/Or* the aesthetic moment was a present individual battling the ethical, and the ethical was the choice to emerge from it. Therefore there were only two moments and the Judge was absolutely victorious, even if it did end with a sermon and with the remark that only the truth that edifies is truth for me (inwardness—from this comes the point of departure for my edifying discourses).

In *Stages* there are 3 moments and the arrangement is different

1) the aesthetic-sensual is repressed as something past (therefore "a memory") because it cannot of course become nothing at all.

the Young Pers. (thought-melancholia); Constantin Const. (the understanding's callousness). Victor Eremita, who now can no longer be the editor (sympathetic irony); the Fashion designer (demonic despair); Johannes the Seducer (perdition, a "marked" individual). He ends with the woman being merely an instant. This is precisely the point at which the Judge begins: that the woman's beauty increases with the years, her reality is precisely in time.

2) the ethical moment is in combat. The Judge is not instructing in gemütlich fashion, but is struggling in existence because he cannot end things at this point, even if at this point he is able to conquer every aesthetic stage with pathos, though he cannot measure up to the aesthetes in wit

244

3) the religious becomes a demonic approximation (the Quidam of the experiment) humor as its presupposition and its incognito (Frater Taciturnus).

14 May 1845 **327**

arrived at Berlin.

The only usable figure on board the steamship was a young fellow (a lad) wearing a velvet cap that was held on by a kerchief, a striped tunic over a coat; in front, a walking stick hanging by a cord from one of the buttons. Ingenuous, open, on a journey, attentive to everything, naive, bashful, and yet dauntless. By combining him

with a melancholy traveler (such as Mr. Hagen) a mournful effect could be produced.

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328 Two new books must be written:

Confessions of a Poet.
His suffering is that he continually wants to be a religious individual and continually errs and becomes a poet: hence an unhappy infatuation with God (passion tending dialectically toward there being something deceptive, as it were, about God.)

#

329 *A Heart's Secrets*
cf p. 163 in the present volume.
(Private Studies)

or

On the Verge of Unhappiness and Yet the Most Unhappy.

There are many such situations in life, when the person who is standing to the side, and thus outside of it, nonetheless suffers the most.

[a]Sophie Beaumarchai. (Clavigo).

330 *A Figure*.
An old man who sits in the Royal Gardens or on the Cherry Alley or the Philosopher's Alley. (The contrast between the warm summer air, the refreshing outdoors: and the old man). He himself is an old widower, has no children, dines with a more prosperous relative once in a while. He sits there regularly on certain days.

#

331 What is really more difficult is to bring a halt to the dialectical element in the suffering of the God-relationship. People say that one must hope that things will get better, that one day you will come to thank God, that after the rain comes the sunshine, etc. What does that mean? Which is better, and why should one thank God?

Apparently whatever is judged to be pleasant or unpleasant according to one's finite understanding. But in that case, even giving thanks is retrogression, because in giving thanks I move in the lowest categories. I carry on with God just as Emeline did with her father. If it is true and if the only expression of the God-relationship is that everything that God does is good, then, of course, talk about something stopping or not stopping, about it being good weather again, etc. (which is appropriate in the temporal world, where bad weather really is not good weather) is retrogression. The error is rooted in this: at one moment one acts as if one wants to make the enormous movement of infinity, and at the next moment one lacks the courage for it, and hopes and gives thanks within the categories of finitude. It is like the situation with lovers. Satisfied with each other, they will do without, or could do without, everything, but soon, soon, while they don't stop loving each other, they look at the matter differently, and when things get difficult they hope for better times when love will be truly happy (thus it is, after all, insufficiently absolute) and then give thanks again (thus it was insufficiently absolute). In most edifying works one finds no guidance whatever concerning this dialectical zigzagging.—As far back as I can remember, perhaps nothing has made so deep an impression 246
on me as do the psalms of David nowadays, alas! but in these dialectical zigzags he fails a person. The situation is this: all the many things, profound and splendid and refreshing and soothing, which move hearts and reins—they express the content of his life. But then when I have to begin and gather it all together into an overarching idea which is as lyrical as it is dialectical, it shatters. At one point he hopes—and then again, now for eternity, then temporally, though these two categories of hope are separated by an eternity, and it must be clear which is which—and at another point he consoles himself with his innocence; at one point he curses his enemies, etc. But the beginner, who of course must begin in uncertainty, is not well served by this. He needs a single thought, a single one—whether it is to be the eternal (that everything is good, equally good, and that postponing the giving of thanks is foolishness or fraud); whether it is to be the pleasant and the unpleasant; whether God is to be everything, and a hum. being is not to breathe a word except to say It is good; or whether a hum. being is to join in the conversation.

=

332 to p. 171 bottom.

The dialectical contradiction must be sustained in such a way that it is ambiguous whether his self-enclosedness is solely due to his erotic infatuation with God or to his pride in relation to hum. beings.

Even in the psalms of David there are instances of the sort of self-enclosedness that wants to avoid every hum. relationship in order to be on terms of familiarity with God.

#

333 The dialectic of infinity in religious suffering (e.g., if we had hope only for this life, we would be the most wretched of all) must come to a halt in temporality (the fear of God has promise for this present life). But how are these two relations to be classified. The highest expression of the worth of earthly life (temporality) is of course precisely the expectation or the presence of the eternal. But that very instant I again abandon the whole extent of my earthly understanding, and the more concrete understanding of "the promise for this life" is made difficult because it is really identified with the aforementioned "promise for the life to come." If indeed the fear of God has a promise for the life to come, and I know this, then in temporality this knowledge of mine is itself the promise the fear of God has for the present life.

247

If a pers. really wanted to employ the latent categories of religious infinity in his discourse, he would be viewed as mad. Even a remark of the sort made by Socrates, "that when the skipper has brought the passenger across the sea to his destination, then he (the skipper) walks quite calmly up and down the beach, accepts his pay, and yet he cannot know whether he has performed a service or whether it would have been better for the passenger to have perished at sea"—even such a remark as this (if the reader has the capacity to notice the dialectical subtlety and did not slide over it or think it a figure of speech) would be viewed as a sign of madness.

Herein lies the deceptive madness of the dialectical presentation; only the dialectical person discovers it, and he also knows that it is not at all madness (just as little as it is madness to view my eternal knowledge as more certain than my knowledge via the senses, even though people generally say the opposite; and when a person dares to say, That God exists is just as certain as that I am holding

this cane in my hand. Alas! this is a poor sort of certainty, which even Greek skepticism could deprive one of. No, that God exists is certain in a quite different way than absolutely everything sensed); the inexperienced person, the person bewitched by the System, notices nothing, because there is no yelling, which is precisely the dialectical contradiction, because the immediate is only aware of itself when it screams, the dialectical is certain in itself.

#

248

334 . . . In paganism the Furies were seen pursuing the guilty, their frightful figures were seen—but remorse cannot be seen, remorse is hidden, a hidden pregnancy of which a bad conscience is the father.

1 [a]and because the Furies were actual figures, they had to remain outside the temple in which the unfortunate person found refuge—but remorse 5 accompanied him inside.

=

335 Here the dialectical is already present (in relation to the inwardness of the religious). Now someone has the anxiety-producing worry that the most frightful of all things will happen—what then, should he command this thought to be gone so as not plague himself[?] In that case he makes finite categories decisive for the religious, which is irreligious. Should he open himself to the thought? Then how do we bring the dialectic to a halt? (cf. p 182) Should he say, Yet, not my will, but thine? If this prayerful utterance is to be truthful and not a deceptive turn of phrase in the service of finite categories, then one must actually have thought of the possibility of the worst thing, but this thought is just as dreadful as the actuality of the suffering. Or should one perhaps say that a hum. being's happiness is also a part of the religious and that therefore one ought to banish dark thoughts; God wants us to be happy. Right, but how does he want us to be happy[?] Now the dialectic begins again. Shouldn't we be happy by holding on to God and losing everything, i.e., not merely reconciling ourselves to it, but crying out rapturously: Look, this is the only, the only happiness, the only bliss.

#

336 The immed. religious person does many things that the infinitely reflected religious person, when he does the same things because they are noble, must understand half humorously and half repentantly. E.g., the immed. religious person goes to church 3 times every Sunday. He surely does not build his salvation on this (then he would be irreligious or he would not know what he was doing), but he is nonetheless happy to be able to do a little to repay God for all that God
249 can do for him (here the Socratic saying is appropriate, when Socr. would not accept the invitation to come to King Archelaus because he could not reciprocate—thus many will not involve themselves with God because they feel that they will become nothing). In the OT in Mohammedanism in the Midd. Ages, good deeds appear as meritorious in an innocent sense.—The infinitely reflected person does the same thing, e.g., goes to church 3 times every Sunday, but he understands the situation strictly humorously and with a willingness to repent immediately: humorously, inasmuch as he cannot refrain from doing it, cannot become weary of hearing His word and of being in His house; half repentantly, if it nonetheless were true that he repeatedly needs a new stimulus in his relationship with God.

#

337 At one point in *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner aus arabischen Qvellen* by Dr. G. Weill, Frankfurt a.M. 1845; it is stated, with respect to one of the characters who is discussed, that God Himself personally accompanied him to his grave and walked in front of the coffin and the 4 angels behind.—The sheer humor in this . .

#

338 In the same book it is related a number of times that the holy persons who are discussed request that God subject them to a difficult trial in order that they might prove their devotion to him—and then they fail.

[a]A scene in which he is in rural surroundings and hears the merriment of some children swimming in the cove of a little freshwater lake, then sees them come marching along the road, having fun, which impresses upon him the disparity between being a child like this and existing, as he does, with this enormous responsibility, whereas the more mature ages of animals and plants and everything else correspond to what childhood is.

[b]Lines: what I particularly miss is my pulpit: This is the situation in which one has sufferings and the deathbed and the sickbed.

[c]de occultis non judicat ecclesia could be the title.

[d]and lines by him: Would that it were not the case that the Church does not judge what is hidden—would that it did. What is to many a consolation is to me the prolongation of my sufferings. Shall I blurt it out myself? Then my work would be hindered. Dare I not do so?

[e]I have purchased a new copy of the canon law in order to study it once again, concerning again whether I dare become priest—but simply purchasing the book I had the shivers because it was as if the book dealer could notice, by looking at me, what an agonizing study I am making of it.

250

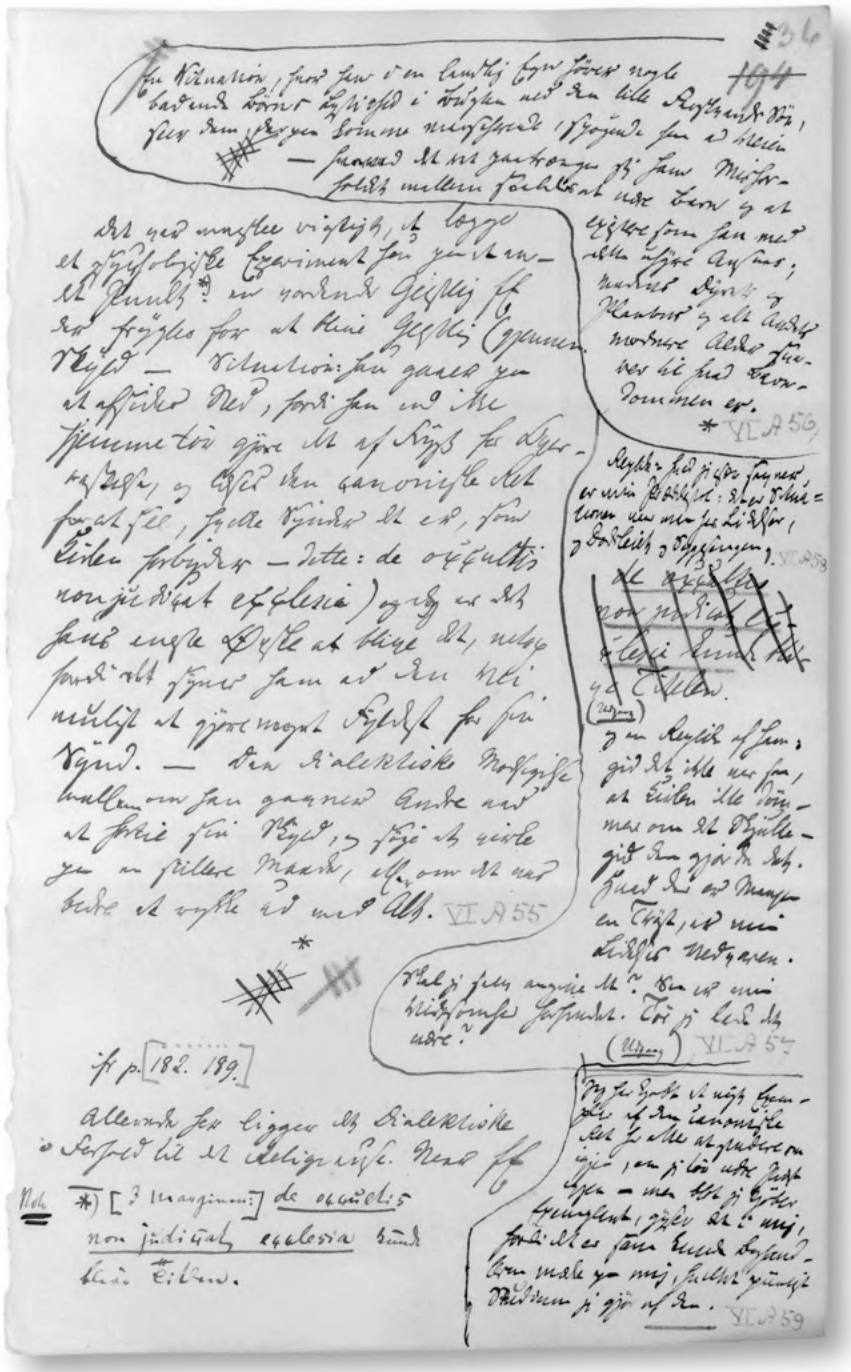
#

It might be right to situate a psychological experiment at another point: e.g., a future cleric who fears becoming a clergyman (because of some matter of guilt he goes to an out-of-the-way place—because he doesn't even dare to do it at home for fear of being taken by surprise—and reads canon law to see which sins are forbidden by the Church, this de occultis non judicat ecclesia). And yet his sole wish to is become a cleric, precisely because it seems to him that in this way he can make satisfaction for his sin.—The dialectical contradiction betw. whether he benefits others by keeping quiet about his guilt, trying to work more quietly, or whether it would be better to come out with everything. **339**

#

cf p. 182. 189. **340**

Even here the dialectical is present in relation to the religious. If, e.g., a hum. being imploringly said to



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God that he still had not entirely made Xnty his own, that he had remaining doubts, and would God therefore grant him the time to conquer them (and in this way, of course, some time always passes), then he is immediately seized by the dialectical, because this use of time instantly becomes infinitely dialectical (suppose he died tomorrow and Xnty was the only salvation and he was not included), because the eternal decision moves at infinite speed. This in turn shows how difficult it is to get a historical point of departure for eternal salvation. 252

#

Now it must be done: A self-enclosed person is to be sketched in a third moment in which he himself discovers that his guilt is nothing other than the circumstance that he has been self-enclosed.— The dialectical element: Whether he himself now, in this instant, is not greater (demonically speaking) than if he had spoken out right away. Therefore the self-enclosedness returns, and even though he has made this discovery he keeps it to himself, self-enclosed. **341**

#

In a way, it is easy to prove that punishment in Hell is eternal, and in any case here it is once again possible to demonstrate how difficult it is to get a historical point of departure for an eternal salvation in time, and in addition, how thoughtlessly hum. beings behave. The first point (the problem of *The Fragments*) is supposed to be so easy to understand, everyone can grasp it. No one wants to accept the second point (the eternity of punishment in Hell, i.e., eternal damnation), and the Church teaches about it in vain, because it is safe to assume that no one believes it. Alas! Alas! Alas, what thinkers! The problem is entirely the same. If anyone can think of the one (a decision in time regarding an eternal salvation) then he has eo ipso also thought of the other one. If time can be an adequate medium for a decision regarding an eternal salvation, then of course it is also one for an eternal damnation. This is the crux of the matter, while the proofs put forward by the orthodox are devoid of all fundamental distinctions. **342** 253

The crux is simply that the eternal eludes a decision in time because it presupposes itself.

#

343 In our day speculators are so stupidly objective that they entirely forget that the thinker himself is of course like the flutist's instrument and that it is therefore of the greatest importance to know one's instrument (this is where psychology is situated), indeed, it is of quite exceptional importance because the thinker's relation to his object is an infinite inwardness which no flutist has to his instrument.

#

344 objective thinking is not the least bit concerned about the thinker, and it finally becomes so objective that it thinks like the customs officer who was only concerned with writing—the others were concerned with reading.

#

345 When one really thinks of *an existence under the aspect of eternity, the consequence is eo ipso isolation*. The desperate thing is that one never learns anything about this from thinkers—they leap over this sort of thing. But merely when—e.g. (in Weil *biblische Legenden der Muselmanner* Frankfurt a. M. 1845) p. 277—it is stated that at the end of the world Adam will cry out: Oh, Lord! Save only my soul, I am not concerned about either Eve or Abel; and then all of Xst's talk of the downfall of Jerusalem—where the point is precisely that the eternal validity of the God-relationship will neutralize every relationship, when he says (Mk 13:9) As for yourselves, beware—what then becomes of all the busy, world-historical social categories?

#

254

346 Even if the System politely showed me to a guest room up in the attic so that I could at least be a part of things, I would still prefer to be a thinker who is like a bird on a branch.

#

347 It would perhaps also be interesting to understand *Lady Macbeth* like this: She does not walk in her sleep, but she dare not sleep, she fears that sleep will betray something.

15 eo ipso] *Latin,* for that reason

Midnight scene: She is sitting alone in her room, she walks about anxiously and looks to see that all the doors are closed (she becomes melancholy-distraught, checks on this several times because it seems to her that she had forgot it the previous time), thus she is almost like a woman who walks in her sleep when she sits there:

Sleep, sleep, terrible invention, frightful terrible necessity, you, the only power I fear, who have been able to wrest my secret from me, which no pers. has been able to do, you cunning enchanter who charms a pers. into your power and makes him his own betrayer, so you have the power, while I sleep you are capable of doing what no other can do—no, I am not asleep yet, I will not sleep—and yet I must sleep oh! dreadful necessity, why can I not dispense with sleep as I have learned to dispense with the feelings of the heart which are a necess. to others—but I sleep behind closed doors, the panelling is arranged to muffle every sound—and yet wherever there is an enclosure, even the walls have ears.

N. B. This could perhaps be done better by an individual such as Cromwell, or perhaps the passion might have a bit more feminine stamp.

Sleep—You can come and lie with me and take from me what no man can take from me; if I dissolve in your embrace then you will see deeply into my innermost soul, into that abyss where I myself dare look only when I know that I can prevent everyone from looking down there.—Alas! my head is so weak, I need rest, and yet, in the half second when consciousness 255 flees before the presence of sleep, I can betray everything, that a half second has this power over me, a half second which the necessity of sleep cruelly requires. Why do I fear sleep as a curse when it is the greatest blessing for others—am I accursed? If I could dispense with sleep for my entire life! Inhuman, I almost shudder to have become a spirit in this manner. And if I cannot dispense with it, terror to entrust myself to it. Painful vigilance. Yet I need it, no I need to die, the final

sleep, which is my only one, when I know it is the sleep of death then I dare to lay my head on the pillow, why? Because then death will take care that everything remains peaceful.—I hate Lady Seymour, I have a suspicion that she takes exception to my precautions (I must indeed lie and give false reasons for the arrangement of my bedchamber) but I dare not ask I shudder at betraying something simply by doing so, and yet I would give everything to know her thoughts with certainty.

[a]for fear that they might come to learn something, she always keeps domestic servants who cannot understand English, usu. Frenchmen; but after a while her torment also expresses itself in French. The scene might therefore begin with a couple of words in French.

#

348 The widow who put three mites in the temple box also performed a miracle like that with the 5 loaves and the 3 fishes: she gave more than the rich, so the 3 mites were transformed into plenty.

#

349 Two servant girls; one had her sweetheart by the arm, all dressed up (it was Sunday) they stood and spoke with one another and then the one without a sweetheart said: Yes, one must be satisfied with having one's reward in oneself and then in the world to come and Look, there is a servant girl, she is apparently not hired on a six-month or monthly contract and good pay—she is contracted eternally—and yet how moving!

#

256

350 Sometimes one hears it said that if one does not remain the same,[a] then there is no immortality. God knows how things will work out for the sort of people who have already changed an incredible number of times during their lives. (Something quite good is in Plutarch in a little essay on the word: ει in Delphi § 18.)

[a]after death.

#

351 The cowardly dogs, which do not bite, bark right away when they see a stranger; when he has gone past,

32 ει] *Greek,* if (as in the proposition "if A, then B")

they fall silent. The dangerous dogs keep quite still when one walks past them; they follow a couple of steps behind, bark once or twice, then they bite. This is how it is with hum. beings and the impression made upon them by life's events: The lower sorts bark right away—the more serious ones follow behind slowly and store everything away.

#

The little troupe of enthusiasts who are trained in Pastor Grundtvig's ale-Norse tavern **352**

#

It is curious that *The Corsair* has never hit upon portraying people in the style of classical antiquity, naked and with a fig leaf. **353**

A drawing in that style of, e.g., Hercules or someone similar and then, underneath: Pastor Grundtvig.

#

1 [a]This could be reworked in an ironic tone with the title "Tears at a Grave."

Today I wanted to walk out to Father's grave. I had an unusual need to do so; I was unusually withdrawn into myself—it happened that just as I reached the turn by the entrance, a woman came running, with her hat and shawl and parasol, a rather silly woman. The sweat was pouring from her and she spoke to an old lady who was walking a couple of steps away from me with a basket on her arm: "Where were you? We have been waiting half an hour now." (Thereafter the conversation continued, though with her running about busily like a dog, first ahead, then a step behind.) "We have waited half an hour. My sister is ready to cry. The hearse has already arrived. And the whole cortege, and the trumpeters have arrived, etc." What low comedy! The sister, who was about to cry—and who was thus almost worth crying over—was on the verge of tears because the trumpeters had arrived while the lady with the basket had not.—I walked down another path, and fortunately they did not have to go to the vicinity of Father's grave. It is really quite odd how the comic insinuates itself particularly into the most crucial of moods. **354**

257

10 June 1845

355 New Zealanders kiss one another with their noses.—In his *Mimik* Engel cites the passage from a travelogue, to which he gives the reference.

#

356 William Afham's role (in *Stages*) is contrived so deceptively that the trivial judgment, by stupid and impatient people, that it is [more of] the same is in fact praise and the highest sort of recognition. Indeed, this is precisely the art of it. I will never forget the anxiety I myself felt about being unable to reach the level of what I had previously accomplished, and yet it would have been so very easy to choose other names. This is the reason Afham says that Const. had said that he would never again have a dinner party, and V. Eremita, that he would never again utter admiring words about D. J. While the Judge, on the other hand, says that he can perpetually keep on repeating.[1] So the author himself has indicated where it is possible and where it is impossible.

[1] "only robbers and gypsies say that one must never go back to places where one has been before."

=

258

357 *Stages* does not have as many readers as *Either/Or* and attracts virtually no attention. This is excellent. In this way I shake off the gawking mob that insists on being present whenever it thinks there is a disturbance. In the postscript to "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" I myself in fact predicted that this would happen.

#

358 There is an odd psychological contradiction in what follows:

It is well known that suffering and pain are a precondition for many forms of excellence in the case of poets, artists, religious individuals, etc. Without these sufferings they would not have become great; take the sufferings away, give them better days, grant their wishes—and the greatness is over. So if they have their wish granted and the suffering is removed, they would of course have lost still more: ergo they of course ought to be happy in suffering, so happy that they do not wish it taken away. But in that case they are of course once again beyond the suffering. Would that an individual who was in such a situation could really understand this.—To

see the extent to which this could be done, one could keep an individual right at the very pinnacle from which he continually grasps for the highest.

#

The Scriptures say that one should love God with all one's might; in this respect are there also differences in the circumstances of one's capabilities.— **359**

#

There is something I find offensive in being a teacher—it would be best if a priest read another priest's sermon aloud in order that he himself could properly be a listener to the exhortation. **360**

#

259

People think it is so easy for my presentation to sustain its ambivalence—indeed, people attack it as a flaw—they should try it themselves. A shouting, assertive, straightforward communication is infinitely easier. **361**

#

#

The review of my *Fragments* in the German journal has the fundamental flaw of permitting the contents to appear in didactic style instead of seeing that the opposition of forms makes the piece experimental, and that this is precisely where the elasticity of irony is to be found. To pretend that Christianity is the invention of Joh. Climacus is of course a biting satire directed at the shamelessness with which philosophy has treated it. As by the same token to expound the forms of orthodoxy by means of experiment "so that our times, which merely mediate, etc., will scarcely be able to recognize them" and[a] to believe that this is something novel—this is irony. But the seriousness is to be found precisely at this very point: to want to give Christnty its due—before one mediates. **362**

1 [a](these are the reviewer's words)

#

363

A Possible Concluding Word to
All the Pseudonymous Writings
by
Nicolaus Notabene.

For I must tell a highly esteemed public how it came about that I became an author. The story is quite simple because it is far from being the case that I have a vision, a dream, a prompting from a genius, or something of that sort, to which I can appeal. I had spent several years of my career as a university student in a sort of idleness, certainly doing a bit of reading and thinking, but my indolence was the absolutely predominant factor; then, one Sunday afternoon, 4 years ago I was sitting in the café out at the Frederiksberg Gardens, smoking my cigar and looking at the servant girls, and suddenly I was seized by the thought: You are going along and wasting your time without doing anyone any good; everywhere one priceless genius after another steps forth and makes life and existence and world-historical affairs and connecting with eternal salvation easier and easier—*what are you doing*? Shouldn't you, after all, come up with something with which you, too, can be of service to the times? Then it occurred to me: What if I sat down and made everything difficult. Thus one must seek to be of service in every way. Even if the times might not need a bit of ballast, I might still be loved by all those who are making everything easy, because there is no one to make things difficult, so it is becoming all too easy—to make things easy. From that moment I found my entertainment in this work, I think the work has been entertaining because in another sense I have not found any support in it but have put money into it. For of course one cannot demand that people pay money to have everything made difficult, that would indeed make things even more difficult. No, actually, those who make things easy ought to support me because they benefit by it. And they have used me fairly and squarely, simply assuming that I was doing it for their sake, simply in order that they could have something to make easy.

#

364

It might be a useful dramatic contrast to depict a soothsayer, a contemporary of Socrates, who predicted that a hero would appear. The hero was Socrates and he existed, but the soothsayer knew of this, and Socrates was, of all people, the one who seemed least fit

26 entertaining . . . support] A pun on the Danish, in which the words are *underholdende* ("entertaining") and *Underholdning* ("support," "provide for").

for this role. What merit would one attribute to such a soothsayer's prediction—and yet he was right, of course.

#

It could be quite a droll plot for a vaudeville to have **365**
a Swedish family, who had read in the newspapers all
about the incomparable Danish hospitality—that the
barbers shaved off beards gratis, the prostitutes pro-
vided their services gratis (cf. *Either/Or*), etc.— travel 261
to Copenhagen for two weeks, in the firm conviction 10
that this was the way things always are in Copenhg.,
and then let situations develop. To compensate for
the misunderstanding, it could end with a happy love
affair, the beginnings of which could stem from sym-
pathy arising from the situation of misunderstanding. 15

#

#

..... fervent as a damned person's final longing for the **366**
salvation of his soul as he succumbs.—painful as a
drunkard's first dawning consciousness as he awak- 20
ens.

#

Encomium to Autumn **367**

poetice ....

and then, when the autumn comes with its brisk, invig- 25
orating chill; when the preserved warmth of summer
is in the atmosphere like a possibility, a maternal con-
cern that the person enjoying this does not catch cold;
when one always has, so to speak, a light overcoat
ready at hand while the autumn wind gains strength— 30
and then when autumn arrives and the transitoriness
of life presents its demands; when the forest does not
stand securely as if it were to stand there forever, but

changes color even while one looks at it, for variation incites pleasure; when a woman stands secure and calm, she doesn't get excited, but when she changes color the transformation means "quickly quickly." And this is how it is with the autumn. And the clouds never move as quickly in the summer as in the autumn; and in the autumn it never occurs to an echo to stop and rest in the warm forest air—no, it hurries past without stopping.

#

262

368 Martensen has demonstrated with the greatest perspicacity that nothing indifferent exists, but that is only so because we have not grasped its ethical point. Mag. Hagen has indeed found occasion to cite this in his dissertation, though probab. only in order to cite Prof Martensen. This is the sort of extremely profound observation which particularly surprises insignificant thinkers, who make use of them in order to evoke surprise. No sooner is the individual alive and existing than indifference comes into existence, grounded in the mutability of existence itself. From the point of view of eternity, everything is in a state of completion, so it is rather natural that there is nothing indifferent. The indifferent can only be thought of in relation to existence and becoming. As soon as completion, eternal completion, is present, the metaphysical becomes predominant so that nothing ethically indifferent exists, because the metaphysical exists. Indifference is related to becoming and thus the whole of Martensen's wisdom is the parallel to the notion that the past is more necessary than the future.

#

#

369 When a boatman sails out with his skiff he usually knows the whole journey ahead of time; but when a man-of-war puts out to sea it is only after it is out on the deep that it receives its orders: thus it is with the

[a]Everything in the present incites to criticism, but recollection disarms it and permits one to use ideality, not to reject, but to beautify what has gone before.

[b]It is true that in autumn everything reminds us of ruin—and yet it seems to me the most beautiful of times: Thus, one day, when I approach my own end, would that there might be someone who would think as well of me as I do of autumn.

genius; he is out on the deep and receives his orders; the rest of us know various bits and pieces about the various things we undertake.

#

Situation. **370**

With a modification it could have been used in the psychological experiment ("'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'"): e.g., Quidam of the experiment could be a theology graduate who became a priest living out in the country, who came to the capital, at the request of one his friends preached at the morning service, delivers the sermon quite well, takes out a piece of paper on which is the list of names of those for whom the banns are to be read from the pulpit—and he reads: "for the third time"—then came the name the girl to whom he had been engaged, followed by the name of someone else.

#

When I am infinitely engaged with something and I want to talk about it to people who regard it as foolishness, what then? Yes, if I am a[a] Genius who believes himself called to reform the whole world, then I speak by shouting in the conviction that I will surely get people to realize that it is of infinite importance. But if I have a bit of understanding and reflection, I do not make this sort of assumption about myself; therefore I express the disparity by interposing the comical between us and speak of the matter in comical form. By so doing I also avoid ending up becoming comical as the shouting genius always does—precisely because I myself have thought of it. **371**

1 [a]shouting

#

#

372 Deep down, every hum. being is born to rule. One sees this best in children. Today I saw a little girl in the arms of her nursemaid. They met some acquaintances of the child's family. The nanny was holding a flower in her hand, and therefore everyone was required to sniff the flower with great deference and say "achoo." This was repeated several times; if the nanny wanted to skip anyone, the little girl noticed it immediately and gestured to her that she had to do everything exactly right. But the person who produced a truly fine sneeze would receive a smile of supreme approval from the little lady sovereign.

Then the nanny wanted her to walk, but she leaned a bit out of her arms, then hung her head down a little, and rewarded the nursemaid with a kiss directed upward—and did so pretentiously, though also in a childlike manner.

#

264

373 The splendidly dressed lady who on Sunday afternoon was sailing about in the canal in one of Eskildsen's boats, alone.

#

374 Lines for a Humorous Individual:

"Just as it is most pleasant to trudge through the world unknown—not by Hs. Majesty the King, Hr. Majesty the Queen, Her Majesty the Dowager Queen, His Roy. Highness the Crown Prince—so it also seems to me that to be known by God makes life so infinitely burdensome. Wherever He is, every ½ hour becomes *infinitely* important. One cannot endure 60 years of living like this any more than one could endure the strain of studying for examinations, which, after all, one must endure for only 3 years and is not so strenuous. Everything dissolves itself into contradiction. First, one is preached at and told not to sleepwalk but to live in the utmost passion of infinity. So one takes hold of oneself and turns out for the parade[b] all stiff and starched—then the word is that one must learn to

[a]If God can do everything without effort, then his presence hinders a human being from going off and fooling around.

[b]people come running with a passion no one had during the bombardment.

[c]You are standing as if on the summit of the Mount of the Transfiguration and must depart—but then all the little demands of finitude and the petty debts owed the greengrocer, the shoemaker, and the tailor take hold of you and summarum you remain earthbound and you are not transfigured, but the Mount of the Transfiguration is transfigured and becomes a dunghill. It is as if a man from Per Madsen's Alley had to go to the royal court, but encounters so many collisions with finitude before he could get out of that street that he was no longer able to show himself at court and remained at home. Existence always begins as a tragedy and turns into a vaudeville.

[d]Who would think of harnessing a Pegasus and an old nag together in front of the same carriage in order to go for a drive: and yet this is what it is to exist for a person compounded of finitude and infinitude!

[e]an old maid or a retired person who guesses riddles.

[a]this sweat-soaked, stifling poultice of mush that is the body and the body's fatigue

reduce sail.[c] What is this supposed to mean—am Ende every pers. gets equally far and the whole business is not very important. Here things go the same as they did with me and my physician. I complained about being out of sorts. He replied, You probably drink too much coffee and walk too little. 3 weeks later I spoke with him again and said, I really do not feel very well, but now it cannot be because of drinking coffee, for I do not drink coffee at all, nor because of lack of exercise, for I walk all day long. He replied, Well, then the reason must be that you do not drink coffee and that you walk too much. And so my infirmity was and remains the same, but if I drink coffee the cause of my infirmity is that I drink coffee, and if I do not drink coffee, then my infirmity is caused by my not drinking coffee. And that is how it is with us hum. beings. The whole of earthly existence is a sort of infirmity. For some the cause is too much effort, for others too little; and if anyone asks for the cause, then first ask him, Do you make a great effort? and if he answers Yes, one should say, The reason is too much effort. If he answers No, one should say the opposite, tuck one's tail between one's legs, and slink away. If someone gave me 10 Rixdlrs I still would not take up the task of explaining the riddle of life. For why should I do it? If life is a riddle, then in the end the most likely thing is that when the person who posed the riddle notices that there is no great rush to guess it, he will explain it himself. I did not invent the riddle, but in *Den Frisindede* and *Freischütz*, as in other newspapers which carry riddles, the explanation follows in the next issue. I am not interested in having the distinction of being named in the newspaper as the person who guessed the riddle on the same day the solution appeared."

Lines: **375**

Just as an invalid longs to cast off his bandages, my healthy spirit longs to cast off the fatigue of the body[a]; just as the victorious general cries when his horse has been shot from under him, A new horse!—oh, would

7 summarum] *Latin, abbreviated form of* summa summarum, the sum of it all

1 am Ende] *German,* in the end

that the victorious health of my spirit might dare to cry out, A new horse, a new body![b]; just as when a person is in mortal danger at sea, and another drowning person wants to grab hold of his legs, he pushes him away with all his might, so does my body hold fast to my spirit like a burdensome weight, and it will end in the ruination of death; just like a steamship whose machinery is too large for the ship's construction—that is how I suffer.

[b] because only the body is worn out

#

376 Something on the Stampeding of Cows.

A Study.

an especially detailed description of how the individual cows looked when they perform their brilliant feats, description of the swing of the tail, of galloping slantwise, of the expressions in their eyes—of the one that was bothered by my looking at it and quickly stuck its tail betw. its legs again

266

[a] "All of Nature has happy gestures," thus too, with cows, even if there is a question as to what extent these are based on a bit of irony.

#

377 If a child was told that it is a sin to break one's leg, what anxiety would the child live in, and he would prob. break it more often; he would even view almost breaking one's leg as a sin. Suppose that it was impossible for him to get over this childhood impression. Then out of love for his parents he would endure it as long as possible so that their error might not be made dreadful by his ruin. Thus when one harnesses a horse to a load that is too heavy, it pulls with all its strength—and then collapses.

And this sort of "misguided notion" with respect to sin is surely found now and then, perhaps, indeed, caused by someone with the best of intentions. As in the case, for example, of a man who had been very debauched and who, precisely in order to deter his son from the same behavior, came to view the sexual instinct itself as a sin—forgetting that there was a

difference betw. himself and the child, that the child was innocent and therefore would necessarily misunderstand it. The unhappiness in being harnessed like this, even as a child, to haul and slave through life.

#

. . . . And if you went to church every Sunday, frequently **378**
read edifying writings, and listened and read, but even though everything that was spoken of certainly applied to you, the sort of suffering that was your daily lot was never mentioned. If every time "Amen" was spoken, in your solitary edification you said, Would to God that what has here been spoken of might be my task. If horses could convene edifying assemblies, and there was talk of suffering from hunger, of being cruelly beaten by a coachman, of being kicked in the stall, of being tormented, of being thrust out under the open skies in the winter—but there was one horse among the listeners who went home disconsolate every time because all the things that were spoken of—things that the other horses intimate to one another when they put their heads together in harness, or that they tell one another in confidence[b] when they are out at pasture—it understood these things well, but its own sufferings were never spoken about.[c] 267

#

It would surely not be unthinkable that a hum. be- **379**
ing could live his entire life constantly worried that he did not have faith, and of whom it might be said—and to whom it would be said: Dear Friend, you had faith, and your worries were only the pains of inwardness.

#

#

When one reads Luther one really does get the im- **380**
pression of a wise and assured spirit who speaks with

[a] a horse that came running happily every time they gathered at the pasture in the evening, hoping to gain some knowledge by listening carefully—until it sorrowfully turned around again and sought its solitary refuge.

[b] or to whinny in order to summon themselves together for joint discussion,

[c] or on a dewy summer morning when they stand and toss their heads while the meadow looks so inviting,

a decisiveness that is "gewaltig" (er predigte gewaltig—εξουσια Mt Gosp. 7). And yet it seems to me that this assurance has something tumultuous about it, which is precisely uncertainty. It is of course well known that contrary mental states often conceal themselves in their opposites. One bolsters one's courage with strong words, and the words become even stronger because one is oneself wavering. This is not a deception but a pious attempt. One will not even permit the uncertainty of anxiety to speak, one will not (or dare not) even speak its proper name, and one forcibly summons up its opposite, confident that this will help. Thus Luther has such frequent recourse to what the NT employs so sparingly: the sin against the Holy Spirit. In order to force himself and the believer to move forward, he makes swift and draconian use of this term in relation to everything. If this is the way things are, in the end there will be no hum. being who has not sinned against the Holy Spirit, not just once, but many times. And if it says in the NT that this sin cannot be forgiven—what then?—I am well aware that most people would cross themselves if I were to compare Luther's
268 certainty to that of Socrates, for example. But isn't this because most hum. beings have a greater feeling for and inclination toward what is tumultuous. As is well known, Luther was so shaken by a stroke of lightning that killed his friend standing next to him, but that is how he always expresses himself, as if lightning were constantly striking behind him.

#

381

A Proof for the Truth of Xnty.

This proof is that many times its most zealous enemies have become its most zealous defenders. With philosophies and that sort of thing the opposite is often the case: The most fervent adherent becomes an opponent and deserts. In the case of Xnty, the duplex relation—that it goads just as powerfully as it attracts—is indeed what indicates its absolute truth. In

other cases, the adherent's initial relationship is defined straightforwardly not as an enemy but as a friend; he is charmed (in Xnty he is repelled), and then he becomes bored with it. Xnty, on the other hand, is so momentous that it first repels and then attracts, and the repulsion of the contrast is what indicates the intensity of the inwardness.

#

Lines. **382**

Just as in a shipment of herring there is an outermost layer which gets crushed and ruined; just as in packing fruit the ones which are outermost get bruised and are lost: so in each generation there are some people who are situated outermost and suffer because of the packaging, which only protects those who are situated in the middle

#

#

269

The good Samaritan could be illuminated by comparing him with **383** the two English lords who saw an unfortunate fellow on a runaway horse coming down the country road at a full gallop, about to fall off any moment, crying out for help—they looked on quite calmly, and right away one of them said, £100 he falls off, and the other said, top-hole, taken; whereupon they spurred on their race horses and hurried ahead to get the gates opened up, paying at the tollgates so that nothing would stop the unfortunate rider. The Levite and the priest just walked past—but to make a wager instead of helping!

#

Movement; Repetition; Decision **384**
a Trilogy.

#

Ethical consciousness is decisive in life. It is the authorization and **385** the measure of human existence. In other respects differences may

be whatever they will: whether a great merchant measures out millions of yards or an impoverished widow only measures out a few hundred a year, this difference is inconsequential, but they both measure with the *authorized* yardstick.

#

386 As is well known, a genuine pearl is formed inside a bivalve when it ingests dew. But according to Ammianus Marcelinus it makes a difference whether it ingests morning or evening dew.— This is how it is with hum. beings as well: noble individuals of *hope* or of recollection.

#

270

387 It is quite curious that in a rhetorical address an abstract expression sometimes produces a greater effect than a concrete depiction. For example, when a priest says, "I don't know about your life, dear listener, I don't know what is most on your mind, what your hidden sorrows are," he will perhaps call forth tears in a person who would have sat there unmoved had the priest actually depicted the person's specific sorrow. Medieval lyric poetry is often rooted in a universalism in which the sufferer, instead of speaking of himself, for example, speaks of a pers. in gen. (the lyrical objectivizing), and in a similar fashion, there is also something enthralling in abstraction, like a breeze of universality which passes over the listener's head and moves him precisely because it does not speak of him specifically.

388 It is quite curious: naturally the life of a little insignificant thing is viewed with contempt, and is overlooked by all intelligent people; in return, the little insignificant thing sometimes takes revenge, for when a man goes mad it is almost always over some little insignificant thing.

#

389 *Problem for a Drama*:

The personal existence of an actor is perhaps the only usable character which is not being used in our time. The existential contradiction

and the difficulty have a dramatic effect. A piece like *Kean*, for example, makes this point quite well, and am Ende, the old prompter is perhaps the best figure in it.

#

When Erasmus proves that Nille is a stone, one sees in comic fashion how impotent the syllogism is; when Mad. Nielsen (in *The Lady of Lyons*) says, with all the faithful trust a simple mother could have, that it was not so remarkable that her son has married an extraordinary lady—For if my son isn't a prince, then he ought to be a prince, and that, after all, is nearly as good—she demonstrates the power possessed by pathos. The very same words spoken in another voice produce a comic effect because viewed by the understanding, the statement is nonsense, but there is enormous pathos in the pious delusion of humble maternal love. **390** 271

#

Luckily I am not one of fortune's darlings or one of those who are greatly admired, for as willing as I am to be happy for the former and to pay tribute to the latter, I had very little wish to be one of them, for such an existence is divisive with respect to common humanity and holds no comfort for the unfortunate.— **391**

There is a bird called the rainseer and that is what I am like; in our times when a storm starts brewing, individuals of my sort turn up.

#

1 [a]pantheistic

but of all debauchery, this decadent brilliance is the most revolting. Let a hum. being commit personal sins in his youth, let him seduce girls, let him lust after wine—there is still hope that it will eventually strike his conscience as sin. But this refinement, this wretched glitter of perdition—that the individual evaporates into the generation, confuses himself with Rome and Greece and Asia—this fungus of self-importance, so that the individual is not one of those who are diliciis diffluentes in the sense of physical lust but in the stupidity of thoughtlessness is in the spiritual sense diffluentes. **392**

#

31 diliciis diffluentes] *Latin,* wallowing in sensual pleasures **32** diffluentes] *Latin,* hedonists

393 If the subjects in a country in which there was a king enthroned were to sit down to investigate whether it was indeed the best thing to have a king, he would surely be furious. And this is how people
272 behave with respect to God—people forget that God exists and they
5 consider whether it is the best thing, the most satisfactory thing, to have a God.

#

394 As there are plants which do not merely bear their beneficial fruit but also purify and enrich the soil in which they grow, so that far
10 from exhausting its fertility, they enrich it—so it is with every good effort; it not only bears its fruit but it also purifies the soil of the mind.

#

395 *The Dialectic of Admiration.*

15 The aesthetic-sensuous pers. admires something alien, which stands in no relation to himself; the ethical person admires something that contains an essential likeness to himself, something great which can become the exemplar of what he himself must be; the religious person admires God, who is indeed something absolutely
20 different, but is nonetheless that with whom he must have have likeness through the absolute unlikeness. (Worship).

#

396 it is humorously appropriate that Hamlet swears by fire tongs; the opposite is equally the case, e.g., if someone were to say: I would
25 stake my head that there are easily 4 shillings' worth of gold on the binding of Heiberg's *Urania*. .

The contradiction is in the pathos: to stake one's head, and then 4 shillings, and it is emphasized by the modifier "easily."

#

397 Curiously enough, I went out of Vesterport this evening. It was dark; in one of the narrow alleys I passed a couple of boys. I scarcely took note of them and had passed them by when I heard
273 one of them telling the other a story: ["]Then they came to an old fortune-teller lady." This summer the same thing happened to me
35 in the evening twilight out by Peblinge Lake. There were two little

girls, and the one said: [“]Then he saw an old castle in the distance.” I think that the greatest poet could scarcely produce an effect like these stirring reminders of the fairy tale—about the old castle in the distance, about what happened next, or that they walked a long way *until*, etc.

#

398 So walk along the beach and let the motion of the sea accompany the inchoateness of thoughts—but don’t stand still, don’t discover the uniformity; if you have heard it for even ½ second it is already difficult to tear yourself away from its magic. Sit in the boat and let the lapping of the water insinuate itself confusingly into the intellect’s fixation on one single thought—then the lapping will be heard for a moment, then not heard—but don’t let the eye become infatuated with the motion of the water; if you abandon yourself to its uniformity for even ½ second, nature’s persuasiveness becomes almost an eternal vow.

#

399 . . . But there is no one who *fears* God; we do not hear him in the thunder, our notions are too intellectual for that; we do not see him in the fates—and we have nothing of inwardness. But just as everything has been trained in the conventions of finitude, so has God himself been trained: With the help of various rules, the priests have put him on a leash. everything according to how they pull the leash.

#

400 My, but Grimur Thomsen must be a very learned man; this can be seen from the many works he cites in his dissertation, and yet it can also be seen from the dissertation that he must have read still more works, e.g., *Fear and Trembling*, *Anxiety*, *Either/Or*, which he does not cite.

1 [a]he seems to divide the literature into two portions of unequal size: the writings he uses, and those he uses for citations: So one cannot deny that he has used the literature. —One cannot accuse him of putting his light under a bushel; but on

274 #

401 *Situation.*

An old falcon, one of those whose ancestors had been used for hunting, sits in a solitary tree and tells himself what it was like in those proud days (performed with a dash of melodrama); 2 frogs sit in the marsh below, hidden in the reeds, in profound wonder at what the falcon is narrating; they had been just about to narrate the course of their lives to one another when they took note of the falcon, and now they are embarrassed to begin.

402 It could be amusing to have this query appear suddenly in one or another newspaper: Why is it that everyone, at least at certain moments, has such an indescribable longing to be a bird? Not one word more. This sort of thing could be used in a novella to serve as an agreed-upon signal betw. two people, or as a wager, so that the novella would begin by saying: One day, under the heading "A Question," people read the following line in *The Pioneer*—which aroused general amazement in the city of M. . . .

403 When a man who otherwise greets you is walking with a very distinguished man, he does not greet you. Is this haughtiness, then? Far from it, it is because he himself despairs of being able to bring the two parties together; Goethe couldn't do it.

#

404 It is more difficult to describe a particular actor than to write an entire system of aesthetics; it is more difficult to describe a single performance of his than it is to describe a particular actor. The less important the genre-related considerations (all this about Chinese drama and the Middle Ages and the Old Norse drama and Spanish drama, etc. etc.), the more difficult is the

1 the other hand, it of course can also be misleading to place a light atop a mountain if the most it is suited for is to illuminate the lower regions.

task, because the task is a straightforward test of the powers of description. The more a person permits himself to employ the survey format, the easier it is, because then the mass of material is so great that it seems as if a person is saying something by means of these entirely abstract observations which everyone knows by heart. But the more concrete the task is, the more difficult. God knows how long the philosophers will continue to wax fat through the illusion they have foisted upon themselves and others—that surveys are the most difficult. 275

═

Peter Rørdam is a very optimistic and childlike pers. (he says: I am angry; and then he isn't angry anymore; and then angry again, he is childishly demanding, and in intellectual respects is at the stage where, like children, one does everything in one's pants) it's a pity that 70 years is the maximum life span; if it were customary that a person lived to an avg. age of 250 years, then R. would be normal, since he is now in his 40th year. **405**

#

The burden always remains the same; but every time he shouts wearily, What time is it, the answer is: Eternity. **406**

(it is related in an Italian folktale that an
unlucky soul awakened in hell and shouted, What time is it and
received the answer: Eternity.)
used somewhere in *Either/Or*.

#

If no earthquake, no volcanic eruption, no plague, war, etc., teaches people about the uncertainty of everything, then daily use of the religious discourse ought to have the same effect. Yes, take this here. **407**

#

276

408 There is something frightful when a pers. who is engaged with saving himself then sees another fall into precisely the same error (this is touched upon in "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" in Frater Taci.'s piece on sympathetic repentance). But if it is true that I am not permitted to compare myself with others in order to praise and elevate myself, but must only relate myself to the ideal, then it is also true that I am not permitted to compare myself with others in order to despair over myself, but here, too, I must keep myself to myself and to the truth and must never, either out of pride or in sympathy, want to understand the truth through someone else's fate, which is something I can never know—but grasp the eternal truth.

=

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409 It is a peculiarly pitiful sight to see a poor old nag standing in harness before a wagon, with the nosebag on but still unable to eat. Or when an unfortunate horse like this has got its nosebag on wrong, and cannot manage to eat, and no one thinks of helping it.

#

410 It would be a suitably humorous dramatic line to be spoken by a married man to his wife when she was pregnant: Listen here, little Mama, couldn't you try to hurry up a bit with this piece of work. A humorist is often a bit impatient, but the course of nature is a satire upon hum. haste and hum. dilatoriness.

#

411 *Concluding Simple Postscript*.

The meaning of the final passage in the preface (or if it is moved to the appendix)—"For, if I do say so myself,

I am anything but a devil of a fellow," etc.—is that in any straightforward sense there can be absolutely no teacher in the art of existing. This is said often enough in the book, and yet it is said here so that many will understand it straightforwardly, though probably no one will raise an objection against me. The barbs are in the words "the ambiguous art"[a] and further along in the text: ["]whether this be an encouraging or a discouraging omen," encouraging, namely, that there is no teacher, because he who would want to be one in a straightforward sense is a fool, and, finally: "far be it from me, the empty and vain idea of being such a teacher." (vain here in the biblical sense. .—With respect to existing, there are only learners, for the person who imagines that he is so complete that he can teach others, and in so doing, himself forget to exist and learn: he is a fool. With respect to existing, there is one teacher for all who exist: existence itself. 277

Somewhere in the work *Concluding Postscript* I have cited some words by Luther (on the Babylonian Captivity). It is written "in diesen Sacramenten," and it is undeniable that by this Luther meant the 5 Catholic ones. Now a man rushes forward and raises objections, etc. Sure, go right ahead. That was exactly what I wanted. The intention of the book was not to start a learned investigation nor to use my best weapons. Now an honored gentleman is tempted take a little advantage, and then I can go on to cite the much more important part of the same book, which I have marked in my copy (Gerlach's edition). **412**

#

Today I heard a cabman speak of a drunken coachman who drove past at a rather fast trot: "He has had the sort of thing that leads a person to the gutter." **413**

#

1 [a]and next: ["]so something must come of it, damn it." The meaning is that either someone is able to teach something by being a witness—
5 because to be a witness is not straightforward communication—or that it became clear that there is no teacher.

278
414 *Concluding Postscript.*

The entire manuscript was delivered lock, stock, and barrel to the printer in mid-Dec. or by the end of 1845. "A First and Last Explanation" was dashed off on a piece of paper in the original manuscript but set aside to be worked on, and was handed in as late as possible so as not to be left lying loose at a printing house.[a] I held back a note to a passage on the pseudonymous works, simply because it was written during the printing. The lies and gossip and vulgarity that surround one make one's position fairly difficult at times, perhaps make me too anxious about having every last shred of truth on my side—what's the good of that?

#

415 My idea is now to qualify myself for the priesthood[.] For several months I have prayed to God to help me along, for it has long been clear to me that I ought not to continue as an author, which is something I want to be entirely or not at all. That's also why I haven't begun anything new while doing the proofreading, except for the little review of *Two Ages*, which is, once more, concluding.

7 Feb. 1846

#

416 How dreadful the thought of that man who once, as a small boy tending sheep on the Jutland heath, in much suffering, starving and exhausted, stood up on a hill and cursed God—and that man was unable to forget it when he was 82 years old.

#

279
417 De occultis non judicat ecclesia cf. p. 268.
cf. pp. 194, 185, and 171 in this book.

Dare I keep my guilt secret? And yet dare I declare it. If God wants it out in the open he can surely do it,

[a] I was for a moment of two minds as to whether, in consideration of the circumstances (the *Corsair* nonsense and the town gossip), to leave out the acknowledgment of my authorship and just indicate that the whole thing was older than all this babble by giving the dates in the printed material. But, no! I owe it to the truth to ignore this kind of thing and do everything as decided, leaving the outcome to God's will and accepting everything from his hand as a good and perfect gift, refusing to act from prudence, finding comfort in the hope that he will give me a firm and wise spirit.

31 De occultis non judicat ecclesia] *Latin,* The church does not judge what is secret.

[a] Here one could also use the German saying: Gott richt't, wenn niemand spricht (i.e. when all are silent, when no one thinks of accusing, no one dreams that there is a complaint, or if the accuser is dead) cf.

19 Gott richt't, wenn niemand spricht] *German,* God judges, when no one speaks.

1 *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* by I. W. Wolf, Leipzig, 1845, p. 213.

and yet this self-declaration can also, after all, be [a way] to play providence.

Today a memory passed by me accusingly. Suppose the accusation came to light. I could travel afar, away from here, live in a foreign land, a new life far from the memory, far from any possibility of its being revealed. I could live in hiding—No, I have to stay put unchanged, do everything without a single prudent measure, leaving everything to God. Terrible what it can bring out in a pers. staying put in this way, educated only by possibility.

#

I think it's Goethe who says somewhere: **418**
Ach, da ich irrte, hatt' ich viel Gespielen,
Seit ich die Wahrheit kenne, bin ich fast allein.

=

Up to now I've served by helping the pseudonyms become authors. **419** What if I decided from now on to do in the form of criticism what little writing I can allow myself? I'd then commit what I have to say to reviews in which my ideas developed out of some book or other, so that they could also be found in the book. At least I'd escape being an author.

in Feb. 1846

Really it is conscience that constitutes a personality; personality **420** is an individual determinateness established by being known by God in the possibility of conscience. For conscience may lie dormant, but what constitutes it is its possibility. Otherwise the determinateness would be a transitory element. Not even consciousness of the determinateness, self-consciousness, is the constituting factor, insofar as this is only the relationship in which the determinateness relates to itself; whereas God's co-knowledge is the fixing, the securing. 280

#

Prof. Nielsen said to Sager, when on seeing his rooms out in Fred- **421** riksberg, the latter noted how agreeable it must be for the prof. to be able to live out there and study at leisure: "No (easy, easy), Sager,

12 Ach, da ich irrte, … allein] *German,* Oh, when I went astray, I had many playmates, / Since I knew the truth, I have been almost alone.

now I won't be reading anymore, now I am going to die." As a contrast to Director Sager's no doubt complimentary conception of what it is like to study, old Mikkel's "reading" makes a wonderful impression; the whole story is an excellent indication of Prof. Nielsen's noble simplicity—and then the resigned: Now I'm just going to die.

#

422 The concept of *literary contemptibility* can be defined with the following predicates: it lacks the legitimacy of an idea; even if it has some talent; it is without a life-view, cowardly, slavish, impudent, covetous; and it is therefore essential to it to be anonymous. If, to see the difference, one thinks by way of comparison of the dissolution of Greece and Aristophanes' comedy, then Aristophanes stands warranted with an idea, distinguished by genius, elevated through personal courage. It truly required courage to represent the demagogue Cleon and, seeing no actor dared take the role, to take on the part in the play himself. But just as antiquity was altogether unable to attain the abstraction of modern dissolution, so it lacked, even in the period of depravity, any real analogy to the sort of abject paltriness that anonymity wants to encourage. It is true that Socrates says in the *Apology* that his real accusers, those who had already accused him for many years, were like shadows no one
281 could grasp hold of, but even if town gossip and man-to-man talk are like shadows, in a way it is still made by real people, but through anonymity one single person can conjure forth a legion of shadows.

#

423 Today anyone can write a reasonably good article on anything, but no one wants or is able to sustain the strenuous effort of thinking just one single thought through to its finest consequences. Instead, what is appreciated, precisely in our time, is the writing of trifles, and anyone writing a large book is almost inviting ridicule. Formerly people read large books and if they read pamphlets and periodicals they didn't quite like to admit it. Now everyone feels it their duty to have read whatever there is in a periodical or pamphlet, but is ashamed of having read a large book through to the end for fear of being thought narrow-minded.

#

Bernard of Clairvaux: impleri visitationibus Dei anima non potest, quae distractionibus subjacet. **424**

#

Just as metaphysics has replaced theology, so it will finally end with physics replacing moral reflection. The whole modern statistical way of thinking of morals contributes to that. **425**

#

Whenever I see a new paper "for amusement" come out, I always think sadly: Good Lord, here's another person on the point of jumping into the sea, but before doing so preferring to risk all by trying his hand as a writer of wit and satire. **426**

282

#

The new development in our time cannot be a political one, since the political is dialectical in the relation betw. generation and individual, by virtue of the *representing* individual. But in our time each individual is already on the way to being too reflected to be satisfied with merely being *represented*. **427**

#

In Danish letters the fee even for authors of repute is nowadays very small, whereas the tips dropped to the literary hacks are very considerable. The more contemptible a literary writer, nowadays, the better his earnings. **428**

#

One thinks it comical for someone to have a false conception, and one laughs at it when it is expressed. Even Holberg uses such comic effects, even though this is really inauthentic and only fortuitous. e.g. good people out there in the sticks assume the earth is flat. Now that, for heaven's sake, isn't such a terrible thing; the comedy is sooner to be found on the other side, that people can be so pleased with themselves for knowing the earth is round. If having a false conception of something is comical, then we are all more or less comical, and some disclosure or other awaits us to make us ridicu- **429**

1 impleri . . . subjacet] *Latin,* that soul which is occupied with other things cannot replenish itself by God's visit.

lous. But this kind of comedy is, as just noted, of a secondary order, and yet the sense and understanding of comedy is so undeveloped that it is almost always used and very seldom the purely comical.

The purely comical is when a man knows the right thing and yet shows that he does not know it. Here is the essential contradiction. A man knows that God exists—and he says: I know that, the Devil take me if I don't! He knows everything is uncertain, and yet "Experience has taught him" to abide by what is "certain," to *that* certainty, namely that which is precisely uncertain.

#

283
430 *The dialectic of the community or society is the following*:

(1) The particulars which relate to one another in the relation are individually lower than the relation.

The single limb is in this way
lower in the bodily organism; in the solar system the individual
heavenly bodies.

(2) The particulars which relate to one another in the relation are individually equal in respect of the relation.

As in earthly love, each is
something for itself but the need for the relation is the
same for both.

(3) The particulars which relate to one another in the relation are individually higher than the relation.

As in the religious, highest form. The
individual relates first to God and then to
the community; but this former relation is the
highest, so long as he does not slight the latter.

cf, also *Concluding Postscript*, p. 327

that the task is not to come from the individual to
the race, but, from the individual, to reach the individual
through the race.

cf. a treatise by Dr Bayer, *der Begriff der sittlichen Gemeinschaft* (in Fichte's journal, 13th vol., 1844, p. 80)

his threefold division is: Beziehung, Bezug, Eeinheit. (cf. pp. 80 and 81).

De occultis non judicat ecclesia. **431**

cf. pp. 256, 194, 185, 171.

An unhappy sweetheart's story of suffering could be thrown in here, so that the dates correlated, but otherwise not having the least thing to do with each other.

The editor would have come into possession of both 284 parts in a strange way.

#

When a person, gone astray to the point of perdition, is at the point of downfall, then these are the last words and the sign: Something better in me is, after all, being destroyed. As bubbles rise from a drowning man, this is the sign—then he sinks. Just as reserve can become a pers.'s downfall, because he will not articulate what is hidden, so too the uttering of those words: the downfall, because simply saying them expresses that he has become so objective to himself that he dares to speak of his own ruin as of something decided, which could even be of psychological interest to a third party. The hope that there might still be something better in him, which should have been used in silence to work for his salvation, this hope is made public and used as material for the funeral speech he holds over himself. **432**

#

The calculation. **433**

Suppose I were a priest and could preach in such a way that all the individual did, when he went home from church, was to long to hear me again, all the while praising and rejoicing over me;—on the other hand suppose, attentive to the individual, by studying his individuality, I knew how to influence him, and I

1 Beziehung, Bezug, Eeinheit] *German,* relationship, connection, unity. (Kierkegaard's misspelling of "Einheit.")

repulsed him so that in the end he almost became angry with me and went in and shut his door and prayed to God: in which of these cases would I benefit him more? In the one, my very deception helped him to the truth; in the other, my assistance to the truth became the deception; in the one case he ended with the truth and began with the deception, in the other he ended with the deception and began with the truth.

But people need someone like that in any case, if in no other sense, in that of the Stoics when they said: sapientem nulla re indigere, et tamen multis illi rebus opus esse.—Ergo quamvis se ipso contentus sit sapiens, amicis illi opus est, non ut habeat, qui sibi aegro assideat, sed ut habeat aliquem, cui ipse assideat, pro quo mori possit.

This is quoted from a little essay by Dr. Bayer in Fichte's journal, vol. 13, 1844, p. 86.—

#

434 As far as literature and criticism go (in its main field, politics, things are different), *Berlingske Tidende* is best compared with a packed lunch wrapper; one reads it while eating. Indeed, I've even seen someone wipe his hands on the newspaper for lack of a napkin. But it's true of everything that the context counts for a great deal; so what it takes to make a reader a little serious, though without making the material too highbrow for everyone to grasp easily, shouldn't be read in that way. This is why I didn't want to see anything of mine published in *BT*. Rather than the wide circulation that my writing might enjoy by being in *BT*, I'd much sooner have just one single reader.

#

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435 And so I am criticized because I back Mynster and also accept with pleasure a little expression of his approval. Did I not say the same thing in *Fædrelandet* 1845, when I disowned *Berlingske Tidende*'s praise; have I

[a] This lack of self-assertion is and remains the ruin, everything turns on money; if it paid, I am certain one would get a pers. to publish a journal aimed at being read in the privy.

11 sapientem . . . possit] *Latin,* the wise man needs nothing, and yet he has use for many things—Even if the wise one is sufficient in himself, he still has use for friends, not in order to have one who can sit by his sickbed, but in order to have one who he can personally attend to, for whom he can die.

not said the same thing all along, in my first writing up to the latest.—

As for the preface to *Concluding Postscript*: (1) it is by Johannes Climacus, and here what appears at the end of the book again applies, that the pseudonym is not myself, and allows himself a heedlessness that I am neither capable of nor wish for; (2) what expressions of support and censure are in question? Analogies to the mob's hurrah and pereat. Is it, then, a consequence of 286 his disdain for and rejection of all this popular approval that he disdains the truly distinguished individual? What foolishness. If a paper like *The Corsair* were not utterly lacking in self knowledge, it would easily see why I don't wish to be recognized by it, and if it only had a modicum of self-awareness it would see why I even want to be reviled by it, whose contemptibility is hidden only from its own eyes.

#

For as I see it, being victorious doesn't mean that *I* **436** am victorious, but that the idea is victorious through me, even if I am also sacrificed.

#

Just what makes scientific study so difficult is quite **437** overlooked. It is assumed that everyone including the researcher knows (ethically) what to do in the world—and then he gives himself over to his discipline. But it was the ethical consideration that had to be taken care of first—and then the entire discipline might be shipwrecked. The researcher lives his personal life in quite other categories than those in which he leads his life as a researcher, but it is precisely the former that were the most important. The researcher e.g. prays—and now his entire striving is busied with proving God's existence. But how can he pray inwardly when his being is split apart in this self-contradiction? And if he does pray inwardly, the question is how does he switch over from praying to occupying himself with his research; the question is how he, as a scholar, under-

1 [a]That's how, so naturally and simply, a little essay of Spinoza's begins (de emendatione intellectus p. 495).

9 pereat] *Latin,* let him die; down with him.

stands himself in the act of prayer and how, as someone praying, does he understand himself as a scholar?

438 If someone wants to work to the utmost of his ability but constantly adds that he does not insist on achieving anything, he is seen as an egoist. If he works half
287 as much but with constant assurances that he would so much like to achieve something etc. he will be acclaimed for his sympathy, and why? Because this state of affairs contains a concession to the mass of people, who are flattered by his being so occupied with them. In so many ways this points toward the inversion of the relationships. An author subordinates himself to the public, begs for a lenient sentence from the public etc.; that flatters, and in the end an author becomes a hired servant and every basement lard-seller becomes the public.

#

439 Spinoza rejects the teleological view of existence and says (at the conclusion of the first book of the *Ethics*) that the teleological view holds only for someone who takes refuge in asylum ignorantiae—one doesn't know the causa efficiens and so constructs teleology.—In the second part of the *Ethics* he defends his immanence, and says that it is all-encompassing, except that one does not have all-encompassing knowledge of the causa efficiens. But here, surely, Spinoza is taking refuge in asylum ignorantiae. Teleology's proponents infer: it isn't known, so it does not exist. Spinoza infers: there is no knowledge of it, therefore it exists.

What does this mean? It means that ignorance is the invisible point of convergence of the two paths. Ignorance can be reached and that is where, as it says in *Concluding Postscript*, the path turns off (cf. *Concluding Postscript*, part II, chap. 2, "Subjectivity Is Truth").

440 If worse comes to worst (for the best thing is latere, bene latuit,) it is always better that the average run of humnty. demolishes one rather than admires one, for

21 asylum ignorantiae] *Latin,* resort of ignorance **22** causa efficiens] *Latin,* efficient cause

the average run of humnty. are essentially the same, whether they do the one or the other they are just as stupid, just as foolish. But if they do the former, the relationship is less lunatic than if they do the latter. One doesn't understand the truth—so now one demolishes it; there is at least some sense to that. But if, not understanding the truth, they admire it—that is lunacy. 288

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Unless a couple of millennia are suddenly cut off for people and this bridge hewn down to teach them to begin dealing with the problems of life and existence themselves, everything becomes confused. The existential problem is itself conflated with its reflection in the consciousness of the scholars of all generations. The main point in respect of every existential problem is its meaning for me. After that I can see if I'm fit for writing learned treatises. **441**

#

Instead of all the fine talk on the beginning of science, one must begin again, as in former days, humanly with the question whether I shall be a scientist. **442**

One then begins with a purely ethical deliberation which, so as to keep everything as uncomplicated as possible, had better perhaps be in the form of a Platonic dialogue.

What moves one to begin then returns: *wonder*, just as in anc. times with the Greeks. In addition to wonder, one could also make something of what Descartes notes in his work on the passions, namely that wonder has no opposite, and also what Spinoza says in the third book of the *Ethics* about admiratio,[a] which he does not include among the three affects from which he deduces everything (cupiditas, laetitia, tristitia).[1]—Subsidialiter one might look at doubt as a beginning.

What prompts beginning is *wonder*. What one begins with is a *resolution*.

1 [a]cf. p. 369.

[1]*Note.* He obviously uses the Greek concept κινησις in transitio, as he says, of laetitia and tristitia, that it is transitio in perfectionem not perfectio itself. p. 368.

289

I have now read through Spinoza's *Ethics*. Strange, though, to construct an ethics on what is such an indeterminate, though no doubt **443**

27 cupiditas, laetitia, tristitia] *Latin,* desire, happiness, sadness or melancholy **28** Subsidialiter] *Latin,* subsidiarily; as a secondary matter **32** κινησις] *Greek,* motion, transition **33** perfectionem … perfectio] *Latin,* transition in perfection; transition to another (greater or lesser) degree of perfection

correct, principle as this: suum esse conservare, and to keep it so ambiguous that it can just as well mean bodily, egoistic love as the highest resignation in intellectual love.

But surely it is a contradiction to discuss how or with what means one achieves perfection in triumphing over the affects, the way to this perfection (cf. p. 430, end), and then offer it as an immanence theory. For the way is indeed precisely the dialectic of teleology. I go this way and that, do this and that—*in order to*, but this in order to separates the way and the goal.

#

444 Today there is an announcement in *Adresseavisen* saying a little boy of eight has died, and it ended like this: "This announcement is made in the greatest sorrow for his small friends." bravo, young boys are assumed to read newspapers and see if one of their small friends has died.

#

445 Newspaper criticism will spread little by little to topics one least thinks of. The other day a provincial newspaper carried a report that a man had been put to death by executioner N. N., who did the job with fine precision; and executioner F. F., who was there to flog someone, performed satisfactorily.

#

446 To pursue the approval of the moment is like chasing your own shadow. It dodges the person who does it. I'm thinking of a picture in a devotional work: a child running after his own shadow, and the shadow runs with him.

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290

447 Spinoza in Praefatio tractatus theologico politicus
p. 88.

. . . reliquis autem hunc tractatum commendare non studeo, nam nihil est quod sperem, eundem iis placere aliqua ratione posse; novi enim quam pertinaciter ea praejudicia in mente inhaerent, quae pietatis specie amplexus est animus; novi deinde aeque impossibile esse vulgo superstitionem adimere ac metum; novi denique constantiam

1 suum esse conservare] *Latin,* the preservation of one's own being

vulgi contumaciam esse, nec ratione regi, sed impetu rapi ad laudandum vel vituperandum. Vulgus ergo et omnes, qui iisdem cum vulgo affectibus conflictantur, ad haec legenda non invito, quin potius vellem, ut hunc librum prorsus negligant, quam eundem perverse, ut omnia solent, interpretando molesti sint, et dum sibi nihil prosunt, aliis obsint

The last point contains an apology in advance.

#

Out in the graveyard a widow has placed the following words over her departed one: **448**

Man! Now you have fought

But such an emphatic "man" means a hero; it doesn't mean a married man (for only in a less grand style does one say: man, my man, her man), even less an undertaker. Alas, and the deceased was just that.

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... Der Neidige ist ein Martyrer, aber des Teufels. **449**

cf. Abraham a St. Clara
compl. Wks.. vol. X, p. 392.

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291

Letter to the Hebrews: **450**

10:39: But we are not among those
who *shrink back and so are lost*

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In an old devotional work (Arndt, *True Christnty*) there is a beautiful comment on the verse: "God will wipe away our tears"—he adds the excellent catechetical question: But how will God be able to wipe them away if you have not wept at all?—What truth in this simplicity, what stirring eloquence. **451**

17 Der Neidige ... des Teufels] *German,* The envious man is a martyr but of the devil.

#

452 Anaxagoras is reputed to have said: The senses are limited, the spirit is weak, life is short.

I feel sure it's in Cicero, in quæstiones academicæ, 1, 12.

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453 Conscience, that's where God has the power. Even if a hum. being has all the power in the world, God is still master there. And this is what the master who knows he has power says to the person who has none: Do exactly as you want, just let it look as though it was you who have power—how matters stand remains a secret betw. you and me.

#

454 From an occasional discourse

. . . The forest will have nothing to do with the solitary one, so it returns his word unchanged, without joining in, its echo is like a No, even though it re-echoes many times it is still just a repeated No. If the forest wanted to speak with him, no doubt it would answer. If the forest wanted to take part, it would keep hold of his word, hide it away unchanged.—

455 Empedocles supposed there were 2 kinds of insanity—the one had its basis in the body's sickness, the other in the soul's purification.

cf. Ritter, vol. 1, p. 571

he cites in a note Coel. Aurel: De morbis chron., 1,5 in a note: Empedoclem sequentes alium (sc. furorem) dicunt ex animi purgamento fieri, alium alienatione, mentis ex corporis causa sive iniquitate.

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456 It's a very good comment of Ritter's in (the intro. to vol. 1) on the constructive understanding, that it makes more sense to construct the history of the whole world than that of the earth and man-

[a] p. 23.

24 Empedoclem . . . iniquitate] *Latin,* Empedocles' school believes that one form of mental illness arises due to the purification of the soul while another, as a result of spiritual weakness, is due to bodily illness or indisposition.

kind, to construct mankind's history than that of philosophy—at the same time it has fortunately not occurred to anyone to construct a single pers.'s history.—This is perfectly satirical and true. The idea of construction is fantasy and for that very reason gets into difficulties with the concrete. Similarly, broad surveys conceal a pers.'s ignorance (which is why dilettantes especially excel at this), which a little concretion makes obvious.

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457 Being anonymous is an essential part of the literary contemptibility, to make it complete even its subscribers are anonymous; it is represented by hacks and to make that complete even the subscribers let themselves be represented by farmhands.

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458 Gradually, as enlightenment and improvement increase, and the requirements become ever greater, it will become increasingly difficult as a philosopher to satisfy the demands of the age. In antiquity one required: intellectual ability, a free mind, the passion of thought. But compare the present; in Copenhagen a philosopher is also required to have sturdy or at least shapely legs, and his clothes must be in style. It becomes more and more difficult, unless one is satisfied with the latest requirement alone and assumes that everyone who has sturdy or at least shapely legs, and whose clothes are in style, is a philosopher.

293

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459 In the end everything is turned upside down. People do not write so that someone can learn something from it; Oh! dear me, how impolite, the reading world knows everything. It isn't the reader that is in need of the author (as the sick of the doctor), no it is the author who is in need of the reader. An author is therefore, in short, someone in financial trouble; so he writes and this means taking an examination in which the reading world, which knows everything, is the examiner. Someone who writes yet doesn't earn anything is not an author; so those who write in *Adresseavisen* are not called authors because it costs them money.—Similarly in art, an

[291]

actor is not someone initiated into the secrets of the illusory arts who wants instructively to deceive the audience. Dear me no, the public can very well play comedy itself. It isn't the public that needs the actor but the actor that needs a public. An actor is a man in financial trouble and when he acts he is taking an exam.—

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460 .... for when, in days of plenty, he gathered all the world's riches, or when they were showered upon him, was he then richer than the poorest? Or does all the gold in the world hidden in covetousness fill more than, or even as much as, the mite in the poor man's modest contentment?

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294

461 When there is thunder in the air and one looks at the surface of the water and the single tree, the whole thing is as when a glass plate is played on, producing acoustic patterns. There is still something quivering in the figure.

#

462 All questions will in the end be communistic. An article from Jutland in *Kiøbhposten* reprints the unfavorable judgments of a couple of Germans on Madvig's *Latin Grammar*. So people write about Madvig's *Latin Grammar* (a vastly unknown quantity), and also about some German professors' judgment (a very ambiguous quantity)—for bartenders, etc. In the end a bartender will think, Why shouldn't I have an opinion on Latin and Greek, that sort of thing is just a relic of the Middle Ages and the caste system. Don't I pay high school fees for my son to go to grammar school? So why can't I know some Latin and Greek or at least have an opinion about it?

#

463 Just as every lodger has his bootblack, so every well-known author has some moonlighting dabbler or other to serve him up abuse and who, every time this author writes something, declaims in a newspaper that it's the most nasty-minded rubbish etc. Thus Madvig has Baden, and P. L. Møller is also such a dabbler. This moonlighter is just like a market porter; when the farmers come to

the market then every porter picks out his wagon, in which he thinks there's something for him, and similarly the dabbler picks out an author he can earn something on, so far as the author's name guarantees that the public will read—something bad about him.—

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295

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464 The immediate person believes and fancies that the main thing when he prays, what he is particularly occupied with, is that *God hears* what it is **he** is *praying for*. And yet in the truly eternal sense it is just the opposite: it is not when God hears what is being prayed for that the true prayer relationship occurs but when it *is the one who prays* who continues to pray until it is he *who is the one hearing*, who hears what God wills. The immediate person uses many words and therefore is really making demands when he prays; the truly praying person is simply *attentive*.

#

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465 Amazing! There, outside the city, lies the garden of the dead—a little small-holder's plot, hardly as big as a small-holder's plot, and yet there is space here for all of life's content. It is a compendious portrayal of actuality, a brief synopsis, a pocket edition!

#

466 "Children shall judge you," says one of the old prophets and proclaims it as the severest punishment upon disobedient Israel. This fits our time—children write in the newspapers, etc. Also fitting is what Socrates speaks of in Plato's *Republic*, that parents are ultimately afraid of children, and out of fear of them have to tease and make fun—in the way the children want it.

#

467 There are certain things that belong to life's annoyances, and though insignificant, can be tiresome enough. Among them I count: draft, and smoke, and bedbugs, and chatter.

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296

468 An Oriental proverb says: Wer Jemanden lobt, dann schmäht, der lügt zweimal."

in 1001 Nights, the 829th night. (in my large edition)

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469 The best proof that there is a just governance is to say: "I *will* believe it, come what may." All proof is trickery, a kind of double-mindedness which wants to arrive along two paths (the objective and the subjective) at the same point and at the same time. The believer says to himself: "The most detestable thing of all would be for you to allow yourself, in some hidden thought, to insult God, to think of him as having done wrong. So whether someone wishes to write a big book in order to justify or to accuse God, what is it to me? I will believe. Where I might appear to be able to understand, I will still prefer to believe, for to believe is more blessed; and as long as we humans live in this world, understanding easily becomes a delusion, a comradely importunity—and where I cannot understand, yes, there it is blessed to believe.

#

470 Alas, once a government has to justify itself in print, things look bad; but God's relationship to the world is not like that of an earthly government; he has, after all, the creator's right to demand faith and obedience from what is created, as well as that every creature in his heart dare think only all that is agreeable to him. God, after all, is not like an elective king who can be deposed by the next Assembly of the Estates if he cannot give a good enough account of himself. The matter is quite simple. Punishment has been devised by the loving Father for the sake of transgression. But just as in a large household with many children the innocent also suffer, similarly in the great household family with so many millions. . . . no, not similarly, for the reason it goes like this in the household with
297 many children is that the father and the teacher are still only hum. beings, but God can easily take everything in at a glance; for him, he that counts the hairs, things do not get confused. The innocent therefore does not share the punishment, but must bear some of the suffering. As soon as the innocent sufferer turns to God and asks if

2 Wer Jemanden lobt, dann schmäht, der lügt zweimal] *German,* Anyone who praises another, then defames him, lies twice.

it is a punishment, he gets the answer straightaway: "No, my dear child, it is not punishment; you know that well enough."

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471 Schelling rightly says in the preface to Steffens's posthumous papers: "When it has come to the point where the masses are judges of the truth, then it is not long before people resort to deciding matters with their fists."

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472 An ironist who is in the majority is eo ipso, a mediocre ironist. Wanting to be in the majority is a wish that springs from immediacy. Irony is suspicious of both right and left. A true ironist has therefore never been in the majority. Unlike the jester.

#

473 One believes and prattles and gets excited that Socrates was so popular. Yes, never mind! All that about going around talking to shoemakers and tanners, etc.: it was an ironic polemic against "the learned philosophers" and so it amused him that they (he and the shoemaker) appeared to be conversing simply because they were using the same expressions—but Socr. understood something quite different with them.

#

474 As a polemicist H. Hertz strikes me as being like an officer who, as a volunteer in foreign service, has been a spectator at a battle, comes home, and now arranges out on the common a maneuver which is supposed to be the battle: Hertz organizes a battle after it is all over. 298

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475 The public would rather have a Jewish peddler of pigtail ribbons as an author, because that's someone they can really be mean to. It amuses and graciously gratifies the public that gifts of the spirit are something one can buy condescendingly for a couple of rixdollars and then kick at the Jew. No one but an author, naturally, can offer

9 eo ipso] *Latin,* for that reason

such terms, standing in his stall groveling like a huckster—if only he earns money.

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476 What an individual is capable of may be measured by how far his *understanding* is from his *willing*. What a pers. can understand he must also be able to make himself will. Between understanding and willing lie the excuses and evasions.

#

477 *Why did Socrates compare himself to a gadfly?*

Because he wanted to have only an ethical significance. He didn't want to be an admired genius standing apart from the rest and therefore basically simply making life easier for them, for they say, "Yes, it's all very well for him, he's a genius." No, he did only what any pers. can do, understood only what any pers. can understand. That's where the epigrammatic quality lies. He dug his teeth hard into the individual, constantly compelling and teasing him with the commonplace. It was thus he was a gadfly, causing irritation through the individual's own feelings, not letting him go on leisurely and weakly admiring and admiring, but demanding of him his very self. If a person has ethical powers, people will gladly make a genius of him just to be rid of him, for his life contains a demand.

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299

478 What is so splendid with Plato's *Republic* is that he does not make the state higher than the individual, least of all in the sense of the Hegelian nonsense. In order to describe the individual, he describes the state; he describes a democrat and to do so he describes democracy; he constructs a state for the individual, unum noris omnes—this is the proper hum. ideality; otherwise we get the confusion about many producing, by being many, something quite [different] from what each is individually.

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29 unum noris omnes] *Latin,* If you know one you know them all.

#

No reformatory school qualifies for eternity **479**

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When a pers. does not become what he can understand, then neither does he understand it. Only Themistocles undertsood Miltiades; therefore that's also what he became. **480**

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The concept that most definitively distinguishes Xnty from antiquity is that of the Good. The Greeks were unable to think the Good without the Beautiful (the direction outward). In Xnty the essential expression of the Good is suffering (the direction inward; for suffering lies precisely in the outward direction being negated—the world's sin). **481**

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The fact that several of Plato's dialogues end without result has a far deeper reason than I had earlier thought. For this is a reproduction of Socrates' maieutic skills, which make the reader or listener self-active, and therefore end not in a result but with a sting. This is an excellent parody of the modern rote-learning method that says everything at once, and the quicker the better, which does not awaken the reader to any self-activity but only occasions the reader to recite by heart. **482**

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The time will doubtless come when one will find it just as abgeschmakt to convey a result (what the age now demands and bellows about) as it once was to write a Nutzanwendung for moralistic stories. The person who cannot find the result with the path's help won't find it anyway, he just imagines it. **483**

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25 abgeschmakt] *German,* tasteless **27** Nutzanwendung] *German,* practical application

484 Sensation is the most mediocre of all categories. If one imagined a devout woman singing a hymn with real pious inwardness, perhaps clearly so that every word could be heard, yet without raising her voice—more with a resignation close to that of the dead, i.e., humbly, subdued, with tremulous agony—then one would have to be quite still to hear it. But sensations are as when a bellowing watchman drowns out all others without the least inwardness. For having a fine voice or not having a fine voice neither adds nor subtracts in relation to inwardness.

#

485 That there are publishers, that there are those whose whole existence amounts to saying that books are a commodity and an author a merchant, is an altogether immoral state of affairs. Insofar as the money side of it, that he is paid, gets honoraria etc., becomes part of an affair of the spirit (as being an author is), it is the person responsible for the spiritual side of things who should really take over the financial, not at all because of a prospect of greater financial reward, far from it!, but so that there can be a little modesty. 301 Turning the financial side into a completely different person's means of living can easily lead to insolence. There are plenty of examples of publisher insolence; it consists in taking the view, in an unqualified way and to its extreme, that spiritual productions are commodities. The public then gets power through money over the publisher, and the publisher gets power through the money side over the author, and so perhaps sometimes an author (who in money matters ought to be as bashful and modest as a girl in the matter of selling her virtue) sits there blushing, violated, but unable to assert himself.

Suppose it became customary for a priest to have a steward to collect his money, tithes, offerings, etc., to which there can be no objection inasmuch as the steward is in the priest's service. But then suppose that being such a steward became an independent trade that derived its income from the priest, and that the steward himself speculated and had a merely financial interest in the priest being on good terms with the congregation. What then? Yes, the result would be that it became customary for the priest every Saturday night, on finishing his sermon, to go over to the steward to let him see it. And the steward would say: "If your Reverence talks like this, no one will come to church, and the takings in the collection will be no damned use to me, in which case I can't prom-

ise much for the year, which, after all, is in your own interest. No, you must flatter the congregation a little; I'll tell you how. I can't exactly write a sermon, but I have a very good idea of the times and what the congregation demands."

I imagine the priest would flush with embarrassment and say "Have I been appointed teacher in order to flatter the congregation and so you can earn money?" But the steward answers: "That's getting overexcited and the like, I haven't time for such high-mindedness. Everyone is a thief in his trade and my trade is seeing to it that Your Reverence satisfies the times."

So it goes betw. the priest and the steward. That the money man should poke his nose so nauseatingly into the sermon and judge it in lucrative terms is disgusting enough. And yet isn't the steward 302
supported in the same way as a publisher, whose way of regarding money finds acceptance in all the mercenaries of the daily press?

But without modesty there is no true relation of spirit; yet how can the author's possible modesty benefit the reader when it has to go through this medium of insolence: money, money, money, the demands of the time, money, money.

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486 Really it's a deceptive turn by Bishop Mynster when in his sermons (the one: "Give us this day our daily bread," and the one on the miracles) he says on the forgiveness of sin: *someday* (i.e., in eternity) it shall be said to him who in repentance has humbled himself and believed, your sins are forgiven you. "someday," i.e., in eternity; but the crux of the forgiveness of sin is precisely to make it effective in time. It is the new creation, and the priest does say at confession, "I proclaim to you the merciful forgiveness of your sins." is the forgiveness only for the future[?] This again is to use immanence (this someday) instead of transcendence.

#

487 The most dreadful expression for how Xt was misunderstood is not even about being quite unnoticed; no, but to have been the object of the unthinking crowd's curiosity, so the eternal truth walked about in life and the street urchins ran after him and the servant girl ran out into the street—to gawk at him—but no one, not one, thought of what he was or received any impression.

#

488 The difficulty with speculating increases in relation to the degree to which one wants to put what one speculates over into use existentially. Someone with a contrite conscience, who could make use at
303 every moment of the relief of believing in the forgiveness of sins: if he is to speculate it goes wrong. But in general it's the same with the philosophers (both Hegel and all the others) as with most people: that basically they exist in the everyday in categories other than those in which they speculate, console themselves with something quite other than what they solemnly talk about. Hence all the mendacity and confusion in science.

#

489 In Isaiah 46 there is a very profound expression of the difference between an idol and the true God. Jehovah tells Israel that *he car-*
15 *ries* his people, instead of *the worshipers of idols having to carry their idols*.

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490 In relation to their systems most systematizers are like a man who has built a vast palace while he himself lives next door in a barn;
20 they themselves do not live in the vast systematic edifice. But in matters of the spirit this is and remains a decisive objection. Spiritually, a man's thoughts must be the building in which he lives—otherwise it is wrong.

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491 It is inconceivable that a hymn writer like Kingo could think of writing such hymns as the historical corruptions of the Gospels in which rhyme appears as annoying foolishness in comparison with the Gospels' own brief, simple narratives.

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492 Everything depends upon making absolute the difference between quantitative and qualitative dialectic. The whole of logic is quantitative dialectic or modal dialectic, because everything is, and the whole is one and the same. Qualitative dialectic belongs in existence.

304

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493 A person who, like myself, has had a polemical notion of the whole of existence ever since childhood—and who has recently spent a bit of time at *The Corsair*, on their best meal plan—he can be viewed as having good credentials in relation to the times. This sort of thing is worth a lot of money.

#

494 Life in the country does have the advantage that there are approximately 10 cows, 15 sheep, 2 pigs, a great many sparrows to each hum. being—from which one sees that a hum. being is of some significance. In the capital there are 100 hum. beings to one cow, from which one sees that a cow is of some significance. But even though the mass of hum. beings circulating in the capital is bad money, no one seems to concern himself with *becoming* a human being, but instead most hum. beings are crazy to get married, and the respective marriages are busy working toward there *coming to be* even more hum. beings.

#

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495 When a pers. is very eager to accuse another pers. before God, to summon the case to God's Judgment Seat, his situation will be like that of the Copenhagen pickpocket: Together with another he had committed a major theft, and after dividing things up he received, among other things, 3 one-hundred rixdollar bills. He then took one of them to a fence to get it changed. The fence took the bill, went into another room—as if to change it. Then he came out again, said Good Day, and acted as if nothing had happened. The business had taken place in private and with every legal precaution, so the fence was on quite safe ground. The pickpocket himself prob. realized this. But he became so furious at this underhandedness that he went and reported the case to the police. Naturally, an active and zealous police force did everything possible to help the innocent man 305 get his rights or the 100 rixdol., but at the same time they also did not look at the matter one-sidedly, but from a higher point of view—and therefore quite properly asked the deceived man where he

himself had got the 100 rixdol. Alas, the poor deceived man—now, in addition to everything else, he ended up getting arrested for this same 100-dollar bill.

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496 So it is pleasant to visit the countryside when one is of an age that the host and hostess simply want you to go for a walk and look after yourself, and merely keep an eye out to see that you don't come to any harm.

#

497 Affectation is best translated into Danish with "acquiring something by lying"; the affected person doesn't lie, but he acquires something by way of lying, either straightforwardly, or by doing the opposite, or by not doing something.

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498 Unfortunately, I must say: My life is wasted. If I had lived somewhere other than here in Copenhagen, a person would likely understand this to mean that I had squandered the best years of my youth in frivolousness, in a confused plan of study, perhaps in debauchery. Alas, no, it is the reverse. I have indeed amounted to something—and therefore my life is to be regarded as wasted here in Copenh., where one can live happily and extremely pleasantly only as long as one amounts to nothing; here in Copenh., where little other than evil is spoken of anyone who amounts to anything; from which it obviously follows that the person who amounts to nothing can proudly say: Nothing evil is spoken of me. If a someone here in Copenh. is a university student, a graduate (but not a bit more than that), a copy clerk in a royal office, a shop boy, a pupil at
306 the Academy of Art (but not a bit more than that), then, if the weather is very hot, he can freely and peacefully take a walk in the sun with an umbrella, despite the fact that it is not customary to do so here—but if I, for example, were so daring as to do so, it is haughtiness. A Cerberus of envy keeps watch on every step of a person who amounts to anything, in order to explain it as haughtiness and arrogance.

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499 There is generally a great question concerning the permissibility of invoking what is purely personal, for example, by saying that one has been saved in a miraculous fashion. In any case, one must avoid producing a result characterized by fantasy. So one must say precisely and definitely what one's error and sin consisted of; otherwise one could easily induce anxiety, particularly in the more innocent sort of people, by a terrifying depiction of evil.— Sometimes, however, it is also dangerous to do the opposite, as when a person remains completely silent regarding his own life, but puts such color into his portrayals that people involuntarily draw conclusions concerning the narrator's own life. A person may himself have come to such a frightful knowledge of evil that in preaching to him, for example, such portrayals could be employed without harm, but one can also induce anxiety with such portrayals. And one can well-meaningly depict evil so appallingly that anxiety is thereby lured into a young person's soul.

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500 It is certainly true that part of what contributed to the success of *Either/Or* was that it was the first, so that people could believe that it was the result of many years' work—and then conclude that the style was fine and polished. It was written lock, stock, and barrel in 11 months. at most only a page (of the Diapsalmata) was already in existence. As far as that goes, I have also spent more time on all the subsequent works. Most of *Either/Or* was written in only 2 drafts. (in addition, of course, to what I thought through while walking, but that is how it always is); nowadays I like to write 3 drafts.

307

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501 Every phenomenon of nature *calms* one, and does so more the longer one sees it or hears it. Every product of artifice provokes impatience. In the end, the law governing fireworks displays will be that they must all be fired off within 5 minutes, the shorter the better. But the sighing of the wind, and the antiphony of the waves, and the whispering of the grass, etc., improve with every 5 minutes one listens to them.

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502 The Gospel story about the good Samaritan could be preached on in the following way:

about the three, who went "down that same way"—and yet each his own way.

this: "down that same way" is the wording of the biblical text.

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503 Just lately there is a panorama out beyond Vesterport; the exhibitor or barker says: ["]Here there is also an exhibit of the new lucky star, where all get to know their full age, as well as their future bride or groom[.]" Good Lord, usually everyone knows how old he is, no arcane arts are needed for that—but one's future bride: yes, that would certainly be worth finding out.—Incidentally, it was splendid that the barker's cry, telling customers what they would discover, consisted of such qualitatively different statements.

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504 When we say: While such and such took place, something else took place, we always think of the former as something that lasted
308 longer and can thus be used to show that the latter occupies only a moment within the first "while." We say that while Cicero was consul, thus and such took place; while Pitt was prime minister, etc. It thus produced a wonderfully comical effect some time ago when we could read in the newspaper about the festivities on Skamlingsbanken: *while* Grundtvig was speaking, the people from Funen arrived. The people from Funen are of course the insignificant part, but what is splendid and witty is the notion one gets of the fantastic length of Pastor Grundtvig's speech,—that *while* he was speaking (while Cicero was consul). One could say, e.g., *while* Grundtvig was speaking, a French fleet put to sea and conquered Algiers.

309

1842. May. **505**

Disjecta Membra.

. . . . . and if the bitter chalice of suffering is passed to **506**
me, then I would indeed beseech that, if possible, it be
taken from me; but if it be not possible, I will take
hold of it with undaunted courage; and I will not fix my
gaze on the chalice but on the person who passes it to
me; and I will not fix my gaze on the bottom of the
chalice to see whether it will soon be empty, but I will
look upon him who passes it to me; and when I con-
fidently raise the goblet I will not say to any other pers.,
Your health, while I myself enjoy its savor; but I will
say, My health, and drain its bitterness, My health, for
I know and I am convinced that it is for my health that
I empty it, My health, when I leave not a drop remaining.

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. . . . . and it was the delight of his eye and his heart's de- **507**
sire. And he stretched forth his arm toward it and took
hold of it, but he could not keep it; it was offered him,
but he could not possess it—alas, and it was the de-
light of his eye and his heart's desire. And his soul was
near despair; but he preferred the greater pain, to lose
it and give it up, over the lesser, to possess it wrong-
fully, or—properly expressed, as one should when
speaking in this holy place—he chose the lesser pain
of doing without it over the greater of possessing it in
the disquietude of his soul . . . . and strangely, it
proved to be to his benefit.

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. . .Because, of course, what would be frightful would **508**
not be that I would suffer the punishment I deserved
because I had done wrong, but what would be frightful
would be if I or any pers. could be capable of doing 310
wrong and there would be no one who punished
it; and indeed what would be frightful would not be for
me to awaken in anguish and horror, deceived in my

heart, but rather that I or any pers. could deceive his heart in such a way that there would no longer be any power capable of awakening it . . . . yet I will do what I judge best at this moment; but then I will beseech you, O God, if I have acted wrongly, that your judgment will not grant me peace until I have realized my error; for what is important to me is not that I escape from your judgment, but that truth might prevail. I will not conceal myself or conceal my deed from myself; I know and want to know what I have done, and even if I awakened in the middle of the night, I would still be able to say with certainty what I had done; and I will not deceive myself, I want to know it distinctly and clearly, whether in later times it will be to my shame—indeed, to my horror—or to my joy and reassurance.

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509 There are people who say with a certain pride: I owe nothing to any pers., I have educated myself. There are others who say: This great thinker was my teacher, this excellent general, and I account it an honor to have been his disciple, to have fought under him—but what would you think if a pers. were to say: God in heaven was my teacher, and I account it an honor to be his disciple, he brought me up.

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510 Therefore will my voice rejoice greatly, greater than the voice of a woman who has given birth, greater than the angels' cry of joy over a sinner who converts, more joyful than the morning song of the birds; for what I have sought, I have found, and if people took everything from me, if they expelled me from their society, still I would nonetheless retain this joy; if everything were taken from me, I would still continue to
311 have what is best—the blessed astonishment at God's infinite love, at the wisdom of his counsel.

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[a]The woman has more anxiety than the man; therefore it was she whom the serpent chose to attack, and deceived her through her anxiety.

[b]In the 6th vol. of his writings, p. 194, Hamann makes an observation that I can use, even though he has neither understood it as I wish to understand it nor pursued it any further in his thinking: Diese Angst in der Welt ist aber der einzige Beweis unserer Heterogeneität. Denn fehlte uns nichts, so würden wir es nicht besser machen, als die Heiden und Transcendental-Philosophen, die von Gott nichts wissen, und in die liebe Natur sich wie die Narren vergaffen, keine Heimweh würde uns anwandeln. Diese impertinente Unruhe, diese heilige Hypochondrie. . . .

Now people have often enough treated the nature of original sin, and yet they have lacked a principal category, namely *anxiety*; this is its essential determinant. anxiety is in fact a desire for what one fears, a sympathetic antipathy; anxiety is an alien power that seizes the individual, and yet one cannot tear oneself free of it and one does not want to, for one fears, but what one fears is what one desires. Anxiety now renders the individual powerless, and the first sin always takes place in powerlessness; therefore it apparently lacks accountability, but this lack is the actual snare. **511**

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When you were so happy, have you said to yourself that you could easily go through life all alone; when you were so sad, have you said to yourself that it seemed as if even God in Heaven couldn't help you. **512**

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. . . Perhaps you express yourself in a more childlike manner, perhaps you say: Of course God is almighty, it's such an easy matter for him, and for me it's so terribly important that my wish be fulfilled; my future, my joy, everything depends on it. "It is charming that, despite the sufferings that threaten, you do not lose your childlike qualities; you beguile us—and yet (isn't it so?) you could not wish to beguile God like this; for even if you were to get what you wished for, you would of course get it as a child gets it; you could not love God with all your heart, could not love him with all your passion—and only this love, after all, is proper for a hum. being, only this makes him happy. **513**

312

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. . . . Then when everything is lost, when you have been denied what was dearest to you, when there is no remaining doubt with which to keep breath in your soul, **514**

when your soul wants to sink into death and exhaustion "because there is nothing more for it to do"... Could there be absolutely nothing at all? I know of one more thing, however—before you lay yourself down to die (even if you do continue to live) if you ask yourself: Do I love God as much as in the past? See, if you must confess that you don't, then your soul will not have time to fall asleep but will have much to do; and if you sense that you do, then you will become so joyful that you will feel yourself more alive than ever.

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515 ... and one cannot always judge the magnitude of suffering and pain by the scream and the noise.

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516 ... and find that it is a mystery more profound than any thought that has arisen in a man's heart, that God does not stand on ceremony, that one may dare to speak with him without further ado (ex tempore), without having been announced, etc., in life's joys, in the sorrow-filled nights; that one always has occasion to thank him, and that if one forgets to do so, he is loving enough to remind one of it. I meditate upon how equally God shares with hum. beings; for it must be far more difficult for him to love a hum. being in such a way that he [the hum. being] is not crushed by God's love, much more difficult for him to make himself so small that a pers. can really love him.

And when one does not have a single hum. being to whom one can make oneself understood, he is willing to listen and can remember better than all hum. beings, better than one can oneself. And when one becomes confused in one's thoughts so that one is at one's wits' end, he has not forgotten even the least bit
313 of what one bade him to remember—and if this were not so, then everything would be a matter of complete indifference, whether one or not one could remember it oneself.

18 ex tempore] *Latin,* on the spur of the moment; without preparation

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. . . . And when you had become truly weary of the world, when you **517**
wanted to give vent to your passion in a single proverb, then perhaps you said: The world passeth away, and the lust thereof. But at the same instant your soul was reminded that there was an old proverb, and you involuntarily came to repeat what you next remembered from childhood: the word of the Lord endureth forever. At first you said it perfunctorily, but in the end it came to be everything to you.

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317

1 Ueber die Præexistents Christi oder die Voraussetzung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit.

v.

Pfarrer Conradi.

(Baur's Periodical 3rd Vol. 2nd Part, p. 348 et al.)

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2

Der historische Christus und die Philosophie Kritik der Grundidee des Werks: das Leben Jesu von Dr. D. F. Strauss. v. Julius Schaller Dr: d. Philos. u. Privatdocent an der Universitæt Halle.
Leipzig 1838.

1 [a]beg. 23 July—finished 21 Aug. 1838.

1. Die mythische Auffassung der heiligen Geschichte nach ihrer allgemeinen Tendents und im Verhältniß zum Glauben.—
p. 4. "Faith is therefore no act of submission to an alien hostile dominion, but much more the content-filled act of becoming free from, of negating, of overcoming every presupposed alienation, the subject's coming to consciousness of its own inwardness."—"We must therefore characterize it as a self-deception when, in grasping the positive revelation, the believing consciousness nonetheless expresses this as an unknown mystery and requires that we exclude knowledge, and our conceptualization of it, as an element that is irrelevant to revelation.—(Tertullian: 'Credo quia absurdum.')["]—
p. 5. "The truth of revelation is not given to any subject immediately, but rather demands the Entaußerung of immediate and natural subjectivity.—If one were to take the absurd as one's criterion, then one would come to the remarkable demand that the content of religion be allowed to be located externally to it and to be invincible, and yet to incorporate the believer within itself (Bayle said: he sought out every possible doubt that could be leveled against faith, not to annihilate the latter but the better to prepare its triumph; for it is not believing what one has insight into that demonstrates the power of faith, but believing, even while doubting and not understanding[])." "Just as—in genuine faith—the alien quality of the positive is already sublated, and every moment of the externally given doctrinal content is turned into something inwardly lived through and experienced, so also—for true speculative thought—the positive content of religion forms a differentiating contrast, though not in immediate form given this position."—p. 6. ["]But Christ's person and life also belong to the positive content of Chr. doctrine." 319
p. 7. "Sensuous individual Gegenständlichkeit is the most positive element that can be given, and it is already on account of this that it seems that philos. must remain in an insuperable opposition to historical Xnty, because by its own admission, it may indeed penetrate what is universal with the concept, but not what is individual." "In being an object, the fact is as such only an object for my consciousness, not the content of my self-consciousness." p. 9 "Purely historical knowledge is empty and devoid of content, spirit

5 Die mythische Auffassung . . . zum Glauben] *German,* The mythical interpretation of the sacred history in its general orientation and in relation to faith **15** Credo quia absurdum] *Latin,* I believe because it is absurd. **17** Entaußerung] *German,* (Entäusserung), externalization (Kierkegaard's umlaut error) **33** Gegenständlichkeit] *German,* quality of being an object

is here altogether outside itself, without being returned to the content-rich certainty and knowledge of itself, and there can therefore be no greater Entgeistigung in the realm of theoretical knowledge than this simple knowing or cognizing a mass of unrelated atoms." Thereby all facts ultimately become equally important. p. 10 "Thus it is Christ's person that, just as it gives meaning to the whole evangelical narrative, also forcefully breaks through the abstract Gegenständlichkeit that the sacred narrative has for our consciousness when it is regarded as factual, and in doing so not only asserts itself as historically factual but also as the essential and absolute truth that does not remain external to us as a really existing object, but is to be taken up into self-consciousness and recognized by it as truth." ["]Christ's teaching is in addition teaching about his person, and when the Church describes this person as the God-Man, it is also self-evident that faith in the truth of this fact cannot take place without an inward religious conviction; thus it is indeed altogether impossible to believe in the truth of the fact that Xt was the God-Man and yet also remain a Jew." p. 16 "If, then, the mythical conception of the sacred narrative were right and if the denial of the historical facts actually left the religious content unaffected, then doubt concerning the narrative would nonetheless lead to historical doubt."—

2. Durchführung der mythischen Ansicht durch ihre wesentliche Momenten.—

The mythical conception virtually rejects the sacred narrative's facts qua individual immediate occurrences and wants to have them regarded as the sensuous garb of religious ideas[.] The sacred narrative's *lack of historical reality* is thus the first point that the mythical outlook has to demonstrate, and therefore *historical criticism* is its necessary point of departure.—The two main instances which historical criticism uses to show that the facts of the sacred narrative did not occur as they are narrated are 1) the contradictions among the various reports 2) the intrinsic impossibility of the fact. It is this latter aspect that Strauss especially seizes on. The historian's Vorurtheilslosigkeit no longer applies here since at this point we have entered upon questions, e.g., concerning miracles and wonders, and if critical practice is still to be assured of having any meaning, philosophical Vorurtheilslosigkeit is needed; but if this remains stuck at the point of simple Urtheilslosigkeit, then we never move from the spot, and loose assertions help just as little, so a proof must be carried through; but at this point dogmatic definitions

3 Entgeistigung] *German,* de-spiritualization **23** Durchführung der mythischen Ansicht durch ihre wesentliche Momenten] *German,* Exposition of the mythical view in its essential moments **35** Vorurtheilslosigkeit] *German,* lack of presuppositions **39** Urtheilslosigkeit] *German,* indecision

become philosophical concepts, and only these are able to fulfill historical Vorurtheilslosigkeit. . Str. thus next sets out to show that Xt's person, as it is conceived in the Bible and by the Church, must be downgraded to a symbolic figure; but here we indeed have a fact which cannot be decided by any sense certainty, for what Xt was according to his essence could not be seen in him by means of the senses, and all of his acts and miracles could similarly pass people by without helping them to attain a spiritual vision of "The Redeemer.["]—"So it is dogmatic and philosophical grounds alone that make him unwilling to allow the divine element in Xt to count in the way that the Bible recognizes. On the one hand, the Idea is not to realize itself in such a way that it pours its entire fullness into one exemplar and is grudging toward the others; and on the other hand, the predicates that the Church ascribes to Xt's person cannot possibly be united in one individual." p. 24. "But, inasmuch as sense certainty is the highest historical attitude in relation to an individual fact, this also forms the basis of the broader meaning of historical proof for the reality of the sacred narrative. For just as 321 sense certainty only has the object's being, not its essence, as its content, historical proof only secures the sacred narrative for consciousness, not for self-consciousness. Thus, even if it were nevertheless possible for historical proof to succeed in moving a person to acknowledge the miraculous, absolutely nothing is thereby won for religious faith; for faith in miracles is by no means what matters, but rather the tracing back of the miraculous to Xt's God-human personality; but this relationship is utterly beyond the purview of historical proof, and therefore if, like the miraculous itself, it could provide an occasion for faith, it would still not be in a position to confirm the correctness of the fact, of that miracle that is only accomplished by the God-Man.—But the proof of the unhistorical element in the biblical narrative has still not provided a proof for the mythical element in the same.—To explain the myth or to posit that it, as such, is the form whose content is provided by the Idea, was therefore the next task for the mythical. The issue was thus to show how the facts were moments in a religious self-consciousness. If the mythical view of the sacred narrative were now to be carried through in all its moments and thereby prove its truth, then criticism of Church doctrine would have to accompany criticism of the sacred narratives. The truth of the mythical view is to consist in this, that it leaves Xnty's essence and unique content unaffected to such a degree that it even frees it from the form of finitude, which does not correspond to its absoluteness; its opposition

to the ecclesiastical doctrine does not consist in its seeing the sacred narrative as permeated by the Idea but in its denial of the Idea's immediacy. The opposition of this sensuous immediacy to the content-filled form is to reinstate, transfigured, Xnty's original meaning, since, according to the mythical view, this original meaning was one in which truth was merely the content of religious self-consciousness, which did not envisage its content as something that had taken place in external reality. This visualized objectification in historical form is only the subjective representation of the Christian content and does not correspond to the object.["]—p. 31 "But it has already been alluded to several times that in particular parts of the Straussian work, historical criticism takes a turn by which, anticipating a broader interpretation of the myth concept, it not only annihilates the history but also the myth. It is not just occasionally that the inheritance that Chr. consciousness received from the O. T.—with its imaginative ideas, wishes, hopes—is seen not merely as the material from which the Chr. consciousness derived the form for a content that was different from that of Jewish faith; but rather, it was seen even more as the source of the myths, and in doing so their origin in the Chr. consciousness was thus forgotten.—If the Chr. myth is really to contain a religious content—and therefore one that is meaningful to the Christian mind—then the manner of representing the consciousness of the Chr. atonement is to be derived solely from this. If this certainty concerning reconciliation also has Jewish consciousness as its necessary presupposition and stands in an essential relationship to it, the Chr. religion is still essentially different from the Jewish, and this difference in principle includes all moments of the religious mode of representation. The way in which the Jewish mode of representation enters into the Chr. is, then, also a matter of thoroughgoing transformation, and the Chr. consciousness may take its material from wherever it will; but whatever it takes up, it produces anew, from the ground up, and merely showing its likeness to Jewish ideas explains nothing concerning its essential content.["]—

322

3. Die Entzweiung des Menschen mit Gott als Voraussetzung der Versöhnung.—

If one is really to come to grips with the mythical view, it is essential to investigate the following: *whether sensuous, factual immediacy is actually inessential in relation to the idea of reconciliation, i.e., a form that does not affect the content, or whether that immediate actuality might not rather be better conceived as a moment of the content itself.*

35 Die Entzweiung des Menschen mit Gott als Voraussetzung der Versöhnung] *German,* The Division between Humanity and God as the Presupposition of Reconciliation

The relationship between species and individual in the realm of Spirit.— … p. 35 "This separation of concept and reality is precisely the essence of nature, and it is precisely by doing so that natural life points beyond itself, because it is in irresolvable contradiction with itself; the solution to this contradiction is Spirit, and nature does not reach fulfillment in itself but only in Spirit, in which it finds its actual conclusion and is reduced to being a moment.— Self-consciousness—In self-consciousness the individual goes beyond his own immediate individuality, not coinciding with his immediacy, in which he is this particular individual, but as individual he is also 'I,' singular universality; it is only by virtue of this, only by this infinite definiteness in himself that the single individual is in addition a *person*["] .... Self-consciousness is breaking off all mediation by means of another, [it is] an absolute mediation by means of itself, the production of itself, it is the einfache self-positing, and only by positing itself does it exist; its concept is altogether its being and ideality and reality in indissoluble unity.—If we apprehend the hum. being solely in its organic aspect, where the categories of species and individual essentially belong, then any deeper significance for the hum. being will vanish, such as the difference betw. good and evil, freedom, immortality, historical continuity. If on the contrary we take self-consciousness to be the overcoming of the natural relation to the species, then the validity of spiritual interests takes its rightful place. That humnty is self-developing, is capable of progress or of having a history, is intimately bound up with this differentiation of Spirit from nature. If hum. beings constitute by nature a unity by belonging to a species, namely humnty, the unity and commonality in which self-conscious persons who by nature are liberated and form a unity (family, State, religion, Church) [this unity and commonality] must nonetheless differ essentially from that of the natural species. In the hum. Spirit there thus once more appears a noncorrespondence of essence and actuality, and only by virtue of this noncorrespondence is the hum. Spirit also finite. Spirit in its immediacy has indeed been dispersed into utterly singular individuals, and this immediacy is its naturalness and its participation in nature; but this immediacy of Spirit is also its mediation through another and its lack of freedom. Immediately, then, the finite Spirit does not correspond to its essence; it is, however, so determined that it is to actualize its freedom through action. Inasmuch as every individual is, by virtue of its natural determinants and one-sidedness, also an "I," a unity of all

323 324

15 einfache] *German,* simple

individualities is thus also given, which, immediately, is only present in the mode of possibility and not in accordance with its actuality.

concerning the religious—concerning Judaism—Hegel defines what is distinctive in Judaism as its conceiving of God as *one* (not *pantheistically*—not *polytheistically*—not *Christianly*[)].The separation of subject and substance introduced by polytheism (since there is indeed a unity of substance in polytheism but it is without essence, an unknowable divinity that does not have self-consciousness within itself, only outside itself) ceases when God is conceived as the one; for then the whole content of divinity falls to him alone, and in his subjective relation to himself God is at the same time absolute universality and substance.—God's revealed will is the Law; but inasmuch as mediation in God means to refrain from taking into oneself everything which is other than God but rather, all the more, to cast it out, the Law cannot make the unity of the div. and the hum. wills into a principle but rather, all the more, their difference; therefore the Law cannot take its bearings from the inwardness of the hum. will but must do so in relation to its externality or to its actions.—One cannot then say that consciousness of "der Entzweiung" and the urge to seek redemption solely or supremely proceed from hum. beings convincing themselves through experience of the need to fulfill every aspect of the Law's demands; for, first, there can only be talk at this stage of difficulty and not total impossibility, and, second, all that can be derived from this is the longing to be freed from the punishment of the Law. But consciousness of this also develops through the fulfilling of the Law. Essntlly this "Entzweiung" consists in the following: *that God is abstract Subject, excluding humnty, and, over against the absolute Lord, the hum. being is lost in his finitude*.—Consciousness and self-consciousness are incompatible with each other. The absolute is the object of my consciousness and I recognize it as all that is true and actual; but in this object of my consciousness I do not also know myself, and the self-consciousness of my finitude does not find fulfillment in this object; but I rather know myself as utterly annihilated in this object of the absolute essence. The consciousness of this division, however, seeks satisfaction by assigning a quite external attribute to God; in the midst of its sorrowing over the yawning gulf that is fixed between God and humnty it seeks to find consolation in its special relation to God, in God making a distinction between Egypt and Israel, which, however, means attributing to God something that does not correspond to his universal subjectivity. But the more piety develops within Judaism, and the more it seeks

[b]"as the One" 1

to realize the Law, all the more does it hold fast to this preference by God, so that a kind of Trinity gets established in this God who encompasses the Jews with such remarkable favor.—But how are things from God's point of view in relation to this Entzweiung? and how is the reconciliation that has been brought about on this basis to be understood? Is one to maintain, in prosaic stiff-neckedness, the idea of God's unchangingness, and as a consequence of this make reconciliation into a mere movement within the sphere of our thought, so that one simply removes the idea one once had of God's wrath, so that one essntlly simply reconciles oneself with one's own idea? In this regard one can simply ask how does God relate himself to evil? If he relates himself in the same way to good and to evil, then the relationship is indeed annulled; for, on the one hand, that the relationship relates to itself in the same way in different moments of course means precisely that these moments do not emerge as differentiated in the relationship, but that the relationship itself is rather the negation of difference?—On the other hand, one is completely right in steadfastly maintaining that the absolute would cease to be absolute if it is thought of as mediated and conditioned by humnty's finite certainties—quite apart from the dialectical necessity in which subjective idealism sublates itself at its 326 highest point, the one-sidedness of the assertion that God is what hum. beings think him to be immediately becomes clear from this, as, e.g., the idea of substance would cease if God actually is no more than substance. For as substance downgrades everything determinate and individual to a merely vanishing moment of itself, so too is the individual hum. being unable to tear himself loose from this universal being and proceed to self-consciousness and to *the idea* of the absolute object. Corresponding exactly to the conception of God as the absolute substance, the highest tendency of the Indian cultus consists therein, that it altogether annuls both idea and self-consciousness; for self-consciousness is not Spirit's true actuality and essence, but rather a condition inadequate to the Spirit; because its essence is substance, it therefore has the task of itself annihilating its "Fürsichsein" into being, or into immediacy and undifferentiated unity, i.e., of annihilating the form of its "Fürsichsein."

4. Kritik der Straußischen Christologie.
Its chief failing is its indeterminacy—. I shall begin with Schaller's concluding remark. p. 65: It is incontrovertibly demonstrated that the mere substantial participation of the self-knowing subject in impersonal God-humnty is not reconciliation but "Entzweiung."

35 Fürsichsein] *German,* being-for-itself **37** Kritik der Straußischen Christologie] *German,* Critique of the Straussian Christology

For this reason the mythical outlook also adopts a negative attitude toward the content of Chr. doctrine, since the denial of the historical Christ's personal God-humnty has the additional consequence of denying personal God-humnty altogether . . . . . On the one hand, as soon as we start consistently using the relationship of species and individual systematically in relation to Spirit, Spirit as such and all spiritual interests, especially personality, are fundamentally annihilated; but if, on the other hand, Spirit's essence is cognized with speculative specificity, then the concept of God-humnty deriving from it is so far from dispensing with the God-Man's historical
327 appearance that it rather also includes the proof for the necessity of the historical appearance.—According to Strauss the idea of the God-humnty is to contain eternal truth; however, this should not be actual in a single historical person *but in the hum. species*. Now, it is essential Christian doctrine that all hum. beings participate in the God-humnty of the single person of Xt, and there can be no talk of any "Geiz der Idee" in this reconciliation brought about by Xt, quite apart from the absolute impossibility of realizing an Idea in the hum. Spirit without such an original "Geiz," since this always appears first at a single point and thereafter spreads out its fullness (e.g., Luther). But if we now assert that only the species is God-hum. but no individual is the God-Man, the participation of the individual in God-humnty must nevertheless always occur. But what are the characteristics of such a participation? or how does the species as the universal relate to the individual, the individual to the universal? . . . . . But what does it mean to say that the hum. being is called the infinite [being] which is entaüsserte to finitude and the finite Spirit that recollects its infinity? The next question here is whether the elevation of the hum. Spirit to God, which is essentially a recollection of its immanent infinity, is at all sufficient to unite the finite and absolute Spirit in a God-hum. unity, or whether this elevation and recollection might have as its content the absolute and perfect knowledge of God, thus whether or not the God-humnty is attained in the finite non-Christian religions?—
Furthermore, Strauss teaches that humnty is not sinful, but here too there is an ambiguity … the shaky deployment of the category "species" is precisely the chief moment and the chief failing in Strauss. No individual is to be able to encompass the divinity's fullness within itself; this must instead be split off into a mass of individuals. But if we now really regard only the hum. species as the actual God-Man, then this doctrine is so far from being the abrogation of the preceding separation—so essential to Chr.

17 Geiz der Idee] *German,* attraction of the idea **27** entaüsserte] *German,* (entäusserte) externalized (Kierkegaard's umlaut error)

consciousness—of God and hum. beings that it all the more posits this separation as absolutely indissoluble. Indeed, the participation by the individual in the species has nothing personal about it, it is only substantial; and the basis for the separation is precisely that the 328
hum. being as subject does not know himself in his unity with God, 5
but for all God's goodness and omnipresence feels himself in his subjectivity absolutely annihilated in the absolute. The absolute substance downgrades not only everything individual but also individual persons into vanishing moments of its essence. The absolute subject, which is as one, without real differentiation in itself, 10
does the same; God has thus withdrawn from his abstraction, so that now humnty is also entitled to divinity; but, all the same, only insofar as the species is God-humnty; the individual as such, as the self-knowing subject, even despite the negation of its natural being, and despite its spiritual transformation, is excluded from divinity; 15
for the species is only the impersonal universal, which permits the individual to perish without recognizing its personal infinity.

5. *Die Idee der Versöhnung*.

This reconciliation, however, only occurs as the mediation of the highest antithesis, not that of the relation of substance and acci- 20
dent, but that of the subject's relation to the subject. The basis of reconciliation is thus from humnty's side the certainty that even subjectivity's atomistic individuation does not absolutely separate hum. beings from God, but that the highest peak of finitude is rather recognized and maintained in God. So, not one or another relation- 25
ship, not one or another form of unification and unity between God and hum., is able to resolve and reconcile the essentially spiritual Entzweiung, but simply and solely the personal unity.—Reconciliation more or less amounts to a new faith, a new way of knowing, a new knowledge of God.—The new relation to God, how- 30
ever, must essentially take its point of departure from the side of God, for without this it becomes an empty movement within subjectivity's own limits, an appearance without essence, a mere opinion.—It is a property of the concept of truth, as such, that in relation to subjective knowledge it exists as a *presupposition*. For our 35
knowledge truth is the absolute "prius" which we do not invent but discover, which we bring to consciousness and by attentive 329
reflection are to incorporate and reproduce. (The relation of error to truth). [I]n the recognition of reconciliation is also found a deeper insight into sin.—The new knowledge also brings about *a new life* 40
in relation not only to the previous historical development but also

18 Die Idee der Versöhnung] *German,* The Idea of Reconciliation **36** prius] *Latin,* what is previous or prior

to every previous manifestation within its own domain.—This is where the idea of reconciliation is now to be developed, at first without any regard to any historical phenomenon, in the pure domain of knowledge. But the idea of reconciliation, by virtue of its own concreteness and vitality, its factual actuality, once again leads us over into historical appearance, and here all our interest concentrates on Christ's personality and its relation to the Idea, as also to the actuality of reconciliation.

The speculative concept of reconciliation is the concept of Spirit as such and what is chiefly dealt with here is the relationship between the finite and the absolute Spirit, or between finite self-consciousness and absolute self-consciousness. The result is: *that humnty's actual knowledge of God is God's knowledge of himself*. The Kantian philosophy brought to consciousness chiefly the antithesis of subject and object, certainty and truth.—The complete antithesis in which reflection finds itself is at bottom the antithesis betw. *subjective thinking* and *objective being*. Knowledge becomes mere self-knowledge. But precisely because this antithesis is to be absolutely insuperable, because the subject is able to take up its position over against the object, so this, in its first finite moment, is also absolute, absolutely self-sufficient causa sui, and so no mere vanishing moment of the absolute substance but "I," self-consciousness, self-knowing, self-positing, infinite practical capability. But this idealism of self-consciousness is also only apparently at peace with itself. The practical infinity still retains theoretical finitude as its presupposition, and "the I" strives to emerge from its world of idealism to the unity of idea and actuality, a unity that is to be eternal but never perfected. As in the Jewish religion, the subject here is thus a movement without result and dissatisfied with itself. But whereas in the Jewish religion it was the absolute subject that pushed the finite subject back onto its finitude, so that the finite subject could only see the loss of itself in the absolute object of its consciousness, in the system of subjective idealism it is the finite "I" itself that now breaks off every actual relationship and thus, despite all its efforts and all its longings, remains stuck in its firm and insuperable finitude.—Spinoza too grants the finite Spirit its theoretical, if not its practical freedom, and this freedom consists in the individual giving up all his finite relationships and interests, i.e., his modality, and brings to consciousness the unity and uniformity that is absolutely undifferentiated in itself, so that substance ceases to be an alien object, an alien necessity, and presents itself in the thinking subject as self-love toward itself. But precisely this consciousness is a self-

21 causa sui] *Latin,* cause of itself

contradictory moment within substantiality, which is no longer really the immed. unity of being and thought that simply "is," no longer the universality that annihilates the individual, but rather the power that extends and raises the individual to universality—substance is only the unity of thought and being "an sich," it does not think itself but is only thought; i.e., it is actually not absolute in and for itself but is only an object for another, and thus a vanishing moment that lacks self-sufficiency. The subject that does not simply know itself, but has also cognized its essence in its self-consciousness, can only posit itself as finite vis-à-vis the object that also contains in itself the sustenance and affirmation of its self-knowing and from which therefore precisely this self-knowing can be derived and conceived.

Now that I have reached this point I cannot refrain from the comment that the reason why many of the writings produced by recent philosophy leave behind so little by way of outcome that is really satisfying, once the admiration that their displays of talent must elicit from all sides has subsided, is because their entire attention is turned toward questions that have never been voiced in the Chr. consciousness, focusing on problems that are to justify the acceptance of the actuality of a relationship between God and human beings, while the Chr. consciousness, without asking about this conditio sine qua non, seeks to grasp the concretions that this relationship has assumed. Thus, when Schaller here develops the concept of reconciliation, he is only 331
developing the possibility of God's relation to hum. beings, which one can certainly concede to him could take place only when the existence of a personal God is assumed; but the wrathful God is still not reconciled by this, and the satisfaction and repose one finds in such an answer is only illusory, since this question has no real meaning for Chr. consciousness, though it may well be very important for philosophical "Vorstudien."

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Only God's personal immanence in the hum. being is the personality that actually permeates everything and is all-"übergreifende." This alone is the ground of and the presupposition for every hum. being's knowing about God. If God really is only substance or only an abstract subject, then no creature would possess even a mere premonition concerning God; it is therefore not wrong that every religion has been characterized as a revelation of God, but only that religion can be called the absolute revelation in which God is in accordance with his entire infinite essence, revealed as a person and enters human consciousness as he is in and for himself. Only in this way is every opposition between God and the world actually annihilated.

5 an sich] *German,* in itself **26** Vorstudien] *German,* preliminary studies
29 übergreifende] *German,* comprising

But when every antithesis between God and the world is thus abrogated, then this indeed shows that the antithesis was purely logical and that the antithesis that comes under the rubric of religious-moral views (sin, etc.) has not been touched upon, the simple reason for which is, naturally, that one hasn't yet arrived at that point.—

K.

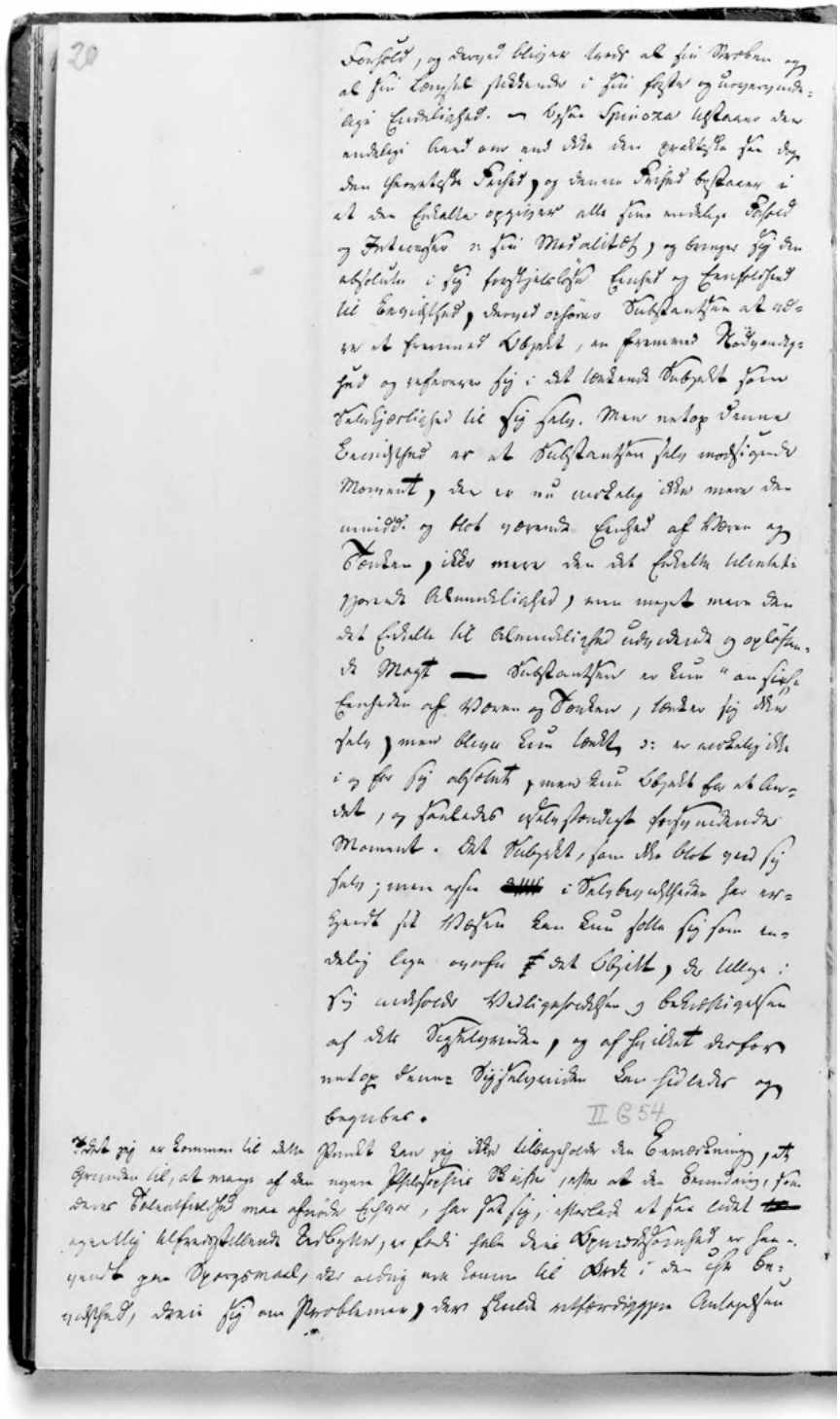
God no longer positions himself in the world merely in relation to an Other; it [the world] is not simply an object for his consciousness, but he knows himself in the finite, his personality overpowers the antithesis, forces its way through objectivity, demonstrates the energy of the transcendent and the irresistible power of its infinite mediation with itself.

6. *Die Personlichkeit Christi*.

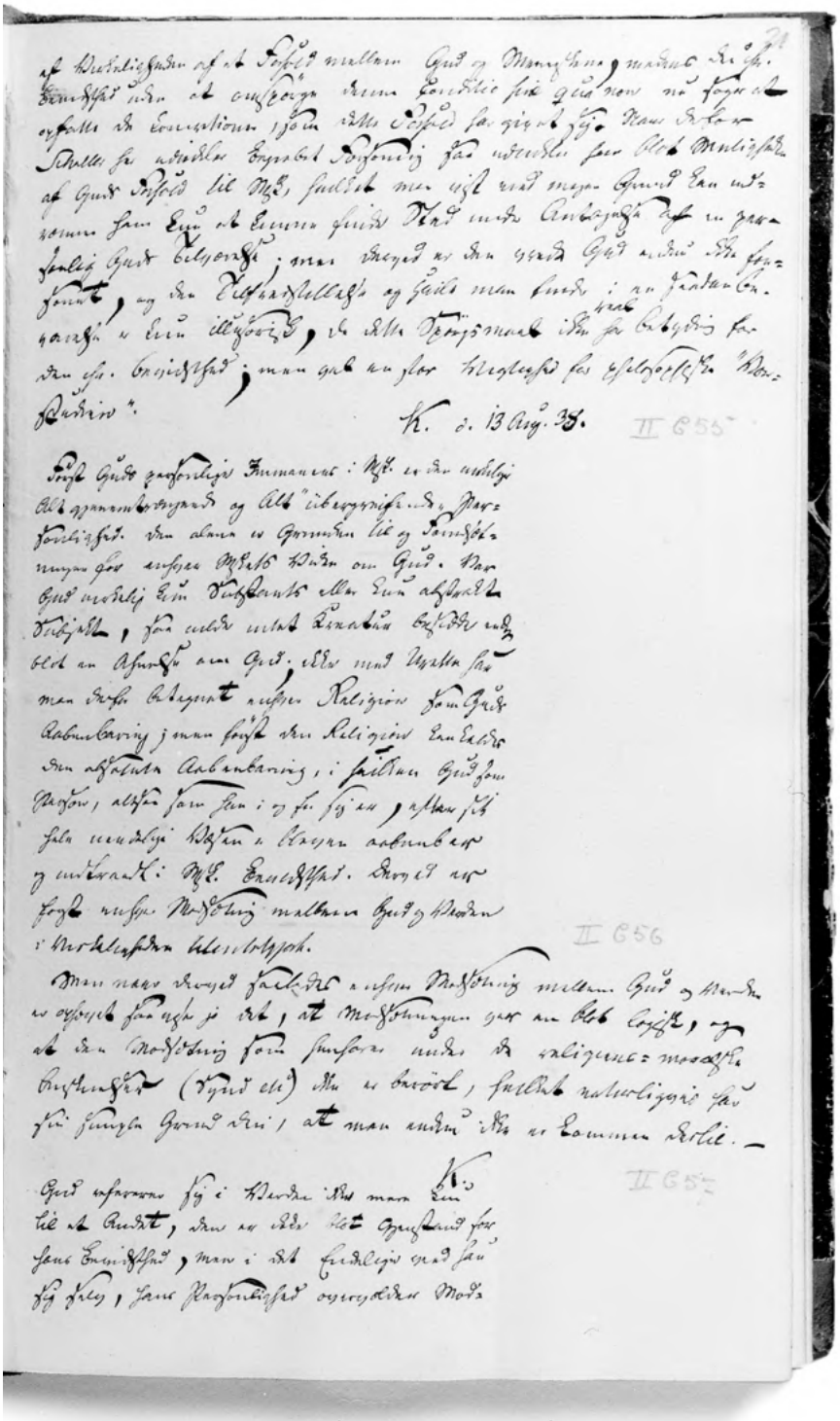
The general idea of reconciliation is the concept of the unity of God and the hum. being as such. God's essence consists in his being a person, not merely in himself but also in the hum. being, and the 334 hum. essence consists in going beyond its own limits and its own finite subjectivity through faith and knowledge of God and entering into an inward spiritual relation to God. Or: God is the God-Man according to his eternal essence, and as this living unity of himself and the God-Man, is absolute Spirit.—What is the connection between the realized ideal and the concept and work of reconciliation? Is not the appearance of the latter the fulfillment and disruption of all further historical development? Is a repetition of this ideal possible? Is its historical disappearance not once more the loss of God-humanity and a sinking back to the condition of sin and Entzweiung? *How is the idea of reconciliation realized? How does it appear, how does it enter into the finite Spirit's consciousness and certainty*?

There are 2 moments here, the consciousness of separation and reconciliation. Now, it would be altogether one-sided to say that the Chr. religion was conditioned and mediated by the Jewish .... One could put it better by saying that the Jewish was posited by the Chr., for if Xnty is the proper goal of the whole development, then not only the Jewish but all religions collectively appear as a means and as purposive. But the finite religions only achieve this by virtue of being posited by the goal that is presupposed and already fulfilled in itself; but prior to its enactment as a completely formed thought and decision, this goal, then, belongs to God's consciousness. Also in this teleological conception of history, every step forward also shows itself as a going backward and starting over, that is,

12 Die Personlichkeit Christi] *German,* (Persönlichkeit) The Personality of Christ (Kierkegaard's umlaut error)



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going toward the goal presupposed by the whole development, and the purpose is then fully realized when the end has returned to the beginning. p. 96. "But when the subjective necessity of the appearance of the God-Man, according to which this is necessary not in and for itself but only for the 'entzweite' consciousness, when this passes over into the mythical conception of Christ's person, then, as soon as one really makes the idea of reconciliation into the content of the myth, this passes over into the objective necessity of the God-Man, and now, based on this objective necessity, it is only a matter of specifying the God-human individual's particular essence in greater detail.—

Against the mythical volatilization of the historical 335
Christ, the point has rightly been established that every spiritual step forward proceeds from the energy of individuality.

This new principle breaks forth at a single point, because its variegatedness, its omnipresence, and universality are essentially only a product, a development of this principle itself, which in its original shape, in the form of being and immediacy, keeps this development enclosed within itself, which, as individual, thus stands in hostile opposition to the developed objective existence of the Spirit, as it has manifested itself in accordance with the preceding principle. But, just as the existence of this principle only really comes on the scene in a mass of individuals, so this principle's first form of existence is a spiritual individual, for only when a principle is made conscious and is expressed as principle and essence does it exist not merely as possibility, expectation, and hope, but as the spiritual actuality of consciousness—heroes—Xt's universal significance over and above that of the individuality of peoples.—.

The Church essentially brings to the fore the div. in Xt, the hum., and rejects the confusing of the hum. and the div. natures and conceives Xt's nature as the personal unity of God and hum. being. That one person is to combine two [natures] within himself, namely his own and an alien [nature], seems the hardest contradiction that can be offered to thought, but this is

6 entzweite] *German,* divided

precisely the concept and essence of the person, that it does not have its existence in itself but in an Other, i.e., that it possesses and enjoys itself in its positive, i.e., personal negation.

Every comparison that an external reflection draws betw. Xt and other individuals is just as inadequate as the mere recollection of Xt in the doctrine of the eucharist. The true inward spiritual comparison is faith and the self-realizing and developing Chr. life, which is essentially the movement whereby the difference from Xt and the union with him are made to appear more and more deeply.—

336 *7. Die Geschichte Christi*

Here we have to investigate the extent to which philosophical knowledge is in a position to direct and support historical criticism also re the single moments of Jesus' life, and just as the immediacy and individuality of God-humanity previously appeared as a necessary moment of the idea of reconciliation, so the question now is whether the same can also be asserted re the whole sinnlose Erscheinung of Christ, or whether an essentially other relationship between the Idea and Erscheinung comes into play here. The primary thing that comes into view here are those facts that criticism sees itself obliged to reject, not only by virtue of historical contradictions but also on philosophical grounds—the miracles.

Miracle is the occasion of faith but also the occasion of doubt. Miracle is a natural moment in an immed. consciousness, but it also awakens an urge in hum. beings to overreach themselves. The individual looks for reasons, for a mediation for the action that has been seen but is incomprehensible to him, and this spiritual urge becomes Chr. faith when the individual locates this mediation in Xt's God-human personality. Thus, it is only when miracle itself is negated and the subjective miracle has ceased that faith in miracles is in truth Chr. faith. (Thus self-negating externality is nature's univ. law, or its truth and essential actuality are not in its self and its continuing existence, but its momentariness, its being posited and becoming posited by Spirit.)

[c]It is especially superbly expressed with regard to the whole critical treatment of Xt's history and the questions that are raised thereby: "Das Auchandersseinkönnen liegt geradezu im Begriffe des sinnlichen Geschehens."—

13 Die Geschichte Christi] *German,* The History of Christ
21 sinnlose Erscheinung] *German,* meaningless appearance
23 Erscheinung] *German,* appearance

5 Das Auchandersseinkönnen . . . Geschehens] *German,* The ability also to be otherwise lies directly in the concept of sensuous occurrence.

To itself, nature is therefore an incomprehensible and unmediated fact, a miracle; but its all-encompassing permeation by Spirit is the clarification, the conceptualization, of this miracle. An *individual* subject, as an intervention in the natural course of life, is something other than this univ. transfiguration and infusion of nature by Spirit.

Miracle primarily appears as a single moment in the sacred narrative, but, in the same way that the miracle ceases to be a miracle for faith, so was Christ's entire manifestation in all its aspects a no less incomprehensibly miraculous object for the Jewish consciousness. For the Jewish environment, Christ's outward manifestation had as its primary significance that [the Jewish environment] 337
became aware of its inwardness by means of this externality. This internalization and taking possession of the person of Xt is a spiritual process, and we find that even the apostles had difficulties with it because of their Jewish prejudices. Only after X's death and resurrection did the apostles receive the Holy Spirit, only thereby were their eyes opened, only in this enthusiasm did the miracle of X's manifestation become revelation. (In any case, the philosophical assertion of the impossibility of a miracle is very insecure if it is also prepared to acknowledge its actuality when the reliability of the narrator as an eyewitness is proved.).

8. Der Glaube, das christliche Leben und die Philosophie.—
. . . . It is certainly the case that the development in knowledge that occurred in the Chr. development does not have the form of philosophical thinking, since it took its departure from what it felt in itself and not from thinking about thinking; but precisely for this reason it is one-sidedly and imprecisely expressed, if we characterize the theology of the Middle Ages as subordinating thinking to faith and, consequently, philosophy to theology; for by virtue of this subordination, which was not merely demanded but actually carried out, thinking ceases to be philosophical thinking and becomes believing and devotional thinking; philosophical thinking as such was thus not subordinated to faith, but rather had not yet become an urge; it was not yet an essential element of the spiritual life.—

22 Der Glaube, das christliche Leben und die Philosophie] *German,* Faith, the Christian Life and Philosophy

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3 Christliche Polemik von Dr. Karl Heinrich Sack. Hamburg, Fr. Perthes, 1838.—

From what I've read in this book up until now there are many good things in it, but it is more popular than scholarly; often it is even edifying, while also in a curious manner being very much of a piece with certain textbook ways of treating the material.—

There is nothing especially remarkable in the introduction, whereas the investigation of indifferentism with which the book begins is in many respects interesting and could be carried through in such a way as to have much greater scholarly significance.

The 2 main forms of indifferentism are naturalism and mythologism. (with regard to whether indifferentism should be assigned either to the real or to the ideal side, the reason for this division is once again one of these wretched textbook things that doesn't mean anything.).

Naturalism

Chr. N. is distinguished from the deistic and naturalistic in that it does not attack the positive element in Xnty but makes it, along with nature, something indifferent.

N. conceives of Xnty merely as a natural satisfaction of the religious urge and is indifferent to the distinction between religion and nature.

N. is indifferent to miracles, mysteries, and sacred scriptures, because it does not permit itself to be led by revelation to acknowledge the triune God and his appearance whom he sent.—

N. is indifferent to all the ways in which Xt showed himself to be the redeemer and it only thinks in terms of a natural-psychological "Anregung" regarding his teaching and ordinances.—

Mythologism.

M. is that form of indifferentism in which the mythical element in the non-Christian religions is put on the same level as the divine in Xnty.—

339 Since M. places God's revelation in the appearance of the beautiful, it cannot properly recognize God's will concerning humnty, still less sin or the worth of redemption.—

27 Anregung] *German,* arousal

Literalism.

L. is the error in which one believes that one has religion itself when one clings to its husk.

The historical development of L. is conditioned by an accompanying lukewarmness and thus by the presence of antiquated and highly cultivated hum. forms.—

The two main forms of literalism are ergism and orthodoxy.

Ergism

The essence of E consists in the error that everything in Xnty is only there in order to produce religious works as means of attaining blessedness.

In E. faith is exclusively the origin and root of action, not the means of justification.—

E. both produces a false division between works and works, and favors works that do not proceed from faith at all.

Orthodoxy

O. is the form of literalism in which the letter of orthodox belief is seen as necessary for attaining the purpose of the gospel.

O., in its not entirely ingenuous respect for what scripture teaches, allows itself to be misled into ascribing an unwarranted respect to the Church's doctrinal formulae and credal statements. O. develops as an effort to conceive of the divine as menschengleich, of the mystical as empirical, of the relative as absolute.

> "The expression that God has been reconciled by Xt's sacrifice does not appear in Holy Scripture, God is always represented as reconciling himself with the world. and it is impossible to view as unimportant, as the evangelische Kirkenzeitung does, the fact that scripture never uses this expression."

Spiritualism.

S. is the error in which the religious spiritual life is sought in separation from the divine word. The historical appearance of S. is partly dependent on a certain stage of intellectual development, partly on the abrogation of the suppression of Spirit brought about by Law. The two chief forms of S. are Rationalism and Gnosticism.

Rationalism.

R. consists in a false conception of the relationship betw. human reason and the Chr. religion.—

R. does not take God's word as the real word of God.—

22 menschengleich] *German,* human-like **27** evangelische Kirkenzeitung] *Dano-German,* evangelical church newspaper

By denying original sin, R. extirpates the feeling that we need a true mediator between God and hum. beings.—

By denying Christ's divinity and the objectivity of reconciliation, R. robs the work of redemption of its religious character and transforms it into a moral exemplar.—

> The objectivity of reconciliation is denied a) because seeing the death of the Righteous One as nec. is in conflict with the concept of God's holy love b) what is said about this topic in the N. T. is to be understood as an accommodation to the sacrificial cult of Judaism that proves nothing c) the doctrine of the reconciliation accomplished by Xt is damaging to morals.—

Every secure basis for ecclesiastical fellowship is undermined by R. by virtue of the spread of the nit-picking spirit in which it uses scripture.

Gnosticism

G. is that form of spiritualism in which knowledge, in its self-elevation above the divine word, is seen as the means for union with God.

341 G. falsely sets up a concept of the Chr. spiritual life in which the latter finds its fulfillment in speculative knowledge.—

> Gnosticism comprises without exception every outlook in which 1) faith is seen as a lower level that is to be overcome and transposed without remainder into knowledge and absorbed by it 2) in which the historical Xst along with his words and deeds is regarded as an outmoded moment 3) where the standpoint of absolute Spirit is seen as higher than the standpoint of life.

Because G. does not acknowledge sin as free disobedience, it also conceives of redemption only as the world's self-development.—

> The remark which Sack makes on p. 278 about Gnosticism is quite superb and entirely accords with what I have thought. There are also references to the passage in this notebook in connection with Schaller.

Separatism

S. consists in that orientation of mind that separates itself from the fullness of the Church's life under the guise of a more vital faith.—

The two main forms of S. are mysticism and pietism.

Mysticism

M. is the separation of feeling and fantasy from the pattern of reasoned thought found in the Church.—

M. places its immediate consciousness of the divine life and its effects so high that the esteem which Chr. faith sees as being due the Holy Scripture cannot be maintained.—

In its nonecclesiastical clinging to the "Besondere" in religious development, M. has a tendency to take ethically extravagant steps and to take a hard line toward the purely hum.—

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Pietism

P. is the separation of feeling and reflection from the popular presentation of the Chr. Church that has been mediated by imagination.—

P. sees a certain level and type of Chr. piety as being as important as faith itself.—

P. promotes a kind of assembly of the like-minded that is damaging to the manifold development of spiritual gifts in the Church.—

Theocratism

T. is the error in which the divine element in the presence of hum. authority is misused to hinder the spiritual life of the Church.—

The two chief forms of Th. are hierarchism and Cæsaropapism.

Hierarchism

H. is that way of conceiving of the meaning of the pastoral and teaching office in which hum. statements are placed higher than God's word and made into a law that constrains faith.—

H. teaches that the priestly office involves a repetition of an actual sacrifice and thus impugns Xt's sacrifice on the cross.—

H. confuses div. and ecclesiastical punishment and thus promotes the illusion of attaining release from the former by means of particular actions.—

Cæsaropapism

C. is the error in which the unity of the state as that which is set in authority over us is asserted in the realm of the Church in a manner that disturbs the inner life in the Church.—

C. suppresses the presbyterian element in the Church and restricts the development of the Church's constitution.—

7 Besondere] *German,* peculiarity (i.e., characteristic trait)

C. paralyzes and confuses the healthy movement of the Church in matters of doctrine, cultus, and discipline.—

30 Sept. 38.

343
Encyklopaedie der theologischen Wissenschaften **4**
von Rosenkranz. Halle. 1831.

In the proofs for God's existence a point of departure has been taken either a) from being or b) from thought a): 1) the historical 2) the cosmic α) a contingentia mundi β) the physico-theological γ) the teleological 3) the practical. b) the ontological. The truth lies in the identity of both, of thought and being.

§ 7. Substance.

God's being is not in the other that was alien to the whole, but in itself. Similarly with God's thought. But that which is is also that which thinks and that which thinks is that which is.

This self-positing unity of thought and being, which posit themselves in one another and through one another, is substance.

pp. 66ff.

We have seen the good to be the identity of freedom and necessity and as such the law for the hum. will. Only in this state of completion does it find rest. But we knew the individual will in its concrete existence only in personality (as the identity of the self-knowing will with individuality), which has its relation to nature in individuality. By means of its singularity the person is able to separate itself from necessity, and herein is evil.—

Either evil is taken to be equal with goodness or one posits an external difference; evil is good that has not yet come to be, quantitatively.—or opposition

Instinct is that attribute of a being that relates it outwardly to another to which it necessarily belongs, and thus through this relation turns back to itself.—*Desire* relates itself closely to instinct as the realization of the latter in the individual. In its origin, this is itself mediated in the individual by means of *pleasures*, i.e., by the pleasure aroused in the living subject by the enjoyment of the particular object, for the content of desire is never what is in and for itself universal.—But 344
the balance in the relationship ceases when, in its

5 a contingentia mundi] *Latin,* from the contingency of the world

relation to the subject, the object is determined as excluding other objects. Then the opposite relationship comes about. The subject no longer has power over the object, but the latter has power over the subject. In itself the subject is then nothing, except in its unity with the individual that fills it. This unity of object and subject is *passion*.

Evil chiefly shows itself for what it is in 3 forms, which are to be conceived of as in opposition to the divine knowing and will and God's self-certainty as blessedness.

The process by which evil is annihilated falls into the following moments: knowledge of evil, distress produced by it, and forgiveness—Compare this with dogmatics: calling, conversion, sanctification.—

2nd Division
historical theology

Just as speculative theology has the divine in the humn as the content of its first part (the dogmatic), and the humn in the divine [as the content] of its second, historical theology too is similarly divided. In the first part it deals with the element of the Chr. religion, which is always self-identical; in the second the progressive transformation of the same.

The Canon.

Criticism.
(examinative—damnative—vindicative)

Exegetics

Hermeneutics
has to pay heed to 1) the fact that this text is also the source of our religious knowledge 2) the various characteristics of the various books (even if this is not as strongly marked as in genuine poetic productions—therein precisely what is distinctive in the whole.) 3) the individuality of the writer.

[a]The transition from criticism to exegesis is naturally formed by the fact that in its investigation of particular readings etc., it already stands on the threshold of the latter.—

27 examinative—damnative—vindicative] *Latin,* investigatory, judgmental, justificatory

Exegesis.
Hermeneutics can only indicate rules for practical exegesis in gen. terms, which in turn are 1) translation 2) paraphrase 3) commentary.

biblical Dogmatics.
The transition from commentary is easily made, since this [biblical dogmatics] sees the single passage in its connection with what is next to it, and then sees this in turn in connection with one or another greater whole, etc. As far as content is concerned this kind of dogmatics is identical with speculation, but altogether different in its form.—The relationship between the O. and the N. T. In historical perspective, biblical dogmatics falls into 3 parts. 1) the basic dogmatic outlook of the O. T. 2) the reflection of this in the apocrypha 3) the dogmatic definitions of the N. T.—O. T. dogmatics. God is grasped in his abstraction from the sensuous, but the latter reflects this situation exactly, God also revealing himself in nature.—But this way of knowing God is also presented as given by God—the historical—
in the apocrypha reflection emerges concerning whether true happiness exists, whether God too is just and repays good with good.
the N. T.—in Xt's life there are 3 phases, his partly unknown youth, his work in teaching and miracles, his death; these form an ascending scale so that his death must be seen as concentrating the meaning of his life.—
The form of Xt's doctrine is threefold: a) symbolic, in that he portrays truth in discrete images ranged alongside one another b) parabolic, which separates out the process of religious truth as action in all various relationships c) the tranquil imagery of the symbolic form and the fluidity of allegory are subsumed into the sometimes briefer, sometimes more extended didactic expositions that Xt knows how to connect to individual situations, knows just how to unite what is particular and remarkable in them with what, in divine 346
truth, is universal. Xt's death has a threefold relation a) to God as the realization of div. necessity b) in relation to Xt himself as this realization under the form of freedom (in which, precisely as the highest moment of necessity, death is taken into possession by freedom, which makes it a spiritual moment) c) in relation to humnty as reconciling, since "it annihilates God's limitations in relation to

the hum. being and the hum. being's limitations in relation to God, and to that extent Xt's death is a sacrifice; but since Xt is the only hum. being who is without any sin, and since he was thus the only hum. being who died in undisturbed unity with God, his death can also be called vicarious, for it is only through him that the consciousness we now have of our essence is mediated.["]—

Church-historical Theology

In the course of the Xn religion 3 moments are to be distinguished: *constitution*, *cultus*, and *science*.

The Church's political history. 1) the embryonic cultivation of all the elements that were later to transform themselves further and further 2) from Charlemagne to Luther the one-sided predominance of ecclesiastical authority 3) seeks to annihilate all external authority in whatever form this manifests itself.—

The Greek-Eastern Ch.

1) At first it struggles to secure recognition from the Roman State.

2) It divides itself into two categories, orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

3) The identity of the dogmatic and the political, beyond which it did not proceed. (Justinian)

The Latin Church

1) The conflict over hegemony in the Church.—

2) The conflict with the German Empire.—

3) Struggle within the hierarchy itself.—

The Roman Ch. is quite rightly portrayed as that in which the negative orientation was predominant, *finitizing* the moments of the
347 Idea but precisely thereby also instilling these all the more deeply into the populace. Rome had to develop this hegemony a) by virtue of its relation to the world b) by virtue of its basic territorial endowment (the donation of Charlemagne) c) through tradition. The more pronouncedly the Roman Church's character expressed itself, the more its progress showed itself to be a regress, all its institutions showed themselves to be in thrall to the past, nothing proceeded out of its own thought or the configuration of the matter at issue but always from the most intimate historical relation to the most ancient Church. The Church was thus not merely one, not merely universal and holy but also apostolic.—

2.) The conflict with the German Empire.

a) the abstract basis in canon law.

b) The investiture controversy.
c) The crusades as the triumph of the hierarchy.

b.) The investiture controversy. The Church was plainly en route toward clarifying its relation to the State in a purely worldly manner. The Bishops took their offices as fiefs of the State, etc., put briefly, everything that Gregory VII branded as impermissible simony was in full swing, when he gave the Church a decisive push in the opposite direction.—

3) The hierarchy's internal struggle.
a) the mendicant orders.
b) the schism.
c) the dominance of the councils.

a) The mendicant orders. Monasticism is essntlly a moment of the oriental outlook that ought to be overcome by Xnty. Monasticism retains the negative moment that tears itself loose from the finite for the sake of the infinite. But since it conceives of this separation in a purely extrnl. manner, it never gets away from the finite. It makes the finite, which it quite rightly regards as something "Nichtig" into something insuperable, a contradiction that hum. beings cannot resolve except through flight and death.

1 [b] posits the finite as an extrnl. opposition instead of making it into a moment.

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The Protestant Church.

The more specific categories governing the development of Protestantism are

a) it consolidated its concept in its difference from the Catholic Ch. .

b) in political respects it won a position on a par with the Cath. Ch.

c) it developed a striving to neutralize those of its elements that were still not unified among themselves.—

After the 30 Years' War and the outcome of the questions connected to it, the Catholic Ch. took the same attitude toward the Protestants as the Greek [Church] previously did to the Catholic.—

R. is quite right when he comments that the Quakers, the Methodists, the Hernhuters, etc., can be conceived of as Protestantism's version of monasticism, since they hope to manifest the Chr. life in its purity by abstraction from the greater worldly life.

Church Archaeology.

In the Greek Church the defining principle is the substantial feeling that strives to translate itself into objectivity. In the Roman Church the defining principle is the intuition toward which feeling seeks to elevate itself. However, since Xnty has its principle in Spirit's

19 Nichtig] *German,* empty

absolute consciousness of itself, objectivity still fails to satisfy it, and the cultus reverts to the depths of subjectivity and posits thought itself as the true and final form of religious existence.—

R. is right on target when he says that the Greek cultus can be put on a level with that of the Jews, the Catholic with that of the Greeks (classical), because in the former the dominant mood is that of inspiring awe, while here it has become a matter of art and has been taken over by the idea of beauty.

Thus the whole cultus was a self-sufficient objectivity in itself, so that the subject's journey through its determinate forms was formal rather than fundamental and inward[.]

3rd Epoch the ideal Objectivity.

In its cultus the Greek Ch. keeps feeling and recollective intuition in immed. unity. For that reason it never arrives at any sort of pure
349 objectivity. It does not tolerate any chiseled, carved, or sculptured images of holy persons or objects, but only allows pictures of Xt, the Virg. Mary, and the saints if they are painted on a flat surface and at most artfully decorated with precious stones.

The Roman Church develops intuitive contemplation to actual objectivity. The recollection of the sacr. narrative becomes a living presence. The Spirit entaußert sich seiner ideality to the gediegneste beauty. But beauty, the profound achievement of Catholicism, is not certainty.

The Church's Dogmatic History

Analytic—synthetic—systematic knowledge. Analysis is lacking in the universality of its categories—reflection; in its reflection on the singular, synthesis lacks the freedom of the subjectivity of the concept.

A. **The Period of Analytic Knowledge**.

a) The overcoming of the oriental worldview. [c]1. *Trinity* 1

By means of an innumerable mass of intermediate stages, Gnosticism tried to provide a remedy for the false abstraction that lies at the basis of the Ebionite and Docetic conceptions of Xnty. The Ebionite and Docetic views could only really allow the briefest illumination of the hmn race by the div. essence; Gnosticism felt the necessity of the most inward identity with the divinity, but its way of mediating this was altogether outward, so that God's becoming hum. still did not allow for an appearance of God himself but always of another spirit created by Him.

The reason why Manichaeism became so widespread was solely

21 entaußert sich seiner] *German,* (entäußert sich seiner) externalized itself in its (Kierkegaard's umlaut error) **21** gediegneste] *German,* the most extended (form of)

due to its unity with the oriental spirit that is used to conceiving of freedom only in its one-sided form as an abstract "Entaüßerung des Subjekts an die Substants" and, with regard to its formal aspect, it is accustomed to the pictorial and sensuous element of representation rather than thought, which meant that in the theoretical sphere it makes everything that was only a vanishing moment in the totality into something existing in its own right in abstract forms that were altogether different from one another, while in the practical sphere it limits the activity of the will to the point at which it is emptied of every concrete determinant.—

b.) The overcoming of the Hellenistic worldview

c). The Nicene Creed.

[d]2. *The Relationship between the Div. and Hum. Nature*.

a) Nestorianism

b.) Monophysitism.

c) The Council of Chalcedon.

[e]3. *The Freedom of God and of Humnty*

a) Augustine.

b) Pelagius

c) Semi-Pelagianism.

B. **The Period of Synthetic Knowledge**

[f]1. *The Concept of a Theological Science*.

The conflict over the appended "filioque" is the last between the Greek and Latin Churches and is by no means as unimportant as is thought; for by excluding the Son, the Greek Chur. let it be known that it still had not perfectly understood the subjectivity of the Spirit, but kept to the contemplation of the div. substance as such.

a) The sacrificial theory of the West.

b) Faith and knowledge.

A monk called Gaunilo from Marmoutier made objections against this in more or less the same terms as Kant did later. But Anselm had also taken account of this objection. It was precisely by negation—[i.e.,] that the Absolute was not the absolute when merely thought, but that the nature of the Absolute was attained only by the negation of the difference between concept and reality, (that is, the identity of thought and being)—that Anselm asserted that thinking the Idea was not an imaginative act but was rather much more its [the Idea's] own activity.—

2 Entaüßerung des Subjekts an die Substants] *German,* (Entäusserung) externalization of the subject in the substance (Kierkegaard's umlaut error)

c) The concept.
Nominalists and realists.

[g]2. *Church Dogmatics*

a) Magister Sententiarum.
b) Islam and Aristotelian philosophy.
c) Thomists and Scotists.

351 Aristotle's acute metaphysical and logical as well as physical and ethical definitions, regarded as settled truths, were precisely suited for application to dogmas regarded as truths of the Church and similarly settled. This reflection on pure concepts such as substance and accident, cause and effect, matter and form, etc., expressed itself as a formal proof for the dogmas in an attempt to use their logical correctness as a justification for their reasonableness. Because of this, there developed that overwrought way of disputing everything quod libet by means of distinctions and definitions, questions and responses.—

[h]3. *The Church's Dogmas' Internal Conflict.*

C. **The Period of Systematic Knowledge**
The course that theology now traverses falls into the following 3 moments: first, a multiplicity of Protestant Churches with positive characteristics developed out of the dissolution of the anc. Church; next the positive element sublated itself by means of a negativity that proceeded partly from the subjectivity of feeling and partly from the objectivity of the understanding, and that fell into the most profound conflict with scripture, with the symbolic books, and with itself—finally this struggle of faith with feeling and thought made the first steps toward a reconciliation which can pretty well be said to have come from the side of philosophy.

[i]1. *Symbolic Orthodoxy*

a) Catholicism.
b) Protestantism's symbolic books.
c) Supernaturalism.

Protestant theology was finally bound to dissolve into a mass of minor controversies in which scholarship finally played as great a role as formal logic in scholastic theology.

[j]2. *Subjective Faith and the Principle of Unbelief.*

[k]3. *The Idea of Speculative Theology.*

3 Magister Sententiarum] *Latin,* the Master of the Sentences **14** quod libet] *Latin,* no matter what

Practical Theology

Speculative theol. develops the idea of the Chr. religion without regard to the phenomenon, while conversely hist. theol. develops the same idea exclusively as it is given to the knowing consciousness as phenomenon. Practical theol. deals with the Idea as it must realize itself in the phenomenon. 352 5

The Service of the Church.

a) Catechetics
b) Liturgics
c) Homiletics. 10

Church Government.

The service of the Church is immed. directed toward the community itself by means of instruction in the doctrines of the faith, the dignity of the sacred ceremonies, and the inwardness of the edification it offers. Church government aims more at securing the pure form of the self-enclosed life of the community and brings to light its difference from other forms of spiritual life. 15

a) symbolical theology
b) canon law
c) theology. 20

9 Nov. 38.—

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5 Athanasius der große und die Kirche seiner Zeit, besonders im Kampfe mit dem Arianismus. von Jh. Adam Mohler, Mainz 1827.—

Prior to proceeding to the more detailed investigation of Athanas., he gives a brief preliminary overview of the early Church's doctrine of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, and on that basis establishes that the following doctrinal positions were consistently maintained:

1) Christ the true Son of God is true God and one with the Father

2) he is a separate person from the Father, he is the creator of the world and is therefore the one who has constantly revealed the Father and who in the fullness of time became hum.

3) similarly the Holy Spirit too was believed in and worshipped as a div. person.

But for this reason he makes the comment that one must distinguish individual speculative attempts to make philosophical use of these ideas from this univrsl doctrine of the Church.

In this connection he discusses from p. 58 the question as to X's becoming hum. re. the much disputed point as to whether *X had a rational soul*.

He now runs through various sources—e.g., Clement—which demonstrate that there has been an over-hasty conclusion when, on the basis of the idea that the Ch. Fathers' pronouncements concerning the div.'s becoming one with flesh and blood, it has been claimed that they [the Church Fathers] denied that X. had a rational soul, it being necessary to understand the expression "flesh and blood" in terms of biblical usage and the usage that was adopted in the Church in accordance with this, namely, hum. nature as such, considered in isolation from the div. power and illumination bestowed by the λογος. (When for example Xt says to Peter that flesh and blood did not reveal this to you, the meaning can only be your own finite reason.)—The views of those who taught false doctrine were thus either to go toward making Xt merely hum. (as in Ebionitism) or to abrogate the difference between the Father and the Son altogether, or to make the Son a mere emanation. It is remarkable that, while the Ebionites placed the Son in such a low position, compared with the Church's view, the Gnostics by way of contrast
354 placed the Son so high and the Creator so low because they could not conceive that God made the world, an action they left to a demi-

29 λογος] *Greek,* word

urge, but they did nevertheless allow that he could redeem it.—
Sabellianism is rightly characterized as *Hypercatholicism*.
Tertullian's conflict with Praxeas clearly brought about a development in Ch doctrine, although in the course of his unimpeachable argument Tert. sometimes makes himself guilty of inconsistency.
"Light of Light" was the expression that was used for Xt's essentiality until this relationship was later grasped conceptually in terms of unity of essence.
The expression ποιημα with reference to Xt was introduced by Dionysius Alex. precisely in order to show the difference betw. Father and Son; this expression was too strong and led to his being corrected by Dionys. Romanus, but in his defense the Alexandrian showed that he had simply been carried away by polemics and that his other arguments offered a sufficient exposition of his orthodoxy.—

There is now a very extensive exposition of a mass of proofs brought by Ath. against Arius, in which one is certainly struck by Ath's ability to extract an argument from every passage of scripture, but it still seems to me that one is confused by the mass of discrete moments rather than edified by the continuity of the argument.
The exposition of the doctrine of the H. Spirit re. Sabellius begins on p. 297, motivated by Schleiermacher's well-known discussion.—
Schl. thinks that the Church's doctrine of the Trinity came from Alex. on the basis of a Platonizing movement, or from a purely philosophical, cosmological interest, so as to form a transition within the Son of God from finite essence to the infinite. In other circumstances the Sabellian conception alone would have become dominant. Sch. thinks that when one once begins to personify a div. attribute as happens here with the div. reason, no limits can then be set. Schl. further says that the Sabell. conception satisfies Chr. piety as much as that of the Church does; indeed, since it regards Xt as God in an absolute sense, maybe even more. Finally it recommends itself by the fact that it orients itself solely in terms of God's relation to the world and the exigencies of redemption, while the Church's theory is transcendent.

Möhler portrays the relationship betw. Arianism and Sabellianism thus: according to the former, God is separated from the world; according to the latter, they coincide. Catholicism keeps God and the world separate from one another, although God nevertheless also stands in the most intimate relation to the world.

Sabell. cannot explain the biblical doctrine of everything being

9 ποιημα] *Greek,* made

created by the Father through the Son, for the Son would then have to be active before he existed, that is, according to Sabell. the Son is only the redeeming deity, the particular circumscription of the div. essence that occurs in Xt's becoming hum., a special mode of its revelation, and the Holy Spirit is the deity in the Church.

Sabellius does indeed regard it as the same deity, but also maintains that the same deity has revealed itself in one way as Creator and in another way as Redeemer. This is extremely unbiblical, for when Sabell. tries to think clearly about the Logos, he has to include under this heading the self-revealing God; but then the Logos is the God who reveals himself in creation and also the one who redeems, for the Logos did indeed become flesh. John says that the same One through whom the world was made later redeemed the world, i.e., it was the same self-revealing God; not only is it the same deity active in creation and in redemption, but the revelation of the deity in Xnty is the same as in the beginning. But, according to Sab., the deity was indeed the same though its revelation was different.

The Son and the Holy Spirit were thus not active in creation, according to Sab., nor in any way prior to the act of redemption, although Church doctrine has it that they were.

Möhler further remarks that by allowing for there having been individual holy men prior to Xnty, although the least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than they, the Church also signals that it has taught the presence of the Son and of the Spirit prior to Xnty, since the specificum of the Holy has always been the same, as indeed we also see the Spirit active already in Xt's baptism. But if the Son and the Spirit were not present before Xnty then the word holy could scarcely have been predicated of Adam in the way that the Ch. 356 Fathers do; sin then becomes a nec. moment or, to put it more correctly, it is abrogated and is merely a figurative expression for a world-historical evolution.

The Spirit thus coincides entirely with hum. development, since according to Sab.'s doctrine the Spirit is "the Spirit of the Whole, the Spirit of all believers," since, Schl. says, ["]it is only in the whole that the Spirit exists, not in the individual, who in that case would be a Christ. What the miracle shows is the conjunction of the Spirit of the Whole with the spiritual power of the individual." But in this way, of course, a deification of the totality occurs, in which the individual is a shareholder and an interested party, but which has no independent existence during its unceasing communication with the individual. Sab. thus entirely loses the element of continuity.

26 specificum] *Latin,* that which is specific or proper to its object

First comes creation, then God makes his appearance as redeemer, which is a new evolutionary step that does not have any nec. relation to creation, unless one were to say arbitrarily and underhandedly that creation was a premise that called for a conclusion (although in any case this would not be in the real sense that sin necessitates redemption)[.] The third evolutionary step is then the Church. But apart from these evolutionary steps nothing at all can be said of the Monad who is neither Father, Son, nor Spirit. (Schl. would naturally dismiss this question as transcendent, but Mohler has also previously sought to show that it lay in the Church's interest to ask the question in this way and that in any case it had a right to do so). Mohler therefore thinks that Gregory of Nanzia. was right when he accused Sab. of αθεια, while he accused the Arians of πολυθεια, in that they do not say of any of them that he is a person, but they only see Father, Son, and Spirit as revelations, manifestations, developments of the div. Monad of which nothing is known, because it only reveals itself as Father, Son, and Spirit and not as Monad.

2nd Vol.

From this one sees the doctrine of Marcellus of Ancyra that comes to light in his conflict with Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, throughout the whole of Möhler's portrayal, appears as a very superficial 357 thinker (e.g., p. 44, where it is said of him that he taught that Xt restored religion simply as it was before Moses, not humnty as it was before the fall) and of very dubious orthodoxy (so that at the Council of Tyre even Bishop Potamon of Herakleia accused him of having at one point been released from imprisonment by promising to do or by doing what was impermissible.). Eus. blames Marcellus for having taught that the Logos was simply a word and accuses him of Sabell. Mohler shows the many distortions for which Eusebius was responsible, but concedes that Marcellus made a mistake in distinguishing betw. the Son of God and the Logos, and he takes exception to M. not being willing to call λογος the Son despite his saying that he is born of the Father, and he thinks that the reason for this lies in the fear that calling him this might lead to materialistic ideas that were much too close to paganism. It also appears that M. only denied the 3 hypostases in their Arian sense, for according to Arius hypostasis meant the same as essence, so that there were thus 3 essences in the 3 persons. Eus. himself has to concede, however, that Marcell. never used Sabellianism's characteristic

13 αθεια] *Greek,* atheism **14** πολυθεια] *Greek,* polytheism

"υἱοπατωρ." Mohler thinks that Marc. is related to Sabell. as Eusebius is to Arius.—

From p. 165 onward Möhler now provides some extracts from Hilary's twelve-volume work on the Trinity. It is remarkable that although I have been engaged with dogmatics for some years now I have never heard them mentioned—they are powerful, I am tempted to say of them what King Pyrrhus said of the Roman Senate, it is a realm of lapidary thoughts, where every single one gives the point de vüe or criterion for a speculative dogmatics —I absolutely have to read this work, right now I feel that I am flooded by it in the same way that Egypt is blessed by the waters of the Nile.—

1838 6th Dec. 11 o'clock.

!!! 1

pp. 262f. the Apollinarian conflict. Like his father of the same name, Apollinaris had benefited from the Chr. scholarship of the time of Julian. His basic aim was to fight against Arianism, and he sought
358 to get recognition for the view that the main attributes that are applied to Xt in scripture and that were the principal basis for the Arians' theories were really applicable to Xt's div. nature. For this reason he went to the extreme of denying Xt's hum. soul. (A dual attitude toward Xt's body seems, however, to have asserted itself: either he took on an actual hum. body, [or, as] others seem to have taught, X. brought a body with him from heaven.) They appealed to Jn 1:14 the Word became *flesh*. Moreover, they said that if Xt had had a hum. soul, then he would by no means have been free from the sin that lies in the hum. soul. Xt had now shown the renewal of our flesh in the likeness of his flesh, the renewal of the Spirit by imitating him and keeping from sin; so it is said "The Prince of this world is coming and has no hold on me" Jn 14:30, by which Apollinaris meant that he did not find a hum. soul. To justify their view of the impossibility of the hum. soul becoming free of sin they worked out a theory of justification according to which sins were undone simply by God's having come. In other words, a purely imputative justification. They thus thought that sin continued in those who had been born again. In this connection Mohler compares their attitude with Luther's view regarding humnty's total sinfulness and recalls Mathias Flaccius Illyricus and his doctrine of original sin as a substance. The idea of the imitation of Xt was an especially singular thing, since hum. beings could of course not imitate his [Christ's] interior disposition because the hum. soul was constantly infested with sin, while he could not be imitated in an external

1 υἱοπατωρ] *Greek,* unity of Son and Father

sense because there was of course no need for him to take on actual embodiment. Thus a holy disposition became an impossibility even with the help of the Holy Spirit. Once more Mohler recalls the Lutheran teaching on good works, that they were indeed nec., but not for salvation.

It was further said that if one assumed an actual hum. nature one got two Xts. and in order to really show that they only had one [Christ], they predicated all the passive attributes that are found in Holy Scripture of the λογος itself. For this reason they used the formula that Xt had uncreated flesh, though not in the sense that it was 359 actually uncreated but that in its being joined with what was uncreated, it became of a single nature with it—uncreated. Mohler compares Luther's doctrine of ubiquity with this.—With regard to the unification of natures Athanasius says that δια τουτο θεολογειται μεν ὁ λογος, γενεαλογειται δε ανθρωπος.

9 Dec. 38.

14 δια τουτο θεολογειται μεν ὁ λογος, γενεαλογειται δε ανθρωπος] *Greek,* Therefore the Word belongs to divinity, the human being to the race.

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6 Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der altesten Zeit bis auf die neueste. Von Dr. Ferd. Chr: Baur. Tübingen 1838.

p. 118. John Scotus Erigena. The more the concept of atonement was resolved into the various moments contained within it, the clearer it became that the existing dogmatic teaching of the Church was not in a position entirely to allow every single moment to find expression, especially the meaning of Xt's suffering and death. It therefore sought to solve the problem by ignoring a mass of difficulties and assigning the meaning of reconciliation to the conciliation of the div. and the hum. brought about by Xt's appearance as such, and in doing so it basically merely reverted to the div. unity in its first immed. Ansichseyn.—Something similar now makes its presence felt in Erigena in that he adopts a standpoint in which the difference, which in all its divisiveness must be put into effect betw. the div. and the hum., is not allowed to sound forth as such but is only conceived as a vanishing moment and thereby indicates forcefully the standpoint at which Platonism and Xnty touch one another.

Baur thinks that one should not regard Erigena as the beginning of the genuine Christian-speculative tendency, as Staudenmeyer and P. Hiorth do, but as the conclusion of the entire earlier spec development that, as it were, concentrates itself in him, and he thinks that he finds in this an equally valid explanation of his [Erigena's] coincidence with the problems of more recent philosophy, e.g., in the importance he ascribes to the logical-metaphysical element of negation: Essentia est, affirmatio, essentia non est, abdicatio, superesentialis est, affirmatio simul et negatio, in superficie etenim negatione caret, in intellectu negatione pollet.

13 Ansichseyn] *German,* being in itself **27** Essentia . . . pollet] *Latin,* He is essence, [here there is an] affirmation; he is not essence, [here there is a] renunciation [i.e., a negation]; he is superessence [here there is an] affirmation and a negation at the same time; superficially [the statement] indeed lacks a negation, but its meaning has the force of a negation.

[a]Nova sectio ab initio cap. 9 ad c. 10 et 11. Monstrata via salutis per Xn comparata, restabant nonnulla de promissis datis Judæis, quibus certam possessionem gratiæ divinæ sperabant. Huc redeunt: 1) illa promissa non pertinent ad omnes Judæos natos, pendere vero a mera gratia divina. 2) illa gratia divina pertinet ad gentiles immo vero iis facilius quam Judæis evenire ob incredulitatem Judæorum. 3) lætiorem spem addit, jubet sperare fore, ut aliquando Judæi rectius intelligant et resipiscant, salutem sibi oblatam accepturi.—

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Epistola ad Romanos. 7

Cap. IX

v. 3. αναθεμα = חֵרֶם; אִישׁ חֶרְמִי 1 Reg. 20:42 ανηρ ολεθρος.

The later Rabb. had 3 types of ban 1) נְדוּי (seclusio) consisted in separation to a distance of 4 cubits from the whole family, lasted 1 month. 2) חֵרֶם no one could study, conduct business, eat, drink with them, admission to the synagogue was also denied them. 3) שַׁמַּתָא which carried with it permanent exclusion from worship and social intercourse. R. Salomo says: he who bears the curse of Schammatha is like fat smeared on a hot oven, it dries up and never appears again.—

δοξα כָּבוֹד; arca foederis dicitur: כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

שְׁכִנָה s. שְׁכִנָתָה

διαθηκ *αι* Eph. 2:12.

λατρεια = עֲבוֹדָה

εκπιπτειν = נָפַל

In the light of Paul's argument here concerning Esau and Jacob, the Calvinists seem to be right in drawing the following conclusion: if, in order to justify the allocation of admittance to the Kingdom of God that is within, P. appeals to the manner in which admittance to the extrnl. is allotted, then the dec. absolutum follows as a consequence, and, indeed, we must also concede that the reason the Jews became the chosen people lay solely in God's counsels; we have to concede this, even if in another respect we also have to recall that all of this must nevertheless have had a more profound reason in God's wisdom. But we must be cautious in developing this outlook. We have to recall that P. does not appeal to the O. T. theocratic constitution in order thereby to justify his outlook, but finds in this as in all of Judaism an image, a prefiguration of Xnty *(a shadow of Xnty, something that can be seen clearly if we consider that the former was at home in the extrnl., in the world of chance, the latter in that of freedom and Spirit)*. We must consider that P. is polemicizing against egoistic self-satisfied Jews, a polemic that repeats itself at a higher level in what follows, where he uses the example 362

of Pharaoh to show the grievous consequences of asserting oneself against God and resisting Him. If we want to follow this through in the higher theocratic Christian world, then the negative analogy holds good, insofar as admittance to this higher theocracy depends just as little on birth descent, extrnl. works, as among the Jews; but because Xnty is not something purely extrnl. not any purely extrnl. Church, so, seen positively, the difference is that here there is a condition, a condition that nevertheless has its basis precisely in div. grace, and is thus a negation of all makeshift hum. competence. This last observation is thus like the Okeanos that encompasses the whole of Xnty, and every attempt to make extrnl. advantages count will merely result in our being unable to sail across it.

As far as the figure of Isaac is concerned, it is equally pertinent, whether one looks for the typological element in I.'s being born in a miraculous unusual manner or in his being called into life purely by the promise, since the objective offer of grace requires only receptivity on the part of hum. beings.—

v. 9. instead of κατα τον καιρον *τουτον* the Hebrew text has the more difficult reading כָּעֵת חַיָּה and LXX has κατα τ. κ. τουτον εις ωρας. the most probable solution is that חיה is a supplementary word foem. gen. i.e. hoc tempore vivente i.e. redeunte.—

κοιτη שְׁכָבָה v. מִשְׁכַּב

μενη = עָמַד

Mal 1:3. Through his prophet the Lord strives with his people and asserts that they desert him just when he has poured down blessings on them (Israel), whereas the Edomites, notwithstanding their descent from a common ancestor, lived under repression.

μισειν is not positive here but privative; the Jews often expressed a lesser degree of love by the term "to hate."—

v. 15. Ex. 33:19. Moses sibi expetit apparitionem solennem, quam annuit Jehova illa verba dicens.—

Pharaoh.

The apostle wants to cite an example of the story of how God by no means spares the stiff-necked but that
363 through God's long suffering, his stiffness increases his ruin all the more. Thus Pharaoh had at this point seen

6 plagues break over his country without paying heed to God's signs. God had borne his disobedience with patience (v. 22). But it by no means followed from this patience that God would finally let him have his way. On the contrary, Pharaoh became a living example of how a hum. being is able to accomplish absolutely nothing against God. (This is how the issue was correctly argued at the Synod of Dordrecht.).

It is further to be noticed that this statement by God is first made to Pharaoh after the sixth plague, and thus after several repeated acts of disobedience, and from the question that follows immediately afterward, it can be seen that God wanted Pharaoh's repentance: Will you continue to oppress my people and not let them go.—

One must also remember that the hardening of the heart is not solely ascribed to God in the O. T.; it is also said that Pharaoh *hardened himself*, his heart *was hardened*, without the reason for this being given.—

Concerning the meaning of the whole passage, one may recall Origen's interpretation: "With regard to this hardening, we should not think of any special action on the soul on the part of God, but it is a consequence of God's ceaseless and continuing demonstration of his love that the one who is ruined becomes still more so, the one who repents still more devoted to God. According to Heb 6:7–8 one and the same rain brings forth a crop in one field and thorns in another."—

Finally one needs to recall that the expression σκληρυνει is merely a continuation of the preceding μισειν, which as we saw above must be understood relatively, in accordance with Hebrew usage.

v.17. הֶֽעָמַדְתָּךְ LXX habent διετηρησα.
οπως ενδειξωμαι. הַרְאֹתְךָ אֶת־כֹּחִי ut faciam te videntem potestatem meam, i.e., ut te experiri faciam potestatem meam. ut ex tuo exemplo manifesta sit potestas mea.

וּלְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ
הִקָּשָׁה

Eastern peoples conceived of God as the cause of sin, both when he permits it συγχωρητικως and when he uses particular occasions to call it forth αφορμητικως.

Isa 6:10 ὁ θεος τετυφλωκεν και πεπωρωκεν τον λαον. 364

Perhaps the difficulty of the whole passage could best be explained as follows. Previously P. had spoken of the various favors that had fallen to the lot of the whole Jewish nation as well as to individual men, these [favors], on which hum. beings had absolutely no claim, had their basis exclusively in God's unalterable will. Concerning these he had used the expression ελεειν v. 15, but as he now takes his argument further, he gradually extends the expression ελεος, that had originally been used solely in an extrnl. Jewish theocratic sense, to what really is the key to the whole of P.'s teaching on the concept of grace; but what is to be thought of as being outside this grace, yet in relation to it, must more or less, more or less consciously, be thought of as hardening itself against it. Thus σκληρυνειν is absolutely analogous to μισειν in the purely extrnl. world.—

πλασμα יֶצֶר
יוֹצֵר
πηλος חֹמֶר

v. 22 κατηρτισμενα. Some have taken this purely as middle-voiced and thus avoided the dogmatic difficulty. This is probably defensible grammatically but it is certainly more correct to read it as passive, so that God is to be seen as the agent, but as with Pharaoh not, as it were, as τελικως, but εκβατικως. As also in Acts 13:48 ὅσοι ησαν τεταγμενοι conversion, according to the popular way of speaking, is to be ascribed to God alone, although he only causes it ὑλικως and διατακτικως. Similarly Jude 4 οἱ προγεγραμμενοι εις τουτο το κριμα. Tholuck thinks that according to Hebrew usage one can take this participle adjectively = "fertige, fitted for."—

v. 25. At in illo loco Hoseæ non sermo est de gentilibus sed de populo Israelitico. Hoseas gratiam divinam promittit: vos qui antea perfidi fuistis, idolorum cultores, ideoque Jehovæ invisi, vos aliquando ad Jehovæ cultum redibitis, ubi ita redieritis etiam redibitis in gratiam Jehovæ. Nec accurate verba exscripta sunt: miserebor ejus, cujus antea non misertus sum, qui populus meus non sit, populum meum vocabo.—ηγαπημενην exstat in textu heb. רֻחָמָה which is elsewhere translated as ελεημενην (1 Pet

[b] What Paul is especially trying to do throughout this passage is to acquit God of the inopportune consequences of the gracious election whereby the Jews had become what they were, by showing that precisely because it is a gracious election they have no legitimate grounds for making any demands.

2:10) but both translations can be defended, since רִחַם means both to love and to have pity on.

v.26. As in the preceding verse, the reference in the Heb. text is only to the 10 tribes and speaks in anticipation of the glory in which they will share when they are united and enter into the messianic kingdom and share with Judah in the messianic glory.

καλεισθαι is often = to be נִקְרָא

v. 27. Non loquitur propheta de tempore Messiano sed de clade politica, et dicit, non nisi paucos ex insigni Jehovæ gratia incolumes evasuros, quænam sit miseria non accuratius describitur. Emphasis est quærenda in καταλειμα.—Heb. exstant: "vastatio decreta est, irruit illa, justitiam ferens, nam vastationem judicium Jehova efficiet in terra. Sed P. non secutus est textum sed οἱ ο exstat ibi: כְּלָיוֹן vastatio ex כלה 1) perfectus fuit 2) perditus fuit. Piel consummavit rem, aliquod perdidit, ideo est "vastatio" notio genuina sed LXX alteram notionem secuti verterunt λογον decretum.

συντεμνω חָרַץ either to hasten or to resolve.

v. 29. Sermo est in textu heb. de bello aliquo, sed quodnam incertum est. However, this passage of Isaiah does not have any specific relation to the messianic age and deals with the Jews who are to survive their punishment and experience redemption.

יהוָה צְבָאוֹת

v. 33. hæc verba nusquam leguntur in V. T. conflatus est locus ex duobus: 28:16: in Zione lapidem fundamentalem jeci (Jehova) lapidem probatum, angularem, pretiosum et bene formatum, ei qui confidit non aufugiet. 8:14: Jehova asylum erit idem lapis offensionis et rupes, in quam utrumque regnum impinget. Primus locus est historici argumenti, pertinet ad tempus bellicosum, quo Judæis cum Assyria bellum imminebat. Propheta improbat factionem politicam, quæ contra legem foedus inire volebat cum Ægypto contra Assyrios, vetat confugere ad Ægyptum sed suadet, ut fidem habeat regi Hiskiæ, regi pietatis et fortitudinis probatæ, ideo ille lapis bene fundatus est.—Alter locus. Sermo est de Jehova, sed quomodo lapis offensionis? quia Judæi sæpe a Jehova deficiebant, et inde poenas luebant, et eo majores, quod deum cognoscebant.

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אֶבֶן נֶגֶף . צוּר מִכְשׁוֹל
λιθος προσκομματος. πετρα σκανδαλου.
αισχυνθησεται. in textu heb.: "qui ei confidit הוּא לֹא יָחִישׁ
1) tremere 2) suffugere fugam capere. Sed LXX legisse
videntur יָבִישׁ ex בוּשׁ.

Cap. X.

v. 5. Lev 18:5 αυτα i.e. προσταγματα, nam in textu heb.: exstat מִשְׁפָּטַי. Moses dixit de longa vita h. l. de æterna.

Deut 30:12. ultima Mosis oratio, qua Israelitis ante oculos ponit 1) beneficia legis 2) comendat legem et addit promissa et minationes ad deterrendum ab inobedientia, et deinde dicit: lex illa, quam hodie vobis præcepi nec difficilis vobis nec nimis profunda non in coelo est, ut dicat aliquis, quis adscendet in coelum, eam arcessiturus, ut eam audiamus et ei obediamus, nec posita ultra mare ut dicere opus sit, quis mare transibit eam nobis translaturus, ut eam audiamus et pareamus, ecce admodum prope adsunt præcepta in ore tuo et in corde tuo, ut unusquisque parere possit. P. non accurate secutus est nec textum nec LXX. Verba: μη ειπης εν τη καρδια σου a P. sunt adjecta. Nec accurate verba καταβησεται εις αβυσσον. LXX: τίς διαπερασει εις το περαν της θαλασσης מֵעֵבֶר הַיָּם sed in libris poeticis sæpe dicitur יָם תְּהוֹם

vv. 9, 10. Being accustomed to the rhythm of Heb. parallelism, P. also likes using it in prose, and these two verses are in parallel, for, notwithstanding the fact that, along with a true faith, the power to confess it is also given, and that sanctification also goes with true justification, each line in both verses can in a certain sense be seen as complementing the other.

Joel 3:5. In this verse there is talk of the time of the great accusation that will precede the coming of the Messiah.—

v. 14. P. goes on to the second part. The Jews could perhaps say that nothing like this had been proclaimed to them, and, since P. now develops the objections in a refined sorites, he is in a way led beyond the scope of what, strictly speaking, is his topic, as he shows that Xnty was a common possession of all

[c]For this reason it is divided into two parts: v. 18: μη ουκ ηκουσαν? have they not heard? indeed, for it was well known. V. 19: μη Ισραηλ ουκ εγνω? did they [Israel] not understand? indeed, for when the prophets laid such an admonitory emphasis on it, they must have understood it.

peoples, an observation that nevertheless leads him back[c] once more to his proper thesis, that the Jews could not possibly be ignorant, since indeed the prophets had even used polemics to impress upon them the prospect of the heathens being the ones to inherit blessedness if the Jews continued to be disobedient.

Isa 52:7. alius sensus. Ibi est sermo de miseria exilii babylonici, et deinde solatio erigitur populus, et promittitur auxilium et reditus in patriam, qui sistitur ut præsens, et inducuntur prophetæ reditum nuntiantes. n. l. sunt illi prophetæ apostoli doctoris christiani.

Isa 53:1. Esaias conqueritur de incredulitate Israelitarum, nolebant ad doctrinam dei et comminationes apostolorum, i.e., prophetarum attendere. מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ ex שְׁמוּעָ citatur hic locus etiam Jn 12:38.

ψ 19:5. est hymnus, qui celebrat majestatem dei in rebus physicis conspicuam. “dies diei nuntium dicit nox nocti scientiam indicat. Licet nec verba habeant nec dicta, nec vox eorum audiatur, tamen vox eorum per totam terram exit.[”]

εις πασαν γην hyperbolice. ita et Philo de lege: αχρι των τερματων της οικουμενης εφθασε.

v. 19. The object of εγνω is missing here, so Tholuck takes it as intransitive: [“]was Israel not instructed.”?? I read it differently.

Deut 32:21. Moses in ultima sua oratione ad promissa addit comminationes verbis: illi excitarunt ζηλοτυπιαν meam adhærendo deo qui non est deus i.e. idolis, ideo ego excitabo ζηλοτυπιαν vestram fovendo populo, qui non est populus meus, barbaro, sc. concedendo iis victoriam in Israelitas. Non loquitur de regno Messiano et gentilibus in id admittendis, sed de victoriis, ideo alio sensu.

אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם ex קִנֵּא excitabo piel ad iram provocavit.

Isa 65:1–2. ευρεθην נִדְרַשְׁתִּי. נִמְצֵאתִי pro Hitpoel: inveniendum præbui me.

ζητειν, επεροταω = שָׁאַל בָּקֵשׁ

v. 2. פֵּרַשְׂתִּי יָדַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אֶל־עַם סוֹרֵר

αντιλεγειν de populo contumace = סוֹרֵר v. מוֹרֶה

P. verba Esaiæ priora explicat de gentilibus. Esaias vero 368
omnia dixit de Judæis, hoc sensu: equidem admodum

benignus fui Israelitis, nam dum se convertebant ad alios deos, eos ego ad me vocavi.—

Cap. XI.

1 Reg. 19:10. Ibi sermo est de persecutione Jesabelis uxoris Achabi; Esaias aufugerat in speluncam ad Hebronem et clamavit ad deum dicens: וַיְבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי

Baal, i.e., dominus, erat deus Phoenicum, qui idem dicitur βασιλευς ουρανου = Molok מֶלֶךְ apud Babylonios, Bel commemoratur apud Danielem. A Romanis et Græcis dicebatur: Hercules Tyrius. Per hunc deum indicabatur vis solis i.e. vis procreans, nam antiqui conveniebant in sole colendo creatoris symbolo. Huic deo gen. masc. Phoenices dabant deam Baaltis i.e. Astarten αφροδιτη, indicantem lunam v. terram i.e. vim concipientem, nam luna lucem suam accipit a sole et vires terræ excitantur calore solis. Quo sensu foemininum est positum? alii subintell: εικων imagine sed arbitrarie; alii[d] ignominiæ causa ad indicandum deum fictitium. Potius P. cogitavit de dea Baaltis, nam ab antiquis sæpe conjungebantur Deus et Dea, ex quibus junctis oritur novus deus ανδρογυνος, indicans vim generativam et conceptivam esse conjunctam. Sæpe LXX η Βααλ pro ὁ Βααλ Jer 2:8. Hos 2:8 Zeph 1:4.

[d]thus Tholuck.

Isa 29:10 in textu non exstat εδωκεν sed specialius verbum: πεποτικεν.—κατανυξις ex κατανυσσω compungo ideo compunctio, sed P. derivat ex κατανυσταζω capite nuto ideo sopor = רוּחַ תַּרְדֵּמָה. secutus est LXX. Deut 29:3 exstant verba: deus non dedit Israelitis oculos, qui vident, non aures, quæ audiunt. Since the negative is not attached to the words to hear and to see in the Heb. text, some have thought that they were cited from Isa 6:10 and that only the last words εως της ημερας ταυτης were from Deut.

ψ 69:23–24. David wishes his enemies harm. He regards the enemies of the theocracy as his own, and his wish is in accordance with the economy of the O. T., in which div. justice will be manifested protecting the theocracy. θηρα appears neither in the text nor in the 369 LXX. "Let their table be a snare." With this the psalmist expresses that dangers should surprise them when they least expect it. In the other hemistich the Heb.

has לְשַׁלּוּמִים לְמוֹקֵשׁ "for the peaceful a trap" but the LXX has read שְׁלוּמִים retribution from שִׁלּוּם retribution.
v. 16. רֵאשִׁית תְּרוּמוֹת and רֵאשִׁית בְּכוּרִים
v. 17. εκκλαω defringo, abscindo v. exscindo.
Isa 59:20 וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל
αποστρεψει etc. וּלְשָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב
Veniet Zioni vindex et illis inter Jacobitos, qui a peccato reversi sunt. P. secutus est LXX, qui legerunt: וַיָּשִׁיב reverti fecit i.e. abstulit. Apud LXX legitur ενεκα Zion, in salutem Zionis. P. vero ex Zione. Sed ενεκα longe aptiorem sensum verbis affert. Sæpius videmus P. liberius loca veteris T. tractantem in commodum suum, sed h. l. non est in commodum ejus. Unde oritur suspicio lectionis. Fortasse P. per compendium scripsit: εκ pro ενεκα.
συγκλειω = הִסְגִּיר בְּיַד or לְ or אֶל
v. 33. in the Zohar there is a similar expression: עוּמְקָא דְחָכְמְתָא i.e. the depths of wisdom.
v. 35 Job 41:3.

C. XII

v. 19. נָתַן מָקוֹם לְחֻמָה
in textu hebr: sunt duo substantiva:
לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם
v. 20 cf. Prov 25:21–22.

Cap. XIII.

v. 9.
לֹא תִנְאָף
לֹא תִרְצַח
גָּנַב
חָמַד

Cap. XIV.

v. 4. נָפַל עָמַד
v 5. πληροφορεισθω. מָלֵא לֵב
Isa 45:23. nec consentit auctor cum LXX nec cum textu heb., sed ex memoria excitatur. pro ζω εγω legitur בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי κατ' εμου ομνυμι. Sensus idem. Jehova inducitur loquens et jurans modo per se modo per vitam: ut ego sum deus, ita certe fiet, ut omnes me adorent.—

XV.

v. 2. πλησιον is an adverb: prope, juxta, which is joined to the article: ὁ, ἡ, το πλησιον οἱ, αι, τα πλησιον, proximus, proximi.—

ψ. 69:10. חֶרְפּוֹת חוֹרְפֶיךָ נָפְלוּ עָלָי. Queritur psalmista de vexationibus hostium et dicit, se eas subire Jehovæ causa, se innocentem pati ob piam in Jehovam fidem.

ψ 18:50. Commotus est auctor voce: εν εθνεσιν, in loco psalmi non sermo est de felicitate futura gentilium, sed de liberatione ipsius Davidis, qui sic erupit.

Deut 32:43. Hebraice sensus alius: הַרְנִינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ celebrate o gentes! populum ejus i.e. Israelitas. Indicatur salutem pertinere ad Judæos, et ethnicos cogi ad hanc Judæorum salutem celebrandam. LXX ante עַמּוֹ posuerunt אֶת, quod est nota acc. et præpositio μετα inde hæc versio.—

ψ 117:1 Sensus communis sexcentis locis, omnes terram inhabitantes debere convenire ad deum celebrandum.

Isa 11:10. ριζα Ιησσαι. שֹׁרֶשׁ יִשַׁי radix, sed h. l. quod oritur a radice, soboles, surculus, quod apparet ex Isa. 11:1: prodibit surculus ex stirpe Jessæ, et ramus e radice ejus fructus feret. Argumentum loci promittitur salus futura Israelitis, sic 1) dicitur illa salus pertinere ad sæcula futura. 2) rex aliquis coelestis dicitur hujus seculi auctor. 3) super eum acquiescet spiritus dei, sapientiæ, consilii, fortitudinis. 4) extendetur imperium super omnes gentes 5) justissimum habebit super gentes judicium. Pax communis etiam instituetur inter belluas et feras et homines omnes sine discrimine, iisque continget cognitio dei. Ideo describitur seculum aureum. Alii de *Hiskia*, qui rem Judæorum restituit; alii de *Zerubabele* restauratore reipublicæ Israeliticæ. Sed fatendum potius de tempore Messiano, et ideo annumerando ad loca Messiana nam 1) describitur tempus seculi futuri 2) aurei seculi 3) hujus regni autor sistitur ut rex coelestis, institutus omnibus eximiis facultatibus. Hæc criteria faciunt locum Messianum. Non accurate citata sunt, 371 hebraice exstat: stabit ut signum gentilibus i.e. ita omnes gentiles ad eum dirigant attentionem. Alexandrini sensum magis quam verba expresserunt.—

Isa 52:15. ex interpretatione Pauli est περι αυτου = περι Χριστου. Sed in loco citato contextus est sensus alius; sermo est de reditu a Babylone in Palæstinam: "de gloria Israelitis restituta audient gentes remotissimæ" ideo ibi αυτου est "λαος." Ideo applicatio admodum distat a genuino loci sensu.—

XVI.

Φοιβη modo h. l. nominatur.

v. 20. respicitur Gen 3:15: tu mordebis calcem ejus et ille conteret caput tuum (יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ)

v. 21. Timotheus et Sosipatrus[;] cf. Acts 20:4 in eodem itinere per Macedoniam et Achaiam facto.—

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Die Urgeschichte der Menschheit nach dem biblischen Berichte der Genesis, kritisch untersucht v. Lic. B. Bauer. **8**

(in the periodical published by Bauer Vol. 3, pp. 125ff.).

1 The Account of Creation in Gen I, II.

§ 1

The Literal Interpretation.

This is complicated by the double account, in one of which humnty constitutes the conclusion of the whole, in the other (II:5–7) humnty is created before the vegetable and animal creation were present. The creation of the animals is thus explicitly placed after the creation of humnty according to II:19. A difficulty that cannot be removed by saying that the narrative takes a backward step. Moreover the difficulty that it is only on the 4th day that the precondition for distinguishing between days is created and yet they were distinguished previously.

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9 Dichtungen v. Ulrich v. Hutten, didactisch-biographischen und satyrisch epigrammatischen Inhalts. Zum erstenmal vollständig übersetzt und erlaütert herausgegeben v. E. Münch. Stuttgart. 1838.—.

10 De impostura religionum breve compendium seu liber de tribus impostoribus. Nach zwei Mss. und mit Historisch-Litterarischer Einleitung herausgegeben v. Genthe. Leipzig 1833.

The historical introduction shows what great confusion there was re. this piece of writing, in that, on the one hand, people found enough in the mere title to fill them with anxious dread, while, on the other hand, they were consumed with [such] sinful curiosity that they would almost offer a fortune to get possession of this blasphemous secret. Against the background of this lack of certainty the book was used to impute this [sinful curiosity] to anyone on whom the Church cast an evil eye (see the list on pp. 10 and 11). And to judge from what is set out here, it seems that far from having been written to mock religion, it was rather produced by a doubting spirit who was searching for truth. E.g. § 1 Deum esse, eum colendum esse, multi disputant, antequam et quid sit Deus, et quid sit esse, quatenus hoc corporibus et spiritibus, ut eorum fert distinctio, commune est, et quid sit colere Deum, intelligant.

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11

Speculative Dogmatics.

by
Marthensen.

Speculative D. shows us the ultimate grounds of faith. The necessity of this will become apparent by examining Xnty. This will be especially nec. in our time; since theologians used to represent the educated standpoint, their knowledge was the highest knowledge of the age. Now philosophers seem to have been granted this place. They do not take the standpoint of religion or Xnty as their point of departure; their interest is more in thought, in Spirit, and not in any of its particular forms. Their principle is: what is to count as authoritative for a hum. being must be able to stand up to examination by thought. This introduced a breach between religion and culture. Some became unbelievers, others wanted to summon up Luther's shade, the Catholics pointed to the Middle Ages, to the idea of the Church, others to the age of the apostles and the apostolic fathers, when faith was solely a matter of the heart. But such efforts are in vain. The content of Xnty is always the same, but every age has its own task, and the continuity in the succession of these must be recognized. Philosophy has annihilated the more ancient forms of the Chr. life, but will bring forth new ones. The deepest problem of the age is religion's connection with philos. Consequently the theologian must become a speculative theologian in order to be spiritual in the true meaning of the word.

§ 1.

Chr. dogmatics is the sci. of the Chr. dogmas or articles of faith and as such has the society of believers or the Church as its nec. presupposition. The Chr. faith achieves its definite form as *dogma* when faith's immed. content of div. truth is raised to the level of being a law for the univrsl Church. The historical development of this faith into Church dogma, along with the differences and oppositions that entered into the univrsl consciousness of the Church in the course of this development, are expounded in the Chr. *history of dogma* and the *theology of the Symbols*. *Dogmatics*, on the other hand, 375
does not rest with knowing dogma in its relative historical form
but seeks to know it in its absolute truth. It only completes its task when, as speculative science, it knows dogma as Idea.—

§ 2.

As spec. sci. Chr. D. is not different in principle from Chr. philosophy of religion. Nonetheless these two disciplines are different, for the essential task of Chr. philos. of religion is to know Xnty as the absolute religion within the system of religion's different historical forms; the task of dogmatics, by way of contrast, is to know the Chr. religion in the developed system of its dogma. The domain of the philosophy of religion is thus the whole realm of religion, while dogmatics, which takes its proximate point of departure from the interests of ecclesiastical knowledge, finds its distinctive domain within the orbit of Church dogmas. According to the present standpoint of sci., dogmatics cannot be carried out without religious-philosophical considerations, in that, on the one hand, it must know every dogmatic definition as a definition of the idea of religion and, on the other hand, it must mediate within itself the concrete cognitive content of dogma by overcoming the standpoints that have been carried over from the pre-Christian religions into the view [we have] of Xnty.—

§ 3.

Chr. dogmatics, which is the most concrete form of religious knowledge, is divided into a genrl religious-philosophical view of the essence of religion and its hist. development. As a definite form of humnty's consciousness of eternity, the essence of religion only allows itself to be grasped conceptually when it is known as qualitatively different from the other forms of consciousness in which humnty establishes a relation to the absolute Idea. The absolute Idea is also the object of art, and in its highest determinate form as the idea of God it constitutes the essential content of philosophy. Art
376 *can be* and philosophy *is* a consciousness of God, which is also quite precisely the genrl definition of religion. But its qualitative distinction from art and philosophy consists primarily in that these forms of consciousness contain the absolute in its infinite objectivity, whereas rel. is the infinitely subjective and real existence of the idea of God in a hum. being. Relig. is not just consciousness of and knowledge of the basic relationship that subsists between God and the hum. being, but it is this basic spiritual relationship itself as it really exists. Since in rel. the hum. being does not merely stand in an ideal but in an existential relation to the deity, religion is to be regarded as the essence of human nature or as that which makes the hum. being hum.—

§ 4.

The hum. being's basic religious relation to the deity can, in general, be characterized as a relationship of identity and freedom mediated through a relationship of infinite opposition and dependence. But this means that the real unity of the hum. being with God is only possible if, in religion, God objectifies himself to the hum. being in accordance with the eternal truth of his essence, i.e., that he reveals himself to him [the human being]. If God is not present in relig. in his infinite objectivity, he could not be known by hum. beings; the hum. being's subjective relation to God would then be an untrue and an unfree relation, for only *a true idea of God* frees a hum. being, not merely from his dependence on himself, but also from *blind*, unfree dependence on God. But the idea in which God is revealed to hum. beings in relig. is different in origin from speculation's true idea of God, because it is an integrating and eternal *moment* in that hum. being's existential basic relation to God that constitutes the essence of rel. Consequently, just as a hum. being's life has its eternal presupposition and possibility in that original basic relationship, so too all hum. reflection and speculation has its eternal presupposition and possibility in revelation.—

§ 5.

Religion and revelation are only possible if we presuppose the idea of God's absolute personality, the idea in which God is not simply known as the absolute *substance*, but as the infinitely free *subject*, who in his absolute substantiality knows and wills himself and stands in a freely creative relation to the world as that which is really different from himself. Only the God who is self-revealed is capable of revealing himself to hum. beings, and only the God who infinitely affirms and wills his own eternal existence is also capable of revealing his existence in the hum. being, or of coming into a religious relation to him. If God is not personal, then the hum. being's personality would be an unsolved and insoluble contradiction, for hum. knowledge only finds its true content in the knowledge in which it is itself known, and the hum. will only finds its true goal in the will by which it is itself willed. The system of religion and revelation may therefore be characterized as the system of personality. A negation of the div. personality that involves the negation of the hum. abrogates the concept of rel. and rev. in its deepest root.

377

§ 6.

Just as the knowledge that a hum. being's essence must be posited in his personal unity with God is necessary, so too the knowledge that his essence is not *immed. actual*, but can only become so through an infinite mediation, is similarly nec. This mediation is history, and not only humnty's relig. consciousness but div. revelation also follows the laws of hist. development. On the basis of the nec. relationship that occurs betw. knower and known, between subject and object, God's revelation to hum. beings is in fact conditioned by the criterion of hum. self-consciousness. So, as long as humnty is situated at a relative point in its development, God can only manifest a single abstract moment (phase), which corresponds to humnty's finite consciousness. But in the fullness of time, when the essence of humn self-consciousness becomes actual and *the true hum. is revealed*, the true God also reveals himself in accordance with the infinite content of his essence.

378 *Note*: The concepts of accommodation (συγκαταβασις) and anthropomorphism have their basis in the inner relationship that exists between God's revelation and hum. self-consciousness. These concepts are therefore not merely subjective, but also objective, reality.

§ 7.

Paganism, Judaism, and Xianity are the basic forms in which the idea of religion and revelation has been realized historically. Insofar as we wish to know the essence of these religions and their reciprocal relationship, they have to be considered in accordance with the basic univrsl. determinations of the relig. idea. These are: 1) the univrsl idea of God, the basic relationship between God and the world that constitutes relig.'s metaphysical foundation 2) the idea of God's appearance in the finite or the objective intuition of the idea of reconciliation. 3) The idea of humnty's appropriation of reconciliation, which is objectified in the relig. cultus. Because the perspective of the philosophy of religion knows each of these determinate moments in their relation to the idea of personality, it grasps paganism and Jud. as the elementary presuppositions of and transitional stages to Xnty, because it shows that these systems only contain abstract moments of God's and humnty's personality, whereas Xnty is the actual system of personality.—

17 συγκαταβασις] *Greek,* to put oneself on the same level

§ 8.

Paganism is rightly regarded as the spiritual standpoint of the *natural* hum. being, insofar, that is, as hum. self-consciousness has, on the one hand, not freed itself from the objective power of nature and, on the other hand, is still trapped in its own subjective naturalness, in the limits of the individual and of the communal Spirit. But as long as the hum. being has not found his proper "I" and come to know his own Spirit's qualitative difference from nature, so long is he equally unable to know the div. Spirit's qualitative distinction from the world. Thus God can only reveal himself to the pagan consciousness in accordance with his substantiality as manifested in the world, but not in accordance with his infinite 379
subjectivity and personality. Since the div. substance is reflected in the natural consciousness of the communal Spirit, it is not apprehended in its pure univsrslty in and for itself, but is intuited only in its immed. unity with the Spirit of a particular people. But since each people represents a step in the development of hum. consciousness, the div. substance is individualized in this concrete form, and each people must thus intuit the deity in the form of the idea that constitutes its own spiritual essence and that is impressed on its individual character as a people. The ethnic religions or folk religions thus portray the div. substance split up into the multiplicity of its moments. Their qualitative difference is determined by the concrete form in which the substance expresses itself, and the higher forms are separated from the lower by the striving they express, [a striving] to develop the subjectivity that is concealed in the substance, a striving that, in paganism, does not reach its goal.—

§ 9.

Since the pagan consciousness can only conceive of the deity through the medium of a vision of nature, the idea of God's appearing, which, in the true rel. is only a moment in God's revelation, is its all-embracing determinant. This gives us polytheism, since the vision of nature that lacks the unity of Spirit can only portray the Idea in the external manifold of its moments. The ethnic religions therefore move within a cycle of theophanies and, since the qualitative difference betw. nature and Spirit is unknown, the deity is seen in the most varied ktisiomorphisms, sometimes in natural [form], sometimes in hum. form. In none of these theophanies does the deity appear as an actual person, but the forms God takes are only finite particular individualities or common symbols and superficial personifications. The consciousness that the *hum. form* is the

essential form of the deity's appearance only arises in the Hellenic outlook, where pagan nature symbolism is elevated to mythology. The Greek gods are not abstract personifications but actually living individualities who are freed from immed. naturalness and transfigured by the idea, but, on the one hand, they presuppose a basis in nature, and, on the other hand, their idea is still not actual personality; for the ethical moment which is the deepest kernel of personality is repressed by the aesthetic, and the anthropomorphism of the religion of art is transient, because it is wholly imbued with ktisiomorphism.—

§ 10.

In the pagan cultus the religious consciousness cannot enter into a self-sufficient and direct relation to the deity, but does so only insofar as it is a part of the continuity of the life of nature or society. Reconciliation lacks deeper spirituality, since society finds itself in an immed. natural unity with its gods and in its relig. feasts only brings this unity to consciousness by means of a heightened enjoyment of life. Knowledge of the hum. being's separation from the deity, [a knowledge] which cannot fail to arise, does not develop out of the relationship of conscience but from the experience of the transience of worldly things. Thus the sin-offering involves only the renunciation of worldly possessions and pleasures, not of the worldly will. Since the ultimate reason for the afflictions and misfortunes of life is not sought in the sinful hum. will but outside it, pagan consciousness is the idea of a dark fate, to which humans are subjected and to which they are inseparably bound, which spreads a mark of unresolved sorrow over the joie de vivre of the pagan outlook.

§ 11.

In Judaism the qualitative difference between nature and Spirit has become apparent to hum. consciousness, and God is revealed in accordance with his subjectivity, i.e., *as God*. The basic relationship betw. God and the world is no longer a relationship of substantiality but a relationship of causality which takes shape as a relationship of opposition between Creator and creature. It is only in this religion that revelation appears *as such*, since only a subject can really be said to reveal himself. But this revelation is only relative, and God's personality is only abstract and particular, not absolute, that is to say, the div. subjectivity is not in fact substantial; the ethical moment, divorced from the metaphysical, appears in the

dogma of the creator, and the idea of God's unity is only conceived negatively in opposition to polytheism. Finally, God is only the God of this people, a definition that gives this people its world-historical significance but also fosters the seeds of its downfall.—

§ 12.

Since the Jewish idea of God contains the abstract negation of the natural and creaturely element, no appearances by God are found in this religion. God is only present to the people in the Law and in the guidance of his people, which is accompanied by signs and wonders, but he never lets himself be seen.—

§ 13.

Since creatureliness remains as an insuperable limit to the Jewish consciousness, the religious cultus is characterized by absolute dependence and the fear of the Lord. Div. revelation has only an objective and positive existence in the theocratic constitution but no subjective existence or development in the hum. individual. Hum. individuality has still not been liberated into [becoming] true personality, for the believing Israelite's consciousness of God is only mediated through the communal consciousness, and thus Judaism itself stands within the sphere of the folk religions. Instead of the free individual's personal relation to God, the dominant force is legalism and external sacrificial cult. The deeper principle of subjectivity is only developed by the prophets, who, by means of a deeper observation of sinfulness and a more ideal conception of the promises, brought universalism nearer.

§ 14.

In the Chr. idea of God, a deeper explication of which is found in the doctrine of the Trinity, the idea of the subjectless substance and 382
of the substanceless subject is negated. That is to say, because the infinite personality is here thought of as completing itself through an eternally immanent genesis and process, it is thought of as the absolute permeation of the substantial and the subjective, i.e., as the truly spiritual person. In its definition of God's relation to the world, Xnty negates acosmism on the one hand, because Xnty does not regard the world and finitude as an appearance but ascribes to creatureliness a relative actuality and self-sufficiency apart from God; on the other hand, abstract dualism is negated because creation is not simply from God, as its absolute *cause*, but also subsists by means of God, since in his infinite personality God has made

himself the substantial *ground* of creation and is essentially and actually present in the world as a real presence; and not only is creation from God and by means of God, but it is also *aiming at* God, because he mediates himself to himself as its absolute *telos*. Since God is thus the beginning, the middle, and the end and, as Father, Son, and Spirit has not only revealed his will but also his essence, God stands, by means of this essential revelation, not only in relation to the world but also in infinite relation to himself.

§ 15.

The Chr. idea of God's appearance is contained in the dogma of the incarnation or the doctrine of God's real *historical* becoming-hum. in Xt. In this becoming-hum. the dualism between God and creation is factually transcended, since the div. nature has so united itself to the hum. as not merely to reveal God *by means of* or *in*, but *as* this historical personality. Thus the dogma of the incarnation excludes the heathen view of revelation, according to which this revelation can only have been a mythical appearance or theophany. The doctrine of a mythical Xt, who, as ahistorical would also be impersonal, has its deeper basis in acosmism, which is incompatible with Xnty. On the other hand, the dogma of the incarnation negates
383 the Jewish view, which only succeeds in conceiving of Xt through finite and creaturely categories.—

§ 16.

The incarnation could only take place in the fullness of time, i.e., Xt's coming is mediated through the hum. race's historical development and could not occur before all relative and creaturely forms of the relig. consciousness had been emptied out. But since X does not allow himself to be viewed as the product of the hum. race, his whole personality, his life and works are a wonder, and the miracle is inseparable from the idea of the hist. Xt. That is to say, the miracle is nothing apart from the factual dissolution and transcendence of the antinomy betw. the spiritual and the natural, the ethical and the physical, the div. and the creaturely. Since the immed. order of natural things is thus transcended, it is not disturbed but is perfected into that which is the goal of all creaturely development. The relationship betw. Xt and the hum. race is thus a relationship of infinite opposition and objectivity, which is expressed in its greatest depth in the doctrine of Xt as Savior of the world, which is also why this doctrine is the central point in Chr. preaching and proclamation.—

§ 17.

On the Chr. Cultus.

As the believing consciousness, moving between sin and grace, is, on the one hand, in a relation of infinite opposition to the Savior, so must the Church's dependence on its founder, on the other hand, pass into a relationship of identity and freedom, in that the Kingdom of God as the development of Xt is to be the same in *manifold* form as Xt is in *unity*. This happens through God himself being present in his congregation as the Holy Spirit. As, on the one hand, it was through the Spirit that the Church first became a *universal* Church, so, on the other hand, is the Spirit's activity a continuous process of personification and individuation mediated through word and sacrament. The Chr. dogma concerning the Spirit excludes equally the dualistic idea that would see the Spirit only as a relative creaturely principle as well as the pantheistic idea that identifies God's Spirit with the world's and humnty's Spirit.— 384

§ 18.

Faith in God Father Son and Holy Spirit, whose substantial content is laid down in the Holy Scripture is, as the confession of the univrsl Church, expressed in the Symb. apost. In the course of time its content was more precisely developed and defined in opposition to the heretical systems. Chr. dogmatics ought to bring to consciousness the heretical element and mediate the knowledge it has of the dogmas by demonstrating the insufficiency of the heretical standpoints in ecclesiastical and speculative terms. All heretical systems may be traced back to the previously characterized dualistic and pantheistic principles and must be regarded as failed attempts to reconcile Judaism and paganism with Chr. consciousness.

§ 19.

Catholicism and Protest. are the world-historical forms of the Chr. consciousness and have their nec. basis in the development of the hum. Spirit. The difference betw. Cath. and Prot. does not concern the substantial content of Chr. truth, which is acknowledged by both confessions with one voice, but, on the contrary, concerns the relationship between the object of revelation and the hum. subject, the appropriation and mediation of this infinite content. This difference thus arises because the *dogma concerning the Spirit* comes to expression in all its depth. While both standpoints concede that div. revelation can only be appropriated by means of the div. Spirit,

they go their differing ways in that in Cath. this Spirit is fixed to the external phenomenal objectivity of the Church, while in Prot. it essentially reveals itself in the proper element of free hum. self-consciousness. This opposition, which can be traced through all points of controversy, appears most clearly in the controversy about the Chr. *principle of knowledge*.

§ 20.

The Chr. consciousness, having left behind apostolic immedcy and 385 sought a principle of knowledge by means of which it might maintain its continuity with the apostolic consciousness and secure its identity with its infinite object, found this in the tradition of the Church, a principle that had to be further developed in the Cath. dogma of the infallibility of the Councils and of the Pope. The finitude of this standpoint was demonstrated by the reforming consciousness which, in setting aside all ecclesiastical authority, laid down Holy Scripture as the norm of knowledge. But a deeper conception of the essence of Prot. must lead to the insight that only the Spirit itself in the form of free self-consciousness is the true principle of knowledge, that the infinite content of scripture can only be appropriated when it is mediated by freedom of thought. The root of the ecclesiastical and scholarly conflicts in Prot. is to be found in this principle of freedom and self-consciousness, by means of which the Prot. Spirit places itself in a direct relation to the truth, and herein is the basis of the necessity of a speculative dogmatics.

Note If, as a result of its empirical and finite character, Catholicism cannot be acquitted of containing an element of the Pelagian heresy, the ideal and speculative character of Prot. will put it more at risk of the Gnostic heresy.

§ 21.

Spec. dogmatics is neither supernaturalistic nor rationalistic, it is neither an exclusively Biblical nor Symbolic dogmatics nor a simple exposition and description of the immed. content of Chr. consciousness, just as little is it a system of pure truths of reason in abstraction from the positive. It is the living conjunction, union, and mediation of all these moments and thereby it is the right *concept* of these. Because dogmatics is a phil. sci. it is also a positive sci., in the strictest sense of the term, as certainly as the truth contained in the dogma is a positive truth given by div. authority, i.e., one that speculative thought can indeed mediate but not produce or construct a

priori. The positive moments through which dogmatics mediates its speculative insights are Scripture, the Church, and living faith. 386

§ 22.

Since the dogmatic element in Xnty is inseparable from the historical, whose midpoint is the fact of the incarnation, there must exist an infallible historical and religious testimony concerning this fact, without which no hist. Church would be possible. This infallible and original testimony concerning Xt is set down in Holy Scripture. The dogma concerning its inspiration contains the claim that this testimony is not merely that of hum. beings but is the Spirit's own. Consequently Prot. dogmatics acknowledges scripture as the absolute norm and canon of knowledge. It ought therefore, in part directly, in part indirectly, to demonstrate the presence of the speculative ideas in scripture, just as spec. thought must, on the other hand, constantly strengthen and rejuvenate itself through the rich fullness of the biblical outlook.

§ 23.

Prot. dogmatics is not only biblical but also ecclesiastical, and it proves its ecclesiastical character by its conformity, on the one hand, with the characteristically Prot. concept of doctrine, as laid down in the Church's confessional writings, and, on the other hand, with the unvrsal confession of faith of the Chr. Church, as contained in the apost. Symbolum. In the Church's Symbols, dogmatics not only has a norm for knowledge (norma normata not norma normans), but it also finds there an actual means of knowing, because the outline of Chr. doctrine found in the Symbols is to be regarded as a step in spec. concept formation. But Church and Scripture are not the sole necessary and positive means of dogm. knowledge, for there is also living faith; for what the intuition of the fact of the incarnation is with respect to objectivity, so is rebirth with respect to subjectivity, for which reason Chr. speculation has also at all times acknowledged the saying: credam ut intelligam.—

24 norma normata] *Latin,* established norms **24** norma normans] *Latin,* the establishing of norms **32** credam ut intelligam] *Latin,* I believe in order that I might understand

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL EE

Critical Account of the Text by
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Translated by
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Edited by
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Bruce H. Kirmmse

Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript and Its Transmission

Journal EE is a bound book in quarto format. Originally it contained thirty leaves (sixty pages) written from the front and one leaf (two pages) written from the back. Seven leaves have been lost. The contents of some of the missing leaves have been transmitted indirectly via H. P. Barfod's *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*). In the case of two entries from the missing leaves, Barfod did not publish the full wording, though the entries are noted in *B-cat*.[1]

The manuscripts are preserved in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The book itself is bound in brown cloth with floral patterning and gilt edging. In the top left-hand corner of the front cover is a black label framed by double gold lines containing the printed inscription, also in gold, "1839./ Ad se ipsum" (Latin, "to himself"); see Illustration 1.[2] Inside the front cover Kierkegaard wrote "EE."

II. Dating and Chronology

As indicated, *Journal EE* is written in both from the front and from the back.

The main part is written from the front, the first dated entry being EE:2, from February 1, 1839, and the last, EE:188, from September 23 of the same year. Entry EE:2 is followed by an undated entry, EE:189, which according to *B-cat.* was followed by a number of blank pages that in turn were succeeded by several entries (EE:190–194) which

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1) The entries known only from their listing in *B-cat.* are EE:4 and EE:5.

2) In Greek, this was the title of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations.* See *D. Imperatoris M. Antonini Commentariorum quos sibi ipsi scripsit libri XII* [The Commentaries of the Divine Emperor Marcus Antoninus, Addressed to Himself, in Twelve Books] , ed. J. M. Schultz (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1218). Kierkegaard also used it as a motto for the "Diapsalmata" in *Either/Or.* See *EO* 1, 17; *SKS* 2, 25.

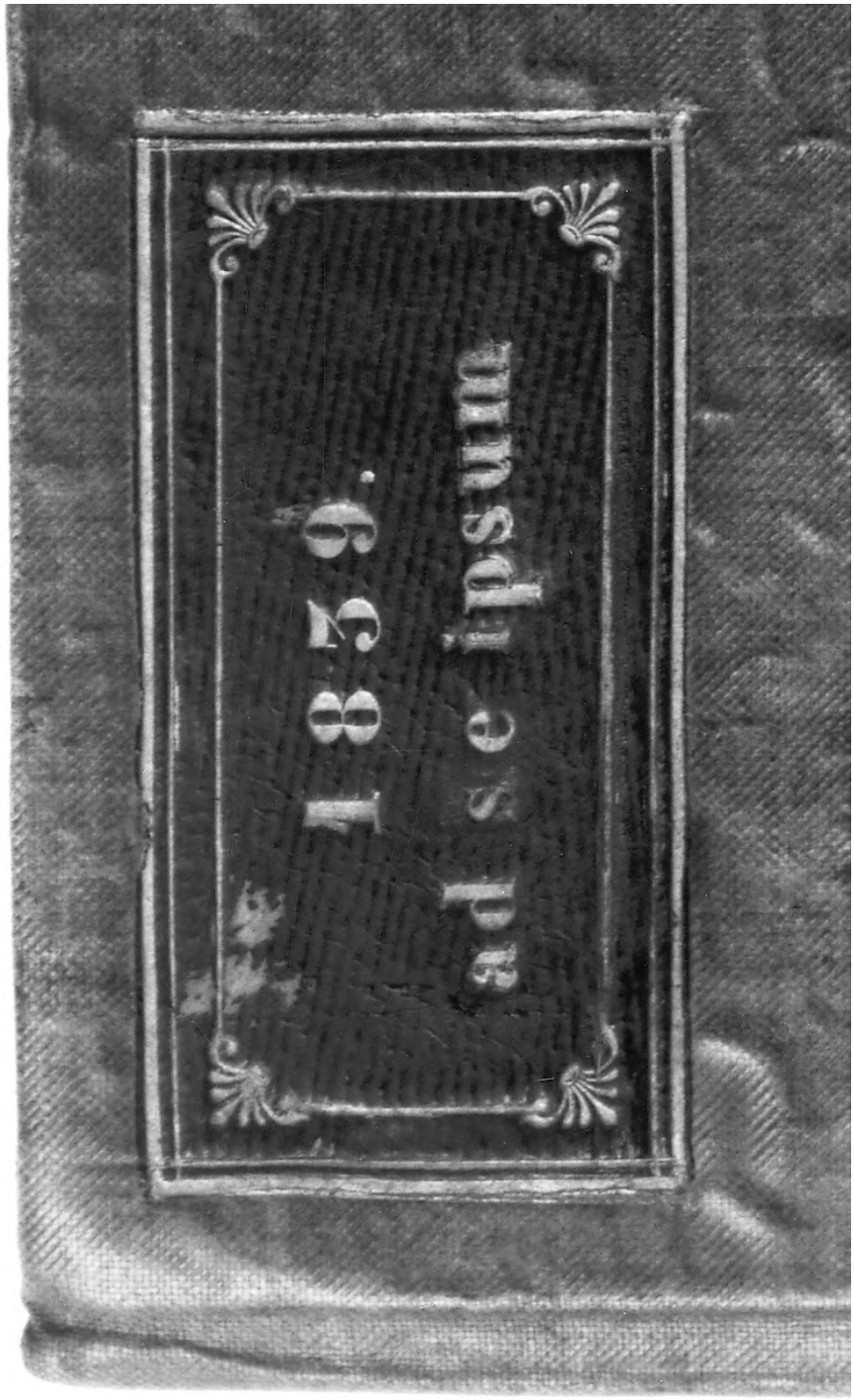
appear to be drafts of sermons. The manuscript pages for entries EE:190–194 are missing, but they are reproduced in *EP*; these entries are not dated, but there are good reasons to think that they are connected with Kierkegaard's studies at the pastoral seminary, from November 1840 to September 1841.[1] This dating is based partly on the fact that entries EE:190–194 are drafts of sermons, the sort of material found chiefly in *Journal HH* (a journal which clearly reflects Kierkegaard's homiletic studies), and partly on the fact that the three unused pages between entries EE:189 and EE:190 (the first of the sermon drafts) mark a definite break in the journal, both in terms of chronology and of content. Furthermore, Kierkegaard also wrote a series of short entries in *Notebook 5*, probably in the period July–December 1840, that he later used as titles for draft sermons he produced at the pastoral seminary. Two of these are incorporated in *Journal HH*,[2] and one of them—"Those Who Were Called at the Eleventh Hour"—was later used as the title for entry EE:194. All this suggests that entries EE:190–194 belong to the period between November 1840 and September 1841. Entries EE:120–138, for which the manuscript is largely missing, are also undated and were grouped by Kierkegaard under the heading "Parenthesis." These entries are preceded by entry EE:119, dated July 20, 1839, and followed by entry EE:139, dated July 21, 1839. These nineteen entries must therefore have been written during these two days.

The pages written from the back of the journal consist of three entries, EE:195–197, together with their corresponding marginalia, grouped under the heading "Discursive Raisonements [*sic*] and Incomprehensible Apropos concerning the Category of Higher Madness." These entries are not dated, but in entry EE:196 Kierkegaard refers to the debate about the freedom to attend a church outside one's parochial boundaries; this debate was discussed in issues of the *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende* [Reports of the Proceedings of the Provincial Estates at Roskilde] that were published in January 1839, so EE:196 cannot have been written before January 1839 at the earliest. Furthermore, all the entries written from the back of *Journal EE* must certainly have been written after the first substantive entry

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1) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," pp. 440–442 in this volume.

2) See HH:26 and HH:27.



1. Printed inscription on the cover of *Journal EE;* see p. 355 in this volume.

Kierkegaard wrote in the front of the journal, entry EE:2, which is dated February 1, 1839.

It can thus be concluded that Kierkegaard began using *Journal EE* on February 1, 1839, and used it—writing serially from the front of the book—until about September 23, 1839, when he wrote entry EE:188 and (presumably shortly thereafter) entry EE:189, which is undated. At some time after having begun his entries from the front of the book, however, Kierkegaard turned the book over and for unknown reasons wrote entries EE:195–197 from the back. Then, after Kierkegaard had written entry EE:189 (presumably on or shortly after September 23, 1839), he put the book aside, leaving three blank pages following the entries written from the front of the book, and only returned to it at the time of his sermon exercises at the pastoral seminary, in the period from November 1840 until September 1841, when he wrote the five sermon drafts numbered EE:190–194, also from the front of the book (following the above-mentioned three blank pages); these sermon drafts were the last entries Kierkegaard wrote in *Journal EE*.

III. Contents

As a motto for *Journal EE*, Kierkegaard wrote out on its first unnumbered page a quote from Chateaubriand—"*Les grands passions sont solitaires, et les transporter au desert c'est les rendre a leur empire*."[1] When he was working on his catalogue of Kierkegaard's papers Barfod cut this passage out of the original manuscript and pasted it onto the flyleaf of his own copy of *Either/Or*. See illustration 2. (That the clipping is from Kierkegaard's journal is clear from the paper and the watermark.)

The journal is of a varied and to some extent heterogeneous nature. Its 197 entries range from personal reflections and critical remarks about current events, through prayers and sermons, to theological, philosophical, and historical observations. However, the general character of the journal reflects that this was the period when Kierkegaard was studying for the theological examinations

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1) "The great passions are solitary, and to take them into the desert is to give them to their empire." The accents are missing in Kierkegaard's text.

that would qualify him for ordination. Several entries contain explicit references to this, the first being EE:66, dated May 13, 1839:

> I cannot, however, regard it as anything other than God's will that I should study for my exams, and that it is more pleasing to him that I do so than, by going deeper into this or that branch of research, I really attain clearer knowledge of this or that; for obedience is dearer to him than the fat of rams.—

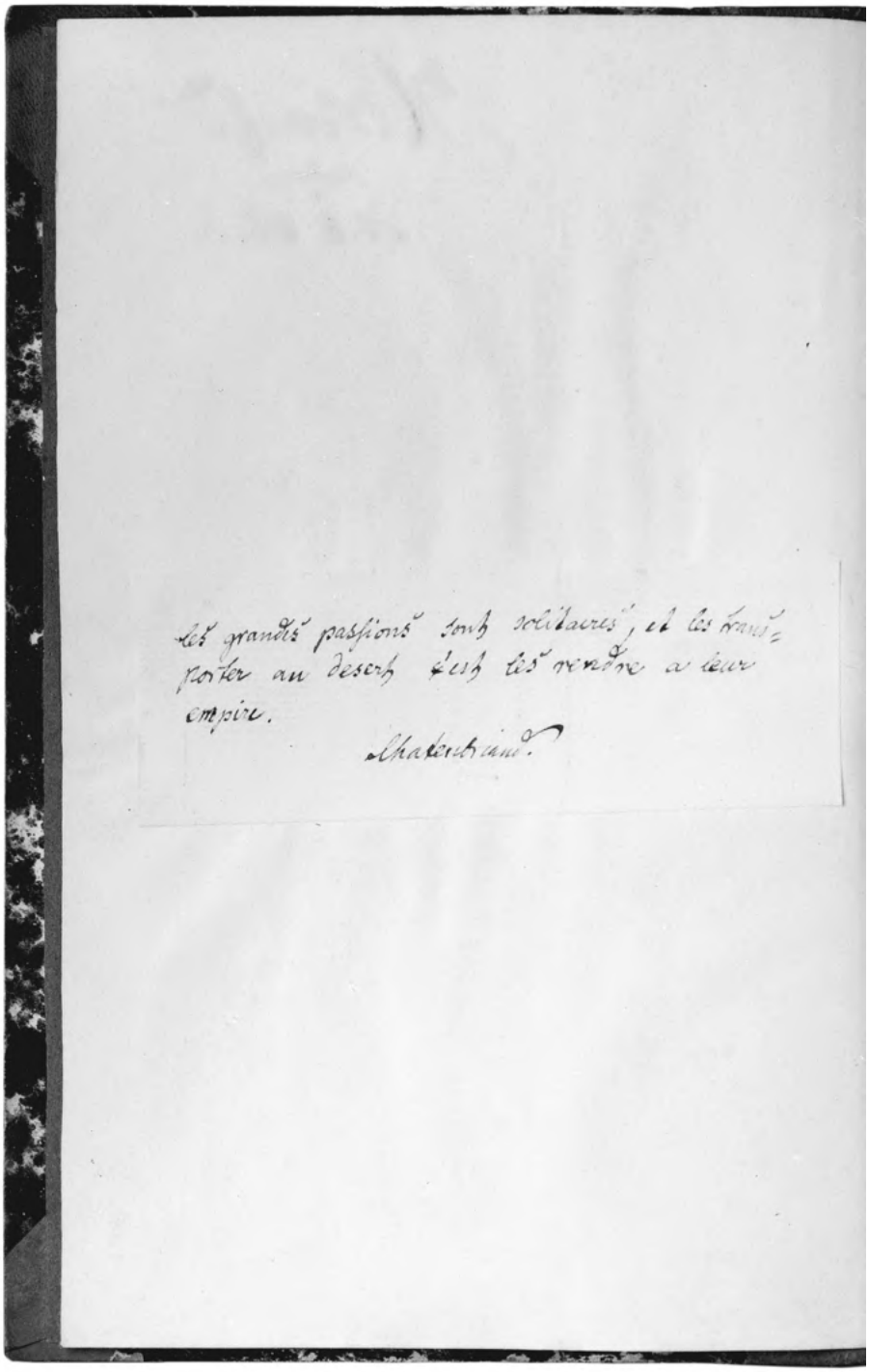
Entries EE:120–138, which, as noted, are preceded by the heading "Parenthesis," and conclude with the words "Claudatur Parenthesis" (Latin, "the parenthesis is closed"), show something of the agony of this examination preparation, as when in EE:128 he wrote: "I shall now, for a season, for some miles in time, plunge *underground* like the Guadalquivir;—to be sure, I shall come up again!"

Finally, in entry EE:189, he takes his leave of his "lucida intervalla" (Latin, "lucid intervals"), signing himself "previously Dr. Exstaticus"—a leave-taking that suggests his turning toward the preparations for the examinations.

If one bears in mind the exigencies of these preparations, many of the entries fall into place in relation to the subject areas that belonged to the theological curriculum of Kierkegaard's day.[1] The largest part of the first sixty-five entries is thus marked by issues relating to the Old Testament and, even more, the New Testament. The next thirty entries relate to issues in church history and dogmatics, reflecting Kierkegaard's reading of authors such as Bretschneider and Schleiermacher, the *Augsburg Confession*, and *Hutterus Redivivus*, a popular handbook for students of dogmatics. Entry EE:101 and the nineteen entries that follow it reveal Kierkegaard's study of de Wette's *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære og sammes Historie* [Textbook in Christian Ethics and Its History] in a Danish trans-

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1) The principal disciplines were Old and New Testament exegetics, church history, and the systematic disciplines (dogmatics and moral theology). In addition to these were ancillary disciplines such the history of the Israelites, archaeology, hermeneutics, history of dogma, apologetics, symbolic theology, the history of philosophy, and philosophy of religion. See M. G. Steenstrup, *Det theologiske Studium ved vort Universitet* [The Study of Theology at Our University] (Copenhagen, 1848), pp. 3–4 and the overview "Forelæsninger ved det theologiske Fakultet fra 1838 til 1847" [Lectures at the Theology Faculty from 1838 to 1847], printed at the back of Steenstrup's book.



2. Kierkegaard's motto for *Journal EE,* EE:1.
The quote was originally written on an unpaginated sheet, that has not survived, at beginning of the journal. Barfod cut the motto out and pasted it into his own copy of *Either/Or* [3rd edition from 1865]; see pp. 3 and 358 in this volume.

Enten — Eller.

Et Livs-Fragment,

udgivet

af

Victor Eremita.

Tredie Udgave.

Anden Deel,

indeholdende B.'s Papirer,

Breve til A.

Les grandes passions sont solitaires, et les transporter au désert, c'est les rendre à leur empire.

Chateaubriand.

Kjøbenhavn.

C. A. Reitzels Forlag.

1865.

lation by C. E. Scharling (Copenhagen, 1835; ASKB 871), as he focused on moral teaching and, to some extent, on church history. After the "parenthesis" of entries EE:120–138, there follows a series of entries that tend more to the philosophy of religion and to Kierkegaard's reading of, e.g., Fichte's treatise "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie in ihrem Verhältnisse zu Spekulation und Mythologie" [Aphorisms regarding the Future of Theology in Its Relations to Speculation and Mythology], published in the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie* [Journal for Philosophy and Speculative Theology], ed. I. H. Fichte, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1839; ASKB 877–911). Around entry EE:157 Kierkegaard returned once more to exegesis, with Old Testament topics being especially prominent.

If the preparations for the theological examinations form the more or less explicit background of the journal's overall character and development, the journal can also be divided according to the more specific contents of the entries. A large group of about thirty entries consists of Kierkegaard's reflections on his own intellectual and personal life. Entry EE:148, for example, deals with his refusal to pursue a position at court. Approximately seventeen entries are prayers, or edifying or doxological passages, among which entries EE:190–194 have, as previously discussed, the form of sermon drafts, probably written during Kierkegaard's homiletic studies at the pastoral seminary.

A third significant group, consisting of about fifteen entries, could be regarded as a critique of his times, understood both as Kierkegaard's general diagnosis of his age (e.g., entry EE:29 on the present age's lack of a teleological element) and as his responses to more specific, polemical issues, with reference to writers such as Henrik Hertz (EE:139) and N. F. S. Grundtvig. Of the latter, Kierkegaard writes as follows in entry EE:165, dated August 26, 1839:

> All Grundtvig's preaching is however nothing but a constant repetition of fantastic meanderings such that one's legs can never keep up, a weekly evacuation. He says constantly that the reason the church has not shown itself in its full glory up until now is that it suffers under external pressure: when this stops, then it will be clear; yes, then it will be clear whether this Church of his is the perfect church, or whether it did not in many respects need a preacher such as Mynster, who continually brings everything back to the individual, and this is where the battle must take place and not lose itself in such historical vacuities.

Finally there are some twenty entries that involve reflections on Christianity and its relation to the world and to the present age (e.g., EE:74 and EE:117), to philosophy and an anthropocentric viewpoint (e.g., EE:80 and EE:92), to Judaism (EE:30), and to pantheism (EE:100).

Other topics worth mentioning include Kierkegaard's reflections on the relationship between writer, reader, and style; his plan to write a dissertation on suicide; and his preoccupation with the category of madness, that comes to expression, for example, in the "Discursive Raisonements [*sic*] and Incomprehensible Apropos concerning the Category of Higher Madness."

A number of the entries in *Journal EE* were to find their way into Kierkegaard's printed works. Nine entries were used in *Either/Or*: seven of these in the "Diapsalmata," namely entries EE:28, 51, 59, 65, 76, 91, and 163, which appear almost word for word and in the same sequence;[1] and material from two other entries, EE:55 and EE:117, in "The Balance between the Esthetic and the Ethical in the Development of the Personality" in part two of *Either/Or*.[2] Various entries reappeared, more or less reworked, in a number of upbuilding discourses: entries EE:174 and EE:180 are to be found in *Two Upbuilding Discourses* from 1843,[3] and entry EE:191 appears in *Two Upbuilding Discourses* from 1844.[4] Paul's saying concerning "fear and trembling" (Phil 2:12) is mentioned in three entries (EE:25, 50, 150), and one entry, EE:89, corresponds to a passage in Kierkegaard's work of that name.[5] Finally, the entry on Appius Pulcher and the sacred hens, EE:153, was used in *The Concept of Irony*.[6]

To summarize: *Journal EE* was written in from the front of the book from February 1, 1839 until about September 23, 1839, resulting in entries EE:1–189; at some point after February 1, 1839 several entries (EE:195–197) were written from the back of the book; and,

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1) See *EO* 1, 21–22; *SKS* 2, 29f. See also note 2 above.

2) See *EO* 2, 187, 185; *SKS* 3, 182, 180, respectively.

3) See *EUD*, 31, 28; *SKS* 5, 41, 36, respectively.

4) See *EUD*, 223; *SKS* 5, 215.

5) See *FT*, 45; *SKS* 4, 140.

6) See *CI*, 221; *SKS* 1, 265.

after a gap of three blank pages (following entry EE:189) the journal was apparently used again (this time, from the front of the book) during Kierkegaard's time at the pastoral seminary, from November 1840 until September 1841, when entries EE:190–194 were written. The journal shows signs of having been used during Kierkegaard's preparation for his examinations, and in addition to theological material it contains a broad range of observations on personal matters and on Kierkegaard's times, as well as drafts of sermons and entries of an edifying character. Fourteen entries in the journal were later used, more or less in their original form, in Kierkegaard's published works.

Explanatory Notes

3 *1* **les grandes passions . . . les rendre a leur empire**] From François René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Atala, ou les amours de deux sauvages dans le désert* [Atala, or the Loves of Two Savages in the Wilderness] (Paris, 1801); see the first combined edition of *Atala* and *René* (Paris, 1805), p. 81. A Danish translation by M. Rahbek was published in 1801, although Chateaubriand was not named as author. See also the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal EE* in this volume, p. 358.

3 **Chateubriand**] (misspelling of Chateaubriand) François René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), French poet, politician, and diplomat. Chateaubriand, whose work heralded the beginning of French Romanticism, also published *Le génie du christianisme* [The Genius of Christianity] (1802), a poetic defense of Christianity as a religion of feeling and imagination.

4 *1* **let a stream of tears, like unto the Flood**] A reference to the flood described in Gen 6:5–7:24 ["Noah's flood"], sent by God as a punishment for human sin.

3 **a sign . . . with a Flood**] A reference to God setting the rainbow in the heavens as a sign of both the covenant made with Noah after the flood and the promise that he would never again destroy all living creatures. See Gen 8:20–9:17.

6 **to tear us from sin's body**] An allusion to Rom 6:6, where Paul writes that the old self has been crucified with Christ, "that the body of sin might be destroyed" (in the Danish NT 1819, literally "should become nothing").

4 *12* **in just about the same relation to Jesus as Barrabas**] A reference to Mt 27:15–26, where Pontius Pilate, appealing to the custom of releasing a prisoner at the time of Passover, offers the crowd a choice between Jesus and Barabbas. According to the gospel, the crowd asked for the latter to be released and for Jesus to be crucified.

13 **he was called Jesus Barrabas**] In all four gospels he is referred to only as "Barabbas." A text-critical note to Mt 27:17 in *Novum Testamentum graece* [Greek New Testament], ed. G. C. Knapp, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1829 [1797]; ASKB 16), however, explains that the name "Jesus Barabbas" appears in other manuscripts. See also the article "Barabbas" in G. B. Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studirende, Kandidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger* [Specialized Biblical Dictionary for Use as a Handbook for Students, Graduates, Preparatory School Teachers, and Preachers], 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1833–1838 [1820]; ASKB 70–71), vol. 1, p. 160: "According to many manuscripts of Matthew and parallels he was called Jesus [Barabbas], which most regard as an addition by a later hand."

14 **בַּר אָבָא**] Hebrew (bar aba), erroneous rendering of בַּר אַבָּא (bar abba), "a father's son." The Greek form is Barabbas. Although the spelling "Barrabas" is inconsistent with both the Hebrew and Greek forms, Kierkegaard's spelling in fact follows that of the Danish NT 1819.

15 **we just don't know anything more about Barrabas**] → 4,*12*. According to Mk 15:7, Barabbas was imprisoned with a group of insurgents who had committed murder in their insurrection. Jn 18:40 refers to him as a robber, Acts 3:14 as a murderer.

17 **the Wandering Jew**] The legend of the Wandering Jew appears in various Southern European and English sources beginning in the 13th century, and is later found in various embellished forms across Europe. In some versions the Jew was said to have been a cobbler in Jerusalem named Ahasverus (or Ahasuerus), who, on the day of the crucifixion, refused to allow Jesus to rest at his doorway. In some cases he is also said to have shouted "Walk faster!" at him. As punishment he himself was condemned to walk the face of the earth forever. In Danish, as in German, he is referred to as "the eternal Jew." In later versions of the story he was said to have been a shoemaker, and hence was called "the shoemaker of Jerusalem." The figure was much used in Romantic literature and was often treated sympathetically. In the 20th century, however, the expression

"the eternal Jew" became a trope of anti-Semitic discourse, most notoriously in the eponymously titled Nazi propaganda film.

4 25 **unknown divinity**] This refers to Acts 17:23, where Paul is reported as saying to the Athenian philosophers with whom he is debating that "[A]s I went through the city and looked carefully at the objects of your worship, I found among them an altar with the inscription 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you."

28 **all love, like all knowledge, is recollection**] According to Plato, knowledge is the recollection of ideas contemplated by the soul before its birth, and brought to mind by some external occasion, a notion especially prominent in the dialogue *Meno*.

31 **Regina**] Latin, "queen," "princess," "[female] sovereign"; here used as a pun on the name Regine, i.e., Regine Olsen, whom Kierkegaard probably met for the first time in May 1837 and to whom he became engaged on September 10, 1840.

5 7 **here is a good place to be**] A reference to Mt 17:4, where Jesus is transfigured by a heavenly light. Kierkegaard's Danish echoes the NT 1819 rendering of Peter's response to this vision, given in the NRSV as "it is good for us to be here."

8 **blind god of love**] The Greek god of love, Eros (Latin, Amor), is often represented in late antiquity as being blindfolded or even blind. Cf. *Paul Fr. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul Fr. A. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], ed. F. G. Klopfer, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945), vol. 1, p. 169: "But Love is also blind, and it is for this reason that the eyes of Amor are blindfolded."

8 **You who see in secret**] See Mt 6:4 and 6:18.

8 **tell me openly**] A possible allusion to Mt 6:4 and 6:18, where some mss. (and the Danish NT 1819) have "will reward you openly."

9 **Shall I find what I am seeking**] An allusion to Mt 7:7.

9 **shall I experience the conclusion ... premises, shall I enclose you**] Kierkegaard indulges in wordplay here, since the word *slutte*, translated "enclose," can also mean "conclude," as in a logical syllogism.

13 **do you summon me**] The Danish *vinker* here carries further associations of inviting and, thus, tempting.

14 **transfigured**] Kierkegaard uses this term with an eye both to the transfiguration of Jesus (Mt 17:1–8), and to the idea that the dead live, transfigured, in the light of heaven.

18 **breathed the idea into the body of the concept**] An allusion to Gen 2:7, where God, having molded the first man's body from the earth, breathes into his nostrils the breath of life, thereby making him a living being. 5

24 **to enclose it within a virgin's bower**] A reference to the medieval practice of keeping daughters and unmarried women in designated living quarters, within or near the main family house.

29 **Fair reader**] The term used by Kierkegaard is *Leserinde*, meaning "female reader." 5

6 **round about ... and the altar with them**] A garbled quotation from Jens Baggesen's poem "Agnes from Holmegaard" (1808), in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesen's Danish Works], edited by the author's son and by C. J. Boye, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1827–1832; ASKB 1509–1520), vol. 2 (1828), p. 357. Verse 28 reads: "Agnes entered by the Church door and all the small images, they turned around—Round about [her] in the Church, the small images, turned around" and, in verse 29, line 4 "and the altar with it," the "it" referring to the retable and not the other "small images." 6

12 **God's Spirit revealed itself ... consumed**] See Ex 3:2, which tells how God's angel showed itself in a blazing bush, "yet it [the bush] was not consumed." 6

16 **transfigures ... The Transfiguration**] Kierkegaard uses two Danish terms, *Forklarelse* and *Transfiguration* respectively, the former emphasizing the transillumination of the object, its penetration by light, and the latter drawing attention, once more, to the transfiguration of Jesus. 6

21 **In their reports of modern philosophy since Descartes**] According to Hegel's lectures on the history of philosophy, Descartes became the true founder of modern philosophy when he made thought, i.e., self-consciousness, the basic principle of philoso- 6

phy. See vol. 3 of G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], ed. C. L. Michelet, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 15 of *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*), pp. 331ff. This view was repeated by H. L. Martensen in his review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lectures to the Course in Logic at the Royal Military High School, begun in November 1834] (Copenhagen, 1835; abbreviated hereafter as *Indlednings-Foredrag*), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 517f., and in his lectures on the history of modern philosophy from Kant to Hegel, given in the winter semester 1838–1839 (see *Pap*. II C 25, in vol. XII, p. 282).

27 **stick won't beat dog . . . cow won't go home, etc**.] An allusion to a children's rhyme, found in Danish as well as in English versions.

6 31 **could only see Jehovah's back**] As Kierkegaard indicates, this refers to Ex 33:20–23, where Yahweh says to Moses, "'[Y]ou cannot see my face; for no one shall see me and live,' " whereupon God places Moses in the cleft of a rock and covers him with his hand while he passes by, so that Moses only gets to see his back. — **Jehovah**: A name often used to translate the OT "JHWH," which, in the original Hebrew text, was not written with vowels and can thus be rendered both as "Jehovah" and, in more recent versions, "Yahweh" (transliteration of "J" and "Y" also being variable). Many translations, such as the King James version and the Danish OT 1740, use "the Lord."

7 3 **Exod.**] An abbreviation for Exodus, which in Greek means "departure." The use of "Exodus" as the title for the biblical book of that name is unusual in Danish, in which, as in German, the first five books of the Bible are usually referred to as the first, second, etc., books of Moses, following the tradition according to which they were all authored by Moses himself.

3 **Wenn den nun meine Herrlichkeit . . . bis ich vorüber gehe**] Ex 33:22 in Luther's German translation, quoted from *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers mit einer Vorrede vom Dr. Hüffel* [The Bible or the Entire Holy Scripture according to the German Translation of Dr. Martin Luther with a Preface by Dr. Hüffel] (Carlsruhe and Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 3); the emphases are Kierkegaard's.

by making the 3rd person one's starting point] In Hebrew grammar the third-person masculine singular is used as the basic form of the verb. 1m

Günther] Anton Günther (1783–1863), a neo-scholastic Catholic philosopher who sought to reformulate the bases of Catholic teaching in the light of contemporary philosophical tendencies. He was especially influenced by Herder, Kant, J. G. Fichte, and Schelling. He criticized what he regarded as the contemporary tendency toward pantheism, and he argued on the basis of Descartes' philosophy for a theistic interpretation of modern thought. Kierkegaard owned several of his works, cf. ASKB 520–523, 869–870, 1672. 7 7

die juste-melieu der Philosophie] *Die Juste-Milieus in der deutschen Philosophie gegenwärtiger Zeit* [The Golden Mean in Contemporary German Philosophy] (Vienna, 1838; ASKB 522). Note Kierkegaard's misspelling and omission of the plural "s." 7

the aphorism on the title page] "*Qui diem sapit—Domino sapit*" with the reference "*ad Rom. 14*," i.e., Rom 14:6. The citation is from the Vulgate and means "Those who observe the day observe it in honor of the Lord" (NRSV). 11

God always creates from nothing] The view that the account of creation in Gen 1 is to be understood in the sense of God creating *ex nihilo* ("from nothing") has been widespread among Christian theologians since the 2nd century. See, e.g., § 65 in *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studierende* [Hutterus Redivivus or a Dogmatics for the Evangelical Lutheran Church: A Dogmatic Sourcebook for Students], ed. K. A. Hase, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1839, [1829]; ASKB 581; abbreviated hereafter as *Hutterus redivivus*), pp. 146f. See also 2 Macc 7:28. 13 7m

grieving for God] See 2 Cor 7:10: "For godly grief produces a repentance that leads to salvation and 20 7

brings no regret, but worldly grief produces death."

7 27 **Lavater**] J. C. Lavater (1741–1801), Swiss priest and author, founder of physiognomy, i.e., the theory that the external appearance of human beings, and especially the face, expresses the moral and spiritual disposition. In Kierkegaard's time physiognomy was widely regarded as a bona fide science.

28 **speaks of the contagion ... shows itself in the face**] See Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnisz und Menschenliebe* [Physiognomic Fragments for the Promotion of the Knowledge and Love of Humanity], 4 vols. (Leipzig and Winterthur, 1775–1778; ASKB 613–616), "Einleitung. Würde der menschlichen Natur" [Introduction: The Value of Human Nature], vol. 1, pp. 3–6, esp. 5f., and the sixth fragment "Von dem Bemerken der Vollkommenheiten und Unvollkommenheiten überhaupt" [On Observing Perfections and Imperfections in General], pp. 38–43. — **the image of God**: See Gen 1:27.

30 **acoustic figure**] These are the symmetrical patterns produced in dry sand sprinkled on a level glass or metal plate when the rim is stroked by a violin bow or otherwise caused to vibrate. The phenomenon was discovered in 1787 by the German physicist E. F. F. Chladni (so that the patterns are sometimes referred to as "Chladni figures"), and it was studied by H. C. Ørsted in Denmark. In 1807 Ørsted showed that a pure tone will produce a hyperbola in the sand. In 1808 Ørsted received the silver medal of the Society for the Sciences for his treatise "Forsøg over Klangfigurerne" [Experiments with Acoustic Figures], published in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter for Aar 1807 og 1808* [Writings of the Royal Danish Society for the Sciences for the Years 1807 and 1808], vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1810), pp. 31–64.

8 2 **hum. race's great and deep Fall**] Refers to the story of the fall of man in Gen 3:1–19.

6 **Lavater's Physiognomik**] See vol. 1 of J. C. Lavater, *Physiognomik. Zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe. Vervollständigte neue Auflage der verkürzt heraugegebenen physiognomischen Fragmente* [Physiognomy: For the Promotion of the Knowledge and Love of Humanity. A Complete New Edition of the Shortened Fragments previously published], 4 vols. (Vienna, 1829), p. 3.

the word of the Lord ... but for yourself] See Lk 23:28. 6m

Philo] Philo of Alexandria (ca. 25 B.C.–50 A.D.): Greek-Jewish philosopher. Born in Alexandria, where he was a leading member of the Jewish community, Philo is chiefly remembered for his interpretations of the Bible in the language of Neo-Platonic philosophy. 7 8

ὁ ἀθεος απατωρ ... εκ πορνης] Probably an indirect quotation from Philo's *De migratione Abrahami* [The Migration of Abraham], chap. 12, where he interprets the Mosaic prohibition concerning eating reptiles, with and without feet, in terms of polytheism and atheism: "ἄθεος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄγονος, πολύθεος δὲ ὁ ἐκ πόρνης τυφλώττων περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς γονεῖς ἐπιγραφόμενος" ("For he who worships no God at all is barren, and he who worships a multitude is the son of a harlot, who is in a state of blindness as to his true father, and who on this account is figuratively spoken of as having many fathers, instead of one" [Philo Judæus, *The Essential Philo*, ed. N. Glatzer, (New York: Schocken, 1971), p. 154].) 7

if God is for us, who can be against us] See Rom 8:31. 14 8

who has himself defeated the enemy] A reference to Christ's victory over death and Satan; see, e.g., 1 Cor 15:54–57. 19

to fight a fight ... the prize an eternity] Probably an allusion to 1 Tim 6:12 and 2 Tim 4:7–8. 19

a peace which has overcome the world] See Jn 16:33. 21

the bitter chalice] See, e.g., Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane in Mt 26:39; also Mt 20:22. 25

That thought and being are one ... identity of thought and being] The assertion of the unity of being and thought is recorded at many points in the history of philosophy and is generally associated with, among others, Parmenides, Descartes, Spinoza, Schelling, and Hegel. Kierkegaard is probably referring here to H. L. Martensen's frequent use of the formula "the identity of thought and being"; cf. his discussion of Descartes in the fifth of his "Lectures on the Introduction to Speculative Dogmatics" from November 29, 1837 (Not4:1–12 in 1 9

KJN 3; *SKS* 19, 125–143), and his "Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy from Kant to Hegel" in the winter semester 1838–1839, where he says: "Descartes says that I can doubt everything, e.g., whether I am sitting here, but I cannot doubt that I am thinking, and here we have the identity of thought and being" (*Pap*. II C 25, p. 282). See also Martensen's licentiate dissertation, *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* [On the Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 648), § 5, p. 19, and J. A. Bornemann's review in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Periodical for Literature and Criticism], ed. F. C. Petersen, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1839), no. 1, p. 7. Martensen's interpretation of Descartes rested on that of Hegel in vol. 3 of the latter's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 6,*21*); vol. 15 of *Hegel's Werke* (→ 6,*21*), pp. 336, 339. An English translation of *De autonomia conscientiæ* can be found in C. L. Thompson and D. J. Kangas (trans. and ed.), *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard: Hans L. Martensen's Philosophy of Religion* (Atlanta, GA: Scholar's Press, 1997), pp. 73–147.

3 **the eternity of punishment in hell**] The notion that the ungodly will be subjected to eternal condemnation and punished by eternal torment in hell is expressed at various points in the NT, e.g., Mt 25:41, Mk 9:47–48, and 2 Thes 1:9–10. See also, e.g., *Hutterus redivius* (→ 7*m,13*) § 132, pp. 342ff. and K. G. Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelische-lutherische Kirche* [Handbook of the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], 4th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838 [1814]; ASKB 437-438; abbreviated hereafter as *Handbuch der Dogmatik*), § 174, vol. 2, pp. 456–472.

11 **we shall then become like angels (neither marrying nor being taken in marriage)**] Cf. Mt 22:30.

12 **the Ch. Fathers do indeed also teach . . . irreversible**] The idea of a fall of the angels draws on several biblical texts, including Gen 6:1–2, and the idea that their fall is irreversible draws on 2 Pet 2:4 and Jude 1:6. Cf. Mt 25:41. Regarding the views of the church fathers see *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 7*m,13*) § 76–77, pp. 181–186; and Bretschneider's *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 9,*3*) § 106, vol. 1, pp. 758ff. See also Anton Günther, *Vorschule zur speculativen Theologie des positiven Christenthums. In Briefen* [Preparatory Course for the Speculative Theology of Positive Christianity: In Letters], 2 vols. (Vienna, 1828–1829; ASKB 869–870), vol. 2, pp. 84ff., which discusses Augustine's view.

"true time"] No source has been identified for this apparent quote. 15

Acta] Kierkegaard uses the Latin form of reference to the book of Acts, rather than the standard Danish form. 20 9

it is good for you that I go away] See Jn 16:7. 24 9

the whole divine fullness . . . earthly form] An allusion to Col 2:9. 27

Phil 2:12] The text reads: "Therefore, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed me, not only in my presence, but much more now in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." 31 9

balance . . . ticking] Kierkegaard plays on the Danish word *Uro*, which means both the balance or pendulum in a clockwork mechanism and "restlessness." 33

orthodox Hegelians] Kierkegaard may be thinking of J. L. Heiberg, "Det logiske System" [The Logical System] in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus, Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg, 2 nos. (Copenhagen, 1837–1838; ASKB 569; abbreviated hereafter as *Perseus*), no. 2, pp. 1–45. 1 10

Paul] The Pauline authorship of the letters to Timothy is often contested today, but Kierkegaard would not have doubted their apostolic authorship. 4

1 Tim 1:4] Paul reminds Timothy that he should not teach "myths and endless genealogies that promote speculations rather than the divine training that is known by faith." 5

they wrote—from right to left] Hebrew is written from right to left. 9 10

Dr. Hartley] David Hartley (1705–1757) developed the theory of association, according to which even the highest functions of mental life are built up by the accumulated associations of simple sensations. 23 10

Daß wenn sich das Lachen . . . Gefühl des Schmerzens] Quoted from C. F. Flögel, *Geschichte der komischen Litteratur* [History of Comic Literature], 4 vols. (Liegnitz and Leipzig, 1784–1787; 30

ASKB 1396–1399), vol. 1, p. 50. The citation is correct, but with minor orthographic errors. This is not a direct quote from Hartley, but a reformulation of his view. See D. Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, vol. 1 (London, 1749), pp. 129, 252, and esp. 437.

35 **Flögel**] Carl Friedrich Flögel (1729–1788), German historian of culture and literature, and professor of philosophy.

11 1 **the teleological moment**] The aspect of any being or event that indicates purposiveness. F. D. E. Schleiermacher used the term "teleological" to describe the form of piety in which the consciousness of God is connected to practical action. See Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* [The Christian Faith according to the Principles of the Evangelical Church, Set Out in a Consistent Manner], 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1836 [1821–1822]; ASKB 258; abbreviated hereafter as *Der christliche Glaube*), vol. 1, § 9.1, pp. 58f. See also § 11, p. 67, where it is said that "Christianity is a monotheistic faith, belonging to the teleological type of religion" (English trans.: *The Christian Faith*, trans. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989], p. 52).

2 **the educated classes . . . without children as the highest**] e.g., the childless marriage of Johan Ludvig and Johanne Luise Heiberg, viewed by some in the educated classes as a model for modern marriage.

5 **the Jews**] Kierkegaard expresses a widely held view as to the importance of family life in Judaism.

11*m* 2 **eudaemonism**] The doctrine that the greatest good for human beings is the desire for pleasure and happiness, and that the desire for such happiness is the most important motivation for a person to do his duty.

16 **Augustine**] Aurelius Augustinus/Saint Augustine (354–430): rhetorician, philosopher, and theologian. Born in North Africa and, from 383 A.D., active in Italy; bishop of Hippo from 395 A.D.; one of the Four Fathers of the Church in the Roman Catholic tradition.

16 **p. 27**] A reference to Kierkegaard's own pagination of *Journal EE*. Refers to EE:105 and 105.a.

in comparison with that of Judaism] Variant: *added*. 10 11

whoever does not hate . . . is not worthy of me] A splicing of Mt 10:37: "Whoever loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me" and Lk 14:26: "Whoever comes to me and does not hate father and mother, wife and children . . . cannot be my disciple." 11

he shall leave his father and mother] See Gen 2:24 (the reference is to marriage). 14

p. 27] A reference to Kierkegaard's own pagination of *Journal EE*. Refers to EE:105 and 105.a. 17

to walk in the light of your countenance] See Israel's (Jacob's) blessing of his sons in Gen 48:15–16: "The God before whom [Danish OT 1740: before whose face] my ancestors . . . walked . . . bless the boys." The expression "to walk in the light of God's countenance" occurs at many points in the OT, and a similar idea is reflected in the "Aaronic blessing" of Num 6:24–26. 19 11

faces shone like that of Moses] See Ex 34:29–30. See also 2 Cor 3:12–15. 26

if like Moses . . . the radiance vanished] Because of the fear caused by the shining of his face, Moses veils himself when speaking to the people—see Ex 34:33–35. The suggestion that this could have been to conceal the fading of the radiance might be a Christian gloss derived from 2 Cor 3:7: "the people of Israel could not gaze at Moses' face because of the glory of his face, a glory now set aside" ["which must nevertheless vanish"— Danish NT 1819]. 27

far away . . . as the tax collector of old] This refers to Jesus' parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector, the latter of whom is blessed by God precisely because he stands at the back of the synagogue and dares not look up to heaven, conscious as he is of his sins. See Lk 18:9–14. 32

turn around . . . hand to the plow] See Lk 9:61–62. 34

the least . . . born of woman] Cf. Mt 11:11. 2 12

the highest in the O. T.] This probably refers to the Christian view that prophecy was the highest category in Old Testament literature, since the prophets pointed to the coming of Jesus as the Christ. In Jewish interpretation, however, it is the Torah, or Law, that has the principal place. 17 12

17 **εν γλωσση λαλειν**] On the relationship between prophecy and speaking in tongues, see 1 Cor 14:1–5, 13–14.

19 **not like that in the O. T.**] Possibly referring to the fact that some forms of prophecy in the OT (e.g., 1 Sam 10:5ff., and chaps. 18 and 19) are ecstatic, whereas Paul's idea of prophecy is that the speaker is required to be understandable, as opposed to speaking in tongues.

12 21 **the Rabbis called ... Αμεν οϱφανον יְתוֹמָה**] The Hebrew expression אָמֵן יְתוֹמָה (ʾāmen jᵉtômāh, "fatherless amen") appears in rabbinic literature, where it means an amen said in response to a blessing by one who does not know what sort of blessing it was (see the Jerusalem [Palestinian] Talmud, Sukka III 12 (p. 54a, 13–15). — **Αμεν οϱφανον**: For Αμην οϱφανον (amēn orphanón, "fatherless amen"). *Amen* is Hebrew (אָמֵן, ʾāmen) and means "stand firm," "sure and certain." In the OT it is used to confirm what has been said by another and, liturgically, becomes a congregational response. In the New Testament it also acquires the sense of "truly," as in many sayings of Jesus. — יְתוֹמָה: Hebrew (jᵉtômāh), "fatherless," "orphaned."

24 **Wasn't the congregation's ... Middle Ages**] Refers to the view that because the liturgical language of the Middle Ages was not vernacular, the congregation did not understand that to which they responded "Amen."

12 28 **the category of the bad infinity**] The "bad infinity" is a term from Hegelian philosophy. According to Hegelian dialectic, the finite is to be understood in the light of the infinite, that is, in the light of self-developing totality. This is speculative in the sense that it presupposes an ultimate unity between finite and infinite. But if consciousness merely moves from one finite thing to the next without seeing finitude contrasted with infinity, then it will never be able to go beyond the chain of finite things. This chain is endless or infinite, but in a sense that Hegel calls "bad" or "negative." As such, the "bad infinity" is the endless continuation of a finitude that is not defined by any opposing category and thus is incapable of entering into a dialectical process. See, e.g., vol. 1 of G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline], ed. L. v. Henning, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1845 [1817]; ASKB 561–563), vol. 6 of *Hegel's Werke* (→ 6,*21*), p. 184; and vol. 1 of *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 3 of *Hegel's Werke*, pp. 150–152. The term is also emphasized by J. L. Heiberg in his article "Et Par Ord om det Uendelige" [A Couple of Words Concerning the Infinite], in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post], no. 100, Dec. 15, 1828, p. 414; in his *Indledninger-Foredrag* (→ 6,*21*), pp. 6, 11; and in his review of W. H. Rothe, *Læren om Treenighed og Forsoning* [The Doctrine of the Trinity and Reconciliation] (Copenhagen, 1836), in *Perseus* (→ 10,*1*), no. 1 (1837), pp. 21–31. See also F. C. Sibbern's review of *Perseus*, no. 1, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (→ 6,*21*), vol. 20 (1838), pp. 109–119, 133–136.

Just as plants ... the mere joint] Plants such as flowers, conifers, and ferns are made up of shoots, that is, stems with leaves. The points at which the leaves are connected to the stems are called joints. The shoots can form branches by the formation of side shoots, by means of an axil, directly above a leaf or joint. In some species this process can continue for hundreds, and even thousands, of years. 32

a flower that constantly bifurcated ... bifurcate again] No such flower is known to exist. 2 14

hopsasa] An exclamation echoing a lively dance rhythm, a polka. 14 14

the accidental individual] It was widely held in Kierkegaard's time that modern poetry was characterized by an increasing individuality and originality. The view is developed in Romantic aesthetics, as in Fr. Schlegel, *Über das Studium der griechischen Poesie* [On the Study of Greek Poetry] (1797) in *Friedrich Schlegel's Sämmtliche Werke* [The Complete Works of Friedrich Schlegel], 10 vols. (Vienna, 1822–1825; ASKB 1816–1825), vol. 5 (1823), pp. 71f., or in J. L. Heiberg, "Om den romantiske Tragedie af Hertz: Svend Dyrings Huus. I Forbindelse med en æsthetisk Betragtning af de danske Kæmpeviser" [On Hertz's Romantic Tragedy "Svend Dyring's House." In Connection with an Aesthetic Observation Concerning the Danish Heroic Poems] in *Perseus* (→ 10,*1*), no. 1 (1837), pp. 175f. 17 14

21 **objectivity**] The opposition of objectivity to individuality in poetry is encountered in Romantic theory, as in Fr. Schlegel's *Über das Studium der griechischen Poesie* [On the Study of Greek Poetry] in his *Sämmt. Werke* (→ 14,*17*), vol. 5 (1823), pp. 186ff.

23 **Adam**] In its original Hebrew meaning, simply "man."

14*m* 4 **Tom Thumb**] For a Danish version of the Tom Thumb story, see, e.g., Adam Oehlenschläger, *Ludlams Hule* [Ludlam's Cave] (Copenhagen, 1814), pp. 45–47.

6 **stork's dinner . . . and vice versa**] See Aesop's fable of the fox and the stork, *Phædri Æsopiske Fabler* [The Fables of Phaedrus Aesop], trans. M. R. Thaarup (Copenhagen, 1826), book 1, no. 26, pp. 14f.: "It is said that it was the fox who invited the stork first and served him soup on a flat plate so that it was impossible for the hungry stork to get even the smallest taste. In return the stork invited the fox and placed the morsels in a narrow-necked bottle; the stork inserted its beak and was filled, while the guest's stomach rumbled with hunger. As it vainly licked the bottle-neck the story goes that the stranger said: 'What one has done to others, one must suffer oneself.' "

9 **I acquired a grief . . . one cannot obtain**] A note to *Pap*. II A 385 provided by the editors of *Pap*. suggests that this refers to the first two verses of song "no. 250," which "can be obtained from P. W. Tribler, Holmensgade 114" (see following notes). The verse can no longer be traced.

22 **from one of the plain booksellers**] In addition to P. W. Tribler (see following note) there were a number of minor book dealers and paper sellers who had a very profitable line in broadsheet verses and popular literature.

15*m* 1 **Tribler's Widow's publications**] Tribler's Widow's was a bookbinding business and a publishing bookseller managed by Elisabeth Margrethe Tribler, widow of the bookbinder J. F. Tribler, who published and sold broadsheets and other popular literature. The business was originally located in Ulkegade, which was renamed Holmensgade in 1823 (*see map 2, C2–3*).

3 **pasted in here**] See EE:37.b on p. 14 in this volume. See also illustration on p. 13.

4 **the previously noted objectivity**] → 14,*21*.

14 31 **"römische Elegien"**] Refers to "Elegien I. Römische," no. 20, in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–1842; ASKB 1641–1668, 55 vols., 1828–1833; abbreviated hereafter as *Goethe's Werke*), vol. 1, pp. 291f. The poem speaks of keeping, yet confidentially communicating, "A happy couple's beautiful secret."

when Xt had drunk the vinegar . . . accomplished] 18 15
See Jn 19:29–31. English translations generally use the weaker "It is finished" (King James version, NRSV, etc.).

he also prayed for his enemies] See Lk 23:26–38, 21
esp. 34.

registered to] Plays on an expression used of financial instruments, that they "are registered to" the name of the person who authorizes them or they are negotiable by the bearer, who may dispose of them. 25 15

the two disciples . . . he became invisible] Refers 31 15
to the story in Lk 24:13–32 of the two disciples who encountered the resurrected Christ on the road to Emmaus. The disciples first recognized him during the evening meal, when he broke bread with them and blessed it, but he disappeared the moment they recognized him.

God's Kingdom . . . depths of God's wisdom] See 1 17
Rom 11:33 (→ 17*m,2*).

God's decrees] See Rev 10:7; also Rom 11:25. 6

it is foolishness] See 1 Cor 1:23. See also 1 Cor 1:18, 9
20, 25, 27 and 2 Cor 11:1, 17, 21.

imagination] Kierkegaard here uses the term *Indbildningskraft* (cf. German *Einbildungskraft*) to indicate the productive power of imagination, posited by Kant, that became central to Romantic psychology. 13

all the world's wealth . . . I saw was mine] See Mt 16
4:1–11, esp. 5–6 and 8–9.

a love . . . understanding] See Eph 3:19. 30

not that with which you love . . . God loves you] 31
See 1 Jn 4:10.

And the depths of riches . . . apostle P.] See Rom 2 17*m*
11:33.

one of the deepest expositions] This refers to 4

Paul's discussion of the election, rejection, and restoration of Israel. See Rom 11:1–32.

14 **God's Spirit hovered over the abyss**] See Gen 1:2.

20 **And see it was so good**] See Gen 1:31: "God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good." The expression "so good" was not found in any of the authorized versions of Kierkegaard's time or earlier, although it is used in *Dr. M. Luthers liden Catechismus* [Dr. Martin Luther's Shorter Catechism] in editions from 1693 and later (cf. ASKB 189, an edition from 1849). This was adapted by, e.g., S. B. Hersleb, *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien. Udarbeidet især med Hensyn paa de høiere Religionsklasser i de lærde Skoler* [A Study Book for Biblical History: Written with Special Regard to the Upper Level Study of Religion in Grammar Schools], 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1826 [1812]; ASKB 186–187; abbreviated hereafter as *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien*), p. 2. It is also found in the Danish marriage service of Kierkegaard's time. See *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Authorized Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381; abbreviated hereafter as *Forordnet Alter-Bog*), p. 261.

23 **God's blessed rest from his labors**] See Gen 2:2.

25 **"A d. r." etc**.] "And the depths of riches, etc." (→ 17*m*,*2*).

38 **the heavenly vision that is face-to-face**] See 1 Cor 13:12.

18 1 **like the birds of the air . . . Father feeds them**] See Mt 6:26.

18 5 **he has nothing higher . . . himself**] See Heb 6:13.

18 9 **κριτικος διαλογισμων και εννοιων**] From Heb 4:12 in *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,*13*), which, however, has ἐνθυμήσεων instead of διαλογισμῶν; in addition, Kierkegaard has omitted the Greek accents.

18 13 **αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον**] From Rom 1:1 in *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,*13*), but without the accents.

18 16 **εμαθεν αφ' ων επαθε**] From Heb 5:8 in *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,*13*), which, however, has ἔπαθεν instead of Kierkegaard's επαθε. The accents are missing from Kierkegaard's text.

shewbread . . . priests] See Mt 12:3–4. See also 1 Sam 21:6. 18 18

Montanists] A Christian sect established in the 2nd century in Asia Minor by the charismatic Montanus, who prophesied the imminent end of the world and called for the church to be led by the Spirit. He also demanded strict asceticism and the exclusion of sinners from the fellowship of the church since, as backsliders, they no longer had the possibility of conversion. Kierkegaard would know of them from, for example, K. Hase, *Kirkehistorie. Lærebog nærmest for akademiske Forelæsninger* [Church History: A Textbook Ancillary to Academic Lectures], trans. C. Winther and T. Schorn (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 160–166; abbreviated hereafter as *Kirkehistorie*), p. 74; and H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of Church History], 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159), vol. 1, pp. 165–169. 20 18

fear and trembling] → 9,*31*. 17 19

mutters-alene] An idiomatic Danish expression which means utterly alone and abandoned. It is related to the German expressions *mutterallein* and *mutterseelenallein*. 2 19*m*

God will even so still hear us . . . thoughtless son] In the continuation of the story of Jacob and Esau, the latter, having been tricked out of the paternal blessing due the firstborn, nevertheless receives a more limited blessing. See Gen 27:39–40. 30 19

Esau received a lesser blessing] → 19,*30*. 4 19*m*

there is more joy in heaven . . . do not need repentance] This alludes to a saying of Jesus recorded in Lk 15:7. There, however, it is one sinner and ninety-nine righteous men! 13

the Norsemen . . . Ymer's brain] In Norse mythology the gods made the earth out of the dead body of the giant Ymer, the heavens from his head, and the clouds from his brain. See J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte intil Frode 7 Tider* [Nordic People's Superstitions, Gods, Fables, and Heroes until the Times of Frode the 7th] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1974; hereafter abbreviated *Nordiske Folks Overtroe*), pp. 479–480. 5 20

sur-tout] Overgarment. 8

Traüme ich . . . Nacht vom mir] From J. v. Eichendorff, *Dichter und ihre Gesellen. Novelle* [Poets and 1 20*m*

Their Companions: Novellas] (Berlin, 1834; ASKB 1633), p. 359. Kierkegaard has misplaced the umlaut on *Träume* and *träumt* and has written *vom* instead of *von*.

4 **v. Eichendorf**] Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788–1857), German Romantic poet.

7 **vocalization . . . in pausa**] Latin, "in pause," i.e., while waiting. The expression is used in Hebrew grammar, where it describes a word in which the accent is a major stop. In reading aloud, the vowel in the stressed syllable is often lengthened in words in pause. See J. C. Lindberg, *Hebraisk Grammatik* [Hebrew Grammar], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1828 [1822]), p. 13; and J. C. Lindberg, *Hovedreglerne af Den Hebraiske Grammatik Tilligemed Conjugations-og Declinations-Tabeller* [Chief Rules of Hebrew Grammar together with Tables of Conjugations and Declensions], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1835 [1831]; ASKB 989; abbreviated hereafter as *Hovedreglerne af Den Hebraiske Grammatik*), p. 12. See also J. Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), p. 21.

9 **quiescent letter**] In Hebrew there were originally no vowel signs. The first vowel signs to be introduced were only three in number, and when a complete system was later developed, these became redundant but were preserved in the written language. These are said to "be quiescent" in the vowel sign, in that their articulation is determined by the vowel sign and is not independent. See J. C. Lindberg, *Hebraisk Grammatik* (→ 20*m,7*), pp. 6f., 24–26, and *Hovedreglerne af Den Hebraiske Grammatik* (→ 20*m,7*), p. 9. Also, Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar* (→ 20*m,7*), pp. 18–19.

20 20 **In this very hour**] No clear source can be traced for this; see, e.g., Lk 12:20, as well as the marginal reference to Lk 19:41 (→ 20*m,16*).

21 **printed in the current year**] This expression is sometimes found in place of the year on title pages of books, especially of a more popular nature.

20*m* 16 **Lk 19:41**] An error for Lk 19:42.

20 23 **Caligula's idea**] According to Suetonius, the Roman Emperor Caligula (12–41 A.D., emperor from 37) expressed the wish "If only the Roman people had but one neck," with the implication that, if it had, he could sever it at one blow. See Suetonius's "Cajus Cæsar Caligula," chap. 30, in *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* [Caius Suetonius the Tranquil's Account of the Lives of the First Twelve Roman Caesars], trans. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1802–1803; ASKB 1281), vol. 1, p. 312.

suicide] Cf. Poul Martin Møller's treatise "Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed, med Hensyn til den nyeste derhen hørende Literatur" [Thoughts on the Possibility of Proofs for Human Immortality, with Reference to the Most Recent Literature on the Subject] in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 17 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 1–72, 422–453. Relevant here is the following: "Suicides are actually the most consistent pupils of such a school [that denies immortality]; every thoughtful devotee thereof seems to want to be like Caligula in wishing that humanity only had one head, so that he could free it from its implausible dream of life with a single cut" (pp. 51f.). 24

stopped Paul . . . persecuting me] A reference to the conversion of Paul, as narrated in Acts 9:1–19. 2 21

I have loved you . . . world were laid] See Eph 1:4. 6

Like a father . . . goes his own way] This possibly refers to the parable of the prodigal son (Lk 15:11–32), though it may reflect other literary archetypes as well as Kierkegaard's own life experience. 8

how often have I not . . . under her wings] See Mt 23:37. 11

Rom XV:4] Rom 15:4. 17 21

plain paper] Paper without a watermark. 2 21*m*

Cornelius Nepos . . . get them moving] Cornelius Nepos was a Roman historian whose biographies of Greek generals are collected in his *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* [On the Excellent Leaders of Foreign Nations]. The present story is told of one Eumenes, a general under Alexander the Great. This entry is reworked by Kierkegaard for the "Diapsalmata" of *Either/Or*; see *EO* 1, 21. 31 21

"flies"] Idiomatic expression for fantastic ideas; "to see flies" can also be used to indicate a sickly condition. 10 22

the outlook and air in a Greenlander's cave] Kierkegaard is referring to Greenlanders' huts, built of stone and peat and without any windows. 14

Rather than a door, the entrance is through a kind of tunnel, to conserve heat. For the same reason, the rooms were not aired throughout the winter, and the air became heavy and fetid.

16 **only missionaries . . . into such a cave**] Beginning in the early 19th century the Moravian Congregation of Brothers, of which Kierkegaard's father was an important supporter, sent missionaries to Greenland. In 1823 one of these missionaries, J. C. Kleinschmidt, visited the Congregation of Brothers in Copenhagen and gave an account of his activities.

22 31 **God is lovely**] See 1 Jn 4:16. According to Schleiermacher, "God is love" is the only statement concerning God that is fully in accordance with his Being. See § 167, "God is Love/1 John 4:16," in *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 11,*1*), vol. 2, pp. 516–519; *The Christian Faith* (→ 11,*1*), pp. 730–732.

23 21 **abominable desolation**] Cf. Jesus' prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem in Mt 24:15: "So when you see the desolating sacrilege [King James version: abomination of desolation] standing in the holy place, as was spoken of by the prophet Daniel." The expression "abomination of desolation" possibly refers to a heathen idol erected within the temple, thereby profaning it. See also Dan 9:27 and 11:31.

26 **these days have no pleasure for me**] Cf. Eccl 12:1. Kierkegaard also used this text in one of his *Upbuilding Discourses*; see *EUD*, 233–251.

23 29 **my grief is my castle**] A reference to the saying "My house is my castle," found in Sir Edward Coke, *Third Institute of the Laws of England*, 4 vols. (London, 1628–1644). Kierkegaard misspells "my" as "mey." This entry is reworked by Kierkegaard for the "Diapsalmata" of *Either/Or*; see *EO* 1, 21.

31 **black crepe on their hats**] Wearing black crepe bands on hats was a conventional sign of mourning in Kierkegaard's time.

24 2 **my exams**] The theological examination was a qualification for serving as a pastor; Kierkegaard completed it on July 3, 1840.

5 **obedience is dearer to him than the fat of rams**] See 1 Sam 15:22.

24 15 **the letter kills**] See 2 Cor 3:6.

the Sadducees . . . denied the immortality of the soul] See Mk 12:18–27, where Jesus is challenged by the Sadducees about the resurrection. The Sadducees were an important religious and social group within Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman period. They opposed the Pharisees (→ 33,*1*), rejecting oral tradition in favor of a strict interpretation of the written word, and also rejecting the immortality of the soul. 15

Repent Ye] See the preaching of John the Baptist (Mt 3:2). 1 25

calling Yid after a Jew] Kierkegaard's Danish term *Hep* was a commonplace term of mockery against Jews, especially after the anti-Jewish riots in Denmark of 1819. It is uncertain whether it is an abbreviation of "Hebrew" or derived from *Hierosolyma est perdita* (Latin, "Jerusalem is lost"), or even from a Jewish street-trader's cry. 1

a body of sin] Despite Kierkegaard's reference to Rom 7, the expression seems to be more directly related to Rom 6:6. 12 25

Rom 7] See esp. Rom 7:14–25. 13

a Kingdom of God . . . taken by force] See Mt 11:12. 22

the knight's right . . . requested it] See J. G. G. Büsching, *Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen* [The Age and Institution of Knighthood], 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1823; ASKB 1408), vol. 2, p. 286: "Generally, knights were buried in full armor, the more noble with sword and spurs and heraldic tunic, unless they themselves wished to be buried in a less worldly and more spiritual manner, i.e., in the garb of a cleric, by which they believed they might do penance for many earthly sins." 16 25*m*

Busching] Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching (1783–1829), German writer, jurist, archivist and professor of antiquities at the University of Breslau. 20

an Indian work] Unidentified reference. 25 25

a Horatian sussuratio] See Horace's *Odes*, book 1 (*Carminum liber I*), no. 9.19: "*Lenesque sub noctem susurri* [and a soft whispering in the dusk]" (*Q. Horatii Flacci opera* [The Works of Horace] [Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 1248], p. 11). 2 26

the Lord strolled in the cool of the evening] Gen 3:8. 5

26 12 **they appealed to God's omnipotence . . . resurrection of the body**] See Kierkegaard's notes on H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics, where the resurrection of the body is dealt with in § 30, and the church fathers are said to have argued for this on the basis of God's omnipotence (Not1:6 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 29).—**nothing was impossible for God**: See Lk 1:37.

15 **in more recent times . . . to prove the immortality of the soul**] See Poul Martin Møller's treatise "Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed, med Hensyn til den nyeste derhen hørende Literatur" in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 17 (→ 20,24); also section 9 of the doctrine of immortality in I. H. Fichte, *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer* [The Idea of Personality and of Individual Survival] (Elberfeld, 1834; ASKB 505; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit*), pp. 431–439; and section 10 of C. F. Göschel, *Von den Beweisen für die Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele im Lichte der speculativen Philosophie* [On the Proofs for the Immortality of the Human Soul in the Light of Speculative Philosophy] (Berlin, 1835), pp. 440–551.

21 **fuss . . . mediated**] The word here translated as "fuss" is *Ophævelser*, which can be used in the sense of "making a fuss," as well as in the sense of "annulment," "suspension." It can also be used to express the Hegelian notion of *Aufhebung* or "sublation"; hence, the reference to mediation.

26 24 **various dogmatists**] See, e.g., Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 9,3), § 8, vol. 1, pp. 44ff.; and K. A. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 7m,13), § 50–51, pp. 114–119. See also Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 11,1), § 25, vol. 1, pp. 138–142 (*The Christian Faith* (→ 11,1), pp. 108–111).

24 **the Augsburg Confession**] Lutheran confession of faith (Latin, *Confessio Augustana*) of 1530, drawn up by P. Melanchthon.

25 **formula concordiæ**] Formula of Concord (1577), the last of the classical Lutheran formulae of faith, to which a large number of Lutheran princes, cities, and theologians subscribed (although never adopted by the Lutheran Church in Denmark). Written in German, it was published in Latin translation in 1598.

27 1 **The Ch Fathers' . . . demons**] See Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 9,3), § 107, vol. 1, p. 764, esp. the note, which cites Origen, *Exhortatio ad martyrium* [Exhortation to Martyrdom] (ca. 235 A.D.), § 45: "In order to survive in the dense atmosphere in the air near earth, [where they must be] because they need nourishment from the smoke of sacrifices, the demons look out for the smoke of sacrifices and incense. Demons cannot live without the smoke of sacrifices, which seems to be the food best suited to their bodies." The note also refers to Arnobius, Augustine, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Gregory of Nazianzus, Cyprian, and Eusebius.

incense . . . whole world] Variant: *changed from* "incense." 4

Xt came in the fullness of time] See Gal 4:4. 8 27

Hamann 6th Vol. p. 144] Refers to a letter of June 26, 1780, from Hamann to J. G. Herder. In *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth and G. A. Wiener, 7 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–1825), and vol. 8, 1–2 (index vol.) (Berlin, 1842–1843; ASKB 536–544), vol. 6, pp. 143f., Hamann gives his views on natural religion and expresses his abiding interest in the four-way debate between Judaism, Christianity, Papism, and Lutheranism. — **Hamann**: Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788), German scholar and philosophical writer, born and brought up in Königsberg, where Kant was the most renowned of his many friends in the contemporary literary and philosophical world. His work, rich in allusions and highly complex, became an important source for nineteenth-century critics of rationalism. 1 27m

every dogma . . . hum. consciousness] See Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 11,1), § 15, vol. 1, pp. 99–101 (*The Christian Faith* [→ 11,1], p. 76: "Christian doctrines are accounts of the Christian religious affections set forth in speech"). 15 27

just as hunting] In accordance with a law of August 9, 1836, the hunting of deer was strictly controlled in Denmark. 23 27

Hamann] → 27m,1. 26 27

Kold's in Fredensborg] Tailor and innkeeper Ole Johansen Cold (1781–1859), who, from 1811, made his inn a popular destination for well-to-do visitors from Copenhagen. Kierkegaard spells his name in- 27

correctly with a "K." — **Fredensborg**: A small town in northeast Sjælland on the southeast shore of Lake Esrom (*see map 3, E3*).

28 2 **a Flood . . . what existed previously**] See the narrative of Noah's flood in Gen 6–9.

3 **philosophy believes . . . takes place here**] i.e., in human consciousness. See, e.g., Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 6,*21*), vol. 2.

28 13 **what the doctor reports**] Unidentified reference.

28 17 **The whole doctrine of original sin**] Following Augustine (→ 11*m,15*) the idea of original sin became a part of Catholic teaching, affirmed at the Council of Orange (529) and confirmed by Pope Boniface II (531). The Augustinian doctrine of original sin maintains that sin is active in the sex act itself and thus in the genesis of every human being; and because each individual human being is born with sin, he or she has lost the ability to do the good. Since human beings are imprisoned as slaves in a state of powerlessness, they cannot themselves contribute to their own salvation and are entirely dependent upon the redeeming and undeserved grace of God. Augustine understood this grace as an infusion of divine love, which on the one hand transfigures a human being's temporal desires (concupiscence) into a love of God and, on the other hand, recreates the human will in conformity with God's will. See, e.g., *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 7*m,13*), § 84–85, pp. 197–204.

20 **justitia originalis**] Latin, the original righteousness or perfection ascribed to Adam prior to the fall. See Kierkegaard's notes on H. N. Clausen's 1833–1834 lectures on dogmatics, referring to the *Catechismus Romanus* (1566): "God made the soul in His image: *tum originalis justitiæ admirabile donum addidit* [then he added to it the admirable gift of original righteousness]." See Not1:9 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 81; also *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 7*m,13*), § 80, p. 189, which also refers to the *Catechismus Romanus*.

28 24 **the kind of emphasis . . . the Reformers**] See *Confessio Augustana* (→ 26,*24*), art. 4: "Likewise, they [the Reformers] taught that human beings could not be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are justified without having deserved it by Christ through faith, when they believe that they are elected to grace and have their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by his death, made satisfaction for our sin. God counts such faith as righteousness before Himself. Rom chs. 3 and 4" (*Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse med sammes, af Ph. Melanchton forfattede, Apologie* [The True and Unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith with an Apology for the Same, by Ph. Melanchthon], trans. A. G. Rudelbach [Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386; abbreviated hereafter as *Den Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse*)], p. 48).

good works] The rejection of good works as a basis 25
for justification was a leading feature of Reformation thought. "Also they [the reformers] teach that this faith is bound to bring forth good fruits, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but that we should not rely on those works to merit justification before God. For only through faith in Christ do we obtain remission of sins and justification, as also he himself attests: 'When ye shall have done these things, say: We are unprofitable servants.' The same is also taught by ancient authors of the church. For *Ambrose* says: 'It is so ordained of God that he who believes in Christ is saved, freely receiving the remission of sins, without works, by faith alone'"; see *Confessio Augustana* (→ 26,*24*), art. 6, *Den Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse*, pp. 49f.

the right hand . . . is doing] See Mt 6:3. 26

the Alexandrians . . . evil] "The Alexandrians" 32 28
refers to the Alexandrian school of theology, which flourished from the 2nd century A.D., strongly influenced by Platonic and Gnostic philosophy. Origen (185–254) was among its best-known representatives. On their teaching concerning the pre-existence of the logos, matter, the soul, and evil, see Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 18,*21*), vol. 1, pp. 186–199, and K. Hase, *Kirkehistorie* (→ 18,*20*), pp. 94–99. — **λογος**: Greek (logos), "word"; see Jn 1:1–2 and 1:14.

the shirt . . . undurchdringlich] From the folktale 5 29
"Erzsi, die Spinnerin" [Erzsi the Spinner] in *Magyarische Sagen und Mæhrchen* [Hungarian Folk- and Fairytales] by Johann Graf Mailáth (Brünn, 1825; ASKB 1411), pp. 133–156. A young girl is carried away by a crusader and imprisoned, forced to

weave him a shirt of flax which is intended to make him invulnerable, a property to which her tears were essential; see pp. 152f.

7 **but this life-view . . . for all.—**] Variant: *added*.

10 **Graf Mailath**] Johann Graf Mailáth von Székhely (1786–1855), Hungarian man of letters.

29 13 **the Church to the State . . . interfere with it**] This understanding of the relationship between church and state is found in the early apologists and was taken up in the Lutheran Reformation. See, e.g., *Confessio Augustana* (→ 26,*24*), art. 16, which cites Acts 5:29. See also Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 9,*3*), § 208, "Vom Verhältniß der Kirche zum Staate" [On the Relation of the Church to the State], vol. 2, pp. 784–789.

29 16 **Aladdin**] Popularized in Denmark through Adam Oehlenschläger's comic play "Aladdin, eller Den forunderlige Lampe" [Aladdin or the Wonderful Lamp] in Oehlenschläger, *Poetiske Skrifter* [Poetic writings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1597–1598), vol. 2, pp. 75–436. *Aladdin* was first performed at the Royal Theater on April 17, 1839.

21 **the idea . . . in our time . . . representative**] It has not been possible to identify the source.— **hum. being . . . God's image**: See Gen 1:27.

25 **Noureddin**] The magician Noureddin, Aladdin's wicked counterpart in Oehlenschläger's play.

29 32 **a pen firmly guided**] This refers to a legal practice that permits a signatory to a contract to sign with his or her pen guided by the hand of a public notary.

34 **The deep meaning . . . in Xnty**] "Witness" appears in both substantive and verbal senses in the NT, especially in John and in Acts. The word "martyr" is itself derived from the Greek for "witness." See, e.g., K. Hase, *Kirkehistorie* (→ 18,*20*), p. 57. In Eusebius's *Church History*, James, the brother of Jesus, is called a witness to the truth on behalf of Jesus, because of his martyr's death. Cf. *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første aarhundreder af Eusebius* [Eusebius's History of the Church in the First Three Centuries], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 37), e.g., pp. 100, 165, 171.

29*m* 4 **fig leaf**] See Gen 3:7.

30 7 **that relative contradictions . . . absolute contradictions . . . mediation**] A distinction between relative and absolute contradictions is not actually found in Hegel, and Kierkegaard seems to be referring to Hegel's distinction between *der absolute Unterschied* ("the absolute difference") and *Gegensatz* ("opposition"). See *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 12,*29*) in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 6,*21*), vol. 4, pp. 37–73; and vol. 1 of *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (→ 12,*28*), "Die Logik" [Logic], in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 6,*21*), vol. 6, § 116–120, pp. 232–243. *Der absolute Unterschied* corresponds to contradiction in the Aristotelian sense, i.e., A and not-A, while *Gegensatz* is the determinate negation of a concept by its opposite. According to Aristotle's principle of the excluded middle, there can be no mediating term or third term in addition to A and not-A. *Gegensatz*, however, involves the negation both of A and of its contrary, e.g., north and south, and this can, according to Hegel, be mediated, since a given object can be both "north" and "south." Kierkegaard does not seem to find this particularly significant, nor does he see it as abolishing the principle of the excluded middle. The issue was the subject of considerable debate in Denmark in the late 1830s. See, e.g., F. C. Sibbern, "Om den Maade, hvorpaa Contradictionsprincipet behandles i den Hegelske Skole, med Mere, som henhører til de logiske Grundbetragtninger" [On the Manner in which the Principle of Contradiction Is Treated in the Hegelian School, with Additional Comments concerning the Bases of Logic], included in his review of Heiberg's *Perseus* (→ 10,*1*) in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (→ 6,*21*), vol. 19 (1838), pp. 424–437, reprinted in his *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser* (→ 47*m*,*17*), pp. 79–92. See also J. P. Mynster, "Rationalisme. Supranaturalisme" [Rationalism. Supernaturalism] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik*, vol. 1 (→ 9,*1*), pp. 249–268, esp. pp. 266–268; J. L. Heiberg, "En logisk Bemærkning i Anledning af H. H. Hr. Biskop Dr. Mynsters Afhandling om Rationalisme og Supranaturalisme" [A Logical Remark Occasioned by the Rt. Revd. Bishop Mynster's Treatise on Rationalism and Supernaturalism] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik*, vol. 1, pp. 441–456; and H. L. Martensen, "Rationalisme, Supranaturalisme og principium exclusi medii (I Anledning af H. H. Biskop Mynsters Afhandling herom)" [Rationalism, Supernaturalism and the Principle of the Excluded Middle (Occasioned by the Rt. Revd. Bishop

Mynster's Treatise Thereon)] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik*, vol. 1, pp. 456–473. For a summary of the debate, see J. Stewart, *Kierkegaard's Relations to Hegel Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 195–209.

12 **what mediation asserts**] *Mediation* is not a term used by Hegel himself, but was used by Hegelians for the Hegelian term *Vermittlung*. See, e.g., J. L. Heiberg, "Det logiske System" [The Logical System] in *Perseus* (→ 10,*1*), no. 2 (1838), pp. 18, 21, and esp. 30.

14 **to be or not to be . . . (Hamlet.)**] See *William Shakspeare's Tragiske Værker* [William Shakespeare's Tragic Works], trans. P. Foersom and P. F. Wulff, 9 vols. (vols. 8–9 have the title *Dramatiske Værker* [Dramatic Works]) (Copenhagen, 1807–1825; ASKB 1889–1896), vol. 1, p. 97.

30 22 **like those of the Pharisees**] See Mt 23:14. On the Pharisees, (→ 33,*1*).

29 **the May-time chorus**] Refers to a traditional song sung by peasants at the start of summer. See Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* [Danish Folk Legends] 1st–4th collections, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1818–1823; ASKB 1591–1592), vol. 1, pp. 145–154.

30*m* 1 **as long as the earth endures . . . shall not cease**] This refers to God's promise to Noah after the flood (see Gen 8:22).

31 3 **a law of sin**] See Rom 7:23. See also Rom 7:25 and 8:2.

13 **ταλαιπωρος εγω ανθρωπος . . . του θανατου τουτου**] Rom 7:24 in *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,*13*), but without the Greek accents.

26 **the beautiful Melusina . . . husband's prying**] In the German tale *Die schöne Melusina* [The Beautiful Melusina], the knight Raimund is married to the beautiful mermaid Melusina. At their marriage, Raimund promised never to see his wife on a Saturday, when she returned to her mermaid form. Overcome by curiosity, he broke his vow, whereupon she vanished. See G. Schwab, *Buch der schönsten Geschichten und Sagen für Alt und Jung wieder erzählt* [A Book of the Most Beautiful Tales and Sagas Retold for Young and Old], 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1836–1837; ASKB 1429–1430), vol. 2, pp. 287–414. (According to the account books of the university bookseller, Kierkegaard bought these two volumes on January 10 and September 17, 1836, respectively.) See also *Ludwig Tieck's sämmtliche Werke* [Complete Works of Ludwig Tieck], 2 vols. (Paris, 1837; ASKB 1848–1849), vol. 2, pp. 417–442.

J. Paul] Jean Paul, pseudonym for Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825), German writer, author of many novels and novellas, written in a chatty, humoristic style. Like Goethe, he was neither strictly a Romantic nor a Classicist, but rather a last representative of the sentimental manner of the 18th century. His pseudonym was taken from his spiritual hero, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Jean Paul was one of the most widely read and quoted authors in Kierkegaard's time. As an aesthetic theorist he was known for his *Vorschule der Aesthetik* [Elementary Course in Aesthetics] of 1804, 2nd enl. ed., 3 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813; ASKB 1381–1383). Kierkegaard owned *Jean Paul's sämmtliche Werke* [Jean Paul's Complete Works], 60 vols. (Berlin, 1826–1828; ASKB 1777–1799). 4 31*m*

always ready . . . (Simon of Cyrene.)] This probably refers to "Saustein" in the fourth part of *Flegeljahren. Eine Biographie* [An Awkward Age: A Biography] (1804–1805): " 'Poverty,' answered Power, 'is the Mother of Hope; go with your beautiful daughter, and then you will not see the hateful mother. Yet I will gladly be your Simon of Cyrene, to help you with your cross.' 'Even to the mountain,' replied the other, 'where they will nail me to it' " (*Jean Paul's sämmtliche Werke* [see previous note], vol. 29 [1827], p. 170). — **Simon of Cyrene**: See Mt 27:32. 5

The last attempt . . . systeme de la nature] A possible allusion to P. H. T. Holbach's *Système de la nature ou des lois du monde physique et du monde morale* [System of Nature or the Laws of the Physical and Moral Worlds], (London, 1770). 36 31

auxiliary corps] Troops provided by a neutral state for the service of a warring power. 6 32

The Book of Life] In the OT, the phrase refers to a book in which God has written the names of all those who are living, whose names are then erased when it is time for them to die. It can also mean the book containing the names of those destined for eternal life, as in Dan 12:1 and many times in the NT. See Phil 4:3 and Rev 3:5, 13:8, 17:8, 20:12, 20:15, 21:27. 19

the liberals] From about 1835 this term was widely used to describe those opposing autocracy in Denmark. 2 32*m*

3 **the tale: the Tailor in Heaven**] Refers to "Der Schneider im Himmel" [The Tailor in Heaven] in *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* [Fairytales for Children and the Home], ed. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Berlin, 1819–1822 [1812]; ASKB 1425–1427), vol. 1, pp. 177–179. A tailor improperly seats himself on God's throne and throws a heavenly stool at a woman who is thieving.

32 30 **love of the neighbor . . . toward ourselves**] See Mt 22:37–40. See also, e.g., Mt 19:19.

33 1 **Pharisee**] The Pharisees were an important religious and political movement in Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; their emphasis on tradition and belief in the resurrection of the dead was opposed to the views of the Sadducees. (→ 24,*15*).

1 **I thank you . . . as other people**] A reference to Jesus' parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector. See esp. Lk 18:11.

33 17 **de Wette's terminology**] Refers to W. M. L. de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære og sammes Historie* [Textbook of Christian Ethics and Its History], trans. C. E. Scharling (Copenhagen, 1835 [Ger. 1833]; ASKB 871; abbreviated hereafter as *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære*), § 72, on the Christian's duties, esp. point. 2: "To the conceptual basic principle of human worth . . . there correspond the two duties of *righteousness* and *honor* or respect for human worth in others as in ourselves. . . [I]n both duties moral duty may be distinguished from legal duty: the former respects human worth in and for itself, the latter according to legal relations, though not merely according to the letter (legality), but according to the nature of the matter (its reasonableness)" pp. 43f. — **de Wette**: Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849), German Protestant theologian; professor at Heidelberg from 1807 and at Berlin from 1810; dismissed in 1819 due to his theological and political liberalism, but from 1822 professor at Basel.

21 **moral duty . . . is realized**] See de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære*, chap. 4, 2, on the duties of righteousness, esp. § 226: "Yet these legal duties are not unconditional, but are duties dependent on legal relations, and in cases where these [legal relations] are imperfect or disturbed, they are inoperative. Truthfulness, for example, cannot be exercised in relation to the enemy in time of war. The moral duties based on the righteousness from which these [legal duties] derive are unconditional. *The will to live peaceably*, for example, asserts itself in seeking to reinstate the legal rule of law or to make it more perfect . . . [I]n a broader sense, it also requires one so to improve on the existing legal relations that the elements of crudity and barbarity that still adhere to them and that lead to the oppression of individuals or communities be rooted out" (p. 214).

Uvette] A pun on the name de Wette: *Uvette* means a bad person or a damaging mental tendency—de Wette was a controversial figure, whose apparent defense of the assassin of the playwright Kotzebue became the immediate occasion for his dismissal (→ 33,*17*). 1 33*m*

as secret . . . Ark of the Covenant] A reference to the ceremonies in which only the High Priest was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies where the Ark of the Covenant was kept. See Lev 16 and Heb 9:1–7. 29 33

commanded us to proclaim him to the world] See Mk 16:15. See also Mt 28:18–20, Jn 17:18. 33

the hosts of heaven proclaim his power] See Ps 19:1. The expression "the hosts of heaven" occurs a number of times in the OT, e.g., Gen 2:1. 35

he did not think it robbery] See Phil 2:5–11, esp. 6. 1 34

him who searches all hearts] See Rom 8:27. 32

Peter: Lord, you know that I love you] See Jn 21:15–17. 33

won that . . . pay you] See Mt 16:26. 36

the heavenly certificate of citizenship] This probably refers to Phil 3:20, where Paul speaks of the Christians' "citizenship" being "in heaven." 38

the penetrating double-edged sword . . . marrow] See Heb 4:12. 42

Abraham . . . his sister—not his wife] In Gen 12:10–20 Abraham asks Sarah to pretend she is his sister, not his wife, when they go to Egypt. At the time of their sojourn in Egypt, their names had the forms Abram and Sarai, according to the Bible, and were only subsequently changed to Abraham and Sarah as a sign of their being called by God. 3 34*m*

Tertullian] Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian(us) (ca. 155–ca. 240 A.D.), born in Carthage in North Africa and one of the Latin church fathers. 12 35

12 **credo quia absurdum**] Tertullian often expressed himself in similar paradoxes, e.g., in chap. 5.4 of his *De carne Christi* [On the Flesh of Christ]: "*certum est, quia impossibile est* [it is certain, because it is impossible]."

14 **a denunciation . . . Cf. de Wette p. 215**] This opinion is not in fact Tertullian's but is that of the Latin rhetorician and writer L. C. Lactantius Firmianus in his *Institutiones divinae* [On the Divine Institutions], Book 6, 20.10, which immediately follows a reference by de Wette to Tertullian's *De spectaculis* [On the Theater], chap. 21. See de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,17), p. 215, note a.

35 18 **The split in the Middle Ages**] See BB:14 in *KJN* 1, 96-99, also DD:103 in *KJN* 1, 244, and a number of loose pages and papers from 1836 (see *Pap.* I A 122, 145, 213, 226, 284), where Kierkegaard emphasizes the attention paid by the Middle Ages to the separation of opposed things.

21 **eucharistic elements . . . sub una specie**] Refers to the medieval (and later Roman Catholic) restricting of communion in both kinds (bread and wine) to the clergy, the laity receiving only the bread. The practice was affirmed by the Council of Constance (1415) and restated by the Council of Trent (1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1562–1563). See Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (→ 18,20), vol. 1, pp. 545f. The practice was partially reversed after the Second Vatican Council. — **rationing**: Kierkegaard's wordplay on *Afspiisning*, which has the connotation of "feeding" as well as "fobbing someone off" (with something of lesser value).

35 30 **unity in Spirit and in Truth**] A play on Jn 4:23–24.

31 **That they should be one flesh**]

36 **and precisely . . . 7 July 39**.] Variant: *added*.

36 2 **Athenagoras**] Christian apologist of the 2nd century A.D., probably of Greek background. He wrote an *Apology* (ca. 177 A.D.) on behalf of the Christians to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and a treatise on the resurrection.

2 **ὁ δευτερος γαμος ευπρεπες εστι μοιχεια**] A citation from Athenagoras found in de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,17), p. 236, note d.

5 **Judaism's teleology**] → 11,5.

7 **a relationship between brother and sister (in Xt that is)**] This is a view that seems to go against the teaching of, e.g., Paul (see 1 Cor 7).

that likeness . . . of which Xt speaks] See Lk 20:35–36. 18

Augustine] → 11*m*,15. 1 36*m*

multo citius civitas dei . . . terminus seculi] From Augustine's *De bono conjugali* [On the Good of Marriage], chap. 10, § 10, quoted in de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,17), p. 129, note d. Kierkegaard's version contains orthographic errors. 4

that great Sermon from Mount Sinai] The revelation of God to the people of Israel from the summit of Mount Sinai, described in Ex 19:1–17. 30 36

on Sinai Jehovah was not seen] Ex 19:17–22 says that the mountain was covered in smoke, because God had descended upon it in fire, and therefore the people were prohibited from approaching because they would die. — **Jehovah**: → 6,31. 32

Moses went up . . . to talk with him] See Ex 19:20. 33

Xt . . . sat at the foot of the mountain] But see Mt 5:1: "When Jesus saw the crowds, he went up the mountain; and after he sat down, his disciples came to him." — **in the likeness of God**: → 7,28 35

Xt was the fulfillment of the Law] See Rom 10:4. See also Rom 13:10. 37

full stop] Here in the sense of a grammatical period [.], ending a sentence. 4 37

":" is not a greater . . . but a lesser] This reflects a general view taught in schools in Kierkegaard's time. The expression *duo puncta* (Latin, "two points") can probably be traced to Erik Pontoppidan's *Grammatica Danica* from 1668. Kierkegaard's term, translated "dividing mark," is somewhat unusual, but is found in, e.g., Jacob Baden, *Forelæsninger over det danske Sprog* [Lectures on the Danish Language], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1792). 15

made the widow's mite . . . a great gift] Refers to the parable of the poor widow's gift that is worth much to God because it is all she has. See Mk 12:41–44. — **temple box**: Box for voluntary donations in the Jerusalem Temple. 3 38

Vadskiær's immortal wedding poem] This refers to a famously inept nuptial poem by Christian Frederik Wadskiær (1713–1779) on the occasion of the marriage of King Frederik V and Princess Louise in 1747. 19 38

21 **She'd be called Frederick, he'd be Louise**] Kierkegaard quotes from memory from v. 21 of Wadskiær's poem: the wording is not entirely accurate, but the sense is correct.

39 10 **the orthodox . . . the politicians**] This probably refers to the Grundtvigians and the political liberals, respectively (→ 65,*3* and → 65,*4*).

39*m* 1 **nymphæa alba**] White water lily.

6 **the beautiful idea . . . division of lands**] Probably refers to book 5 of Plato's *Laws*, where Plato asserts that in the ideal state land will be equally divided among families.

39 21 **a dissertation on suicide**] This note is possibly inspired by reading the discussion of the subject in chap. 7, § 263–265, in de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,*17*), pp. 244–247.

22 **the statistical information**] Cf. Poul Martin Møller's treatise, "Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed" (→ 20,*24*), p. 6, where he writes that "many European statisticians" have looked for the explanation of "the numerous suicides in modern times" in the modern denial of immortality. Møller adds in a note that "In Paris, in September 1836, there were 66 officially identified cases of suicide—*sixty-six*."

24 **acoustic figures**] → 7,*30*.

39 26 **a certain tendency**] e.g., George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), and the so-called Byronism he inspired. In Denmark both Poul Martin Møller and Frederik Paludan Müller were influenced by Byron, as, in Germany, was Heinrich Heine.

27 **spleen**] From the English, meaning melancholy or weariness of life, and a fashionable term in the 1830s and '40s.

27 **the mystics . . . moments of dullness**] The expression used by Kierkegaard cannot be traced, but see, e.g., J. Görres, *Die christliche Mystik* [Christian Mysticism], 4 vols. (Regensburg and Landshut, 1836–1842; ASKB 528–532), vol. 2 (1837), p. 286: "The state opposed to that of ecstasy is what, in this domain, is customarily called dryness, hardness, abandonment, and comfortlessness."

29 **Gregory**] Pope Gregory I (also known as the Great), ca. 540–604 A.D., pope from 590 until his death.

29 **moralia in Job**] Gregory's commentary on the Book of Job, called *Moralia in Job* or simply *Moralia* because of its use of the moral method of interpretation.

virum solitarium . . . laudatrix rerum secularium] 30
See de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,*17*), p. 139, where the note refers to book 13 of Gregory's *Moralia*.

is exposed to] Kierkegaard's entry lacks a verb 3 40
here; the proposed reading is taken from the editors of *Pap*.

the old moralists . . . septem vitia principalia] As, 13
e.g., Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Jonas of Orleans (d. 844), who held that *tristitia* ("melancholy") is one of the seven deadly sins. Bishop Jonas also regarded acedia in the same way, defining it as *otiositas* ("idleness"), *tristitia*, and *cenodoxia* ("vanity," "imagination"). See de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,*17*), p. 139, note q.

Isidorus Hisp.] Isidorus Hispanicus, the Spanish 15
Isidore, i.e., Isidore of Seville, one of the great theological compilers of the period (ca. 560–636 A.D., bishop from 600).

de Wette] → 33,*17*. 15

Maximus the Confessor] Maximus (580–662 A.D.), 17
Greek exegete, ascetic, and mystic; from 630 the abbot of Chrysopolis at Constantinople and one of the most significant theologians of the 7th century. See de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,*17*), p. 139, note q.

against which Kant warned] In the *Critik der reinen* 19 40
Vernunft [Critique of Pure Reason], 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), Kant argues that knowledge is only possible within the limits of experience. This excludes knowledge of such metaphysical (i.e., transcendent) postulates as God, freedom, and the immortality of the soul.

Isidorus Hisp.] → 40,*15* 19

isti . . . vivendo transcendunt] Quoted from Isi- 20
dore's *Sententiae* in de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære* (→ 33,*17*), p. 141, note i.

Kant . . . universally valid] Universal validity is 22
regarded by Kant as characteristic of all true knowledge. Only those concepts and principles which are universal are valid, and to be universally valid means "that no exception can be allowed to be possible" (*Critik der reinen Vernunft* [→ 40,*19*], p. 4).

Just as . . . 20 July 39.] Variant: *added*. 27 40

the bad infinity] → 12,*28*. 34

41 18 **as Sarah: νενεκρωμενος**] Refers to Heb 11:11–12, although this does not in fact deal with Sarah, but with Abraham.

19 **παρα καιρον ἡλικιας**] Quoted from 11:11 in *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,13).

41 21 **Don Giovanni**] W. A. Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (*Don Juan*) was first performed at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen on May 5, 1807; by 1837 it had been performed seventy times.

21 **Elvira . . . murderer of my happiness**] From act 1, scene 6, in *Don Juan. Opera i tvende Akter bearbeidet til Mozarts Musik* [Don Juan: An Opera in Two Acts, adapted to Mozart's Music], trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1807), p. 18.

25 **like Elvira, out of the quiet night of the cloister**] A reference to Elvira's reply to Don Giovanni in act 1, scene 6.

41 31 **Inquisitor**] Originally, the judge in a case of heresy. In Denmark in Kierkegaard's time, this was the title of the leader of a judicial investigation in the Commission for Inquisition, established in 1686, whose task was to investigate but not to judge certain criminal cases.

42 11 **like the Guadalquivir**] The Guadalquivir is one of Spain's largest rivers. It does not, however, run underground, and Kierkegaard has confused it with another river, the Guadiana, that does.

42 25 **concerning the rich man . . . good things**] Refers to Jesus' parable of Lazarus and the rich man. See, esp., Lk 16:25.

43 4 **love your enemies**] See Mt 5:43–44.

5 **God is all in all**] Cf. Col 3:11, where, however, it is Christ who is said to be "all in all."

6 **acc.**] Accusative.

43 17 **when the sluices . . . open**] In the Danish translations of Gen 7:11, God sets in motion the great flood by opening the sluices (King James version and NRSV: "windows") of heaven.

44 1 **Lazarus . . . wet our tongues**] → 42,25. See Lk 16:24.

44 4 **the last piece he wrote**] i.e., the novel *Stemninger og Tilstande. Scener og Skildringer af et Ophold i Kjøbenhavn* [Moods and Conditions: Scenes and Depictions from a Stay in Copenhagen] (Copenhagen, 1839).

H. Hertz] Henrik Hertz (1797 or 1798–1870), Danish author, poet, and dramatist. 5

left out the Translator's . . . the main content] The novel's narrator, Thomsen, having reported the words of one of the other main characters, the Translator (possibly based on Kierkegaard himself), adds: "It is a pity that I have not been able to reproduce the clarity and penetrating sharpness that so often marked the Translator's talk, but, to compensate, I have deleted a number of his satirical expressions that were dispensable with regard to the coherence of the whole" (*Stemninger og Tilstande*, p. 243). 7

Shewa] A Hebrew vowel sign consisting of two points (:), indicating that the letter is to be spoken without a vowel or with a soft "e." See Lindberg, *Hebraisk Grammatik* (→ 20m,7), pp. 8f; Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar* (→ 20m,7), p. 9. 29 44

from the eater came something to eat] A riddle set by Samson for the Philistines, referring to his having seen a dead lion in which there was a swarm of bees with honey (see Judg 14:14). Kierkegaard's form of words comes from Hersleb, *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien* (→ 17m,20), p. 69. 15 45

dura necessitas] Possibly a play on book 3 of Horace's *Odes*, (*Carminum liber III*), no. 24.6, which has *dira Necessitas* (Latin, "fearful [strict] necessity"). See *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* (→ 26,2), p. 94. 18 46

Fichte] Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879), German philosopher, son of J. G. Fichte, and therefore often referred to as "the younger Fichte." From 1836 he taught philosophy at the University of Bonn, and from 1842 to 1863 was professor at Tübingen. In his principal philosophical work *Grundzüge zum Systeme der Philosophie* [Essential Features of a System of Philosophy], 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1833, 1836, 1846; ASKB 502–503, 509), Fichte accuses the Hegelian philosophy of being radically pantheistic and diminishing the significance of the individual. Against this he asserts faith 22 46

in a personal God and the value of the individual human being qua personality.

25 **pray**] A pun: The Danish word *bede*, which can also mean to rest ("bide") during a journey.

35 **nor is Xnty only a moment within the world**] Cf., e.g., Fichte, *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit* (→ 26,15), pp. 120f.: "In a word, the personal God becomes a historical power of special revelation for man, and here is given the previously mentioned third and highest form of his relation to the world … [A]s everything preceding prepares for this original divine fact, so everything that follows is only the ever more victorious preservation of that first impact of the divine-becoming-human, the extension, and spreading of the Birth of God." Cf. AA:22 in *KJN* 1, 35–36.

47 4 **In his Aphorismen … polytheism**] I. H. Fichte's treatise "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie, in ihrem Verhältnisse zu Spekulation und Mythologie" [Aphorisms on the Future of Theology in Its Relations to Speculation and Mythology], in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* [Journal for Philosophy and Speculative Theology], vol. 3 (Bonn, 1839; ASKB 877–911), pp. 200–285. See esp. p. 240, where Fichte firmly rejects the view that monotheism was implicit in polytheism.

12 **the concept of revelation**] Although Fichte expressly affirms the principle of revelation in his treatise, it is possible to understand this in the sense of Christianity merely being the fulfillment of a philosophically derived concept of revelation. See esp. *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* (see previous note), pp. 228ff., and Fichte's essay "Spekulation und Offenbarung" [Speculation and Revelation], with which he introduced the first volume of his journal (*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* vol. 1, part 1, Bonn, 1837, pp. 1–31). This was translated in Danish as "Speculation og Aabenbaring" [Speculation and Revelation] in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* [Journal for Foreign Theological Literature], ed. H. N. Clausen and M. H. Hohlenberg, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 747–777. Kierkegaard owned the fourth year of the journal (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB U 29), and the subscription list for the fifth year (1837) also includes "Kjerkegaard, Stud. theol."

16 **never conceived by any hum. mind**] See 1 Cor 2:9. See also Isa 64:4.

Fichte … Judaism] In "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie," (→ 47,4) Fichte opposes Judaism ("the Mosaic religion") to paganism ("the ethnic religions") and denies the possibility of bringing them into a dialectical relationship in any progressive development. Yet he also argues that they are unified in Christianity as a "higher mediated unification" (*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* (→ 47,4), p. 252). 1 47*m*

Xnty ist nicht nur … des heidnischen Polytheismus] From "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie" (→ 47,4), p. 252. 4

p. 252. Fichte … dialectical process] In "Aphorismen über die Zukunft der Theologie," Fichte says of the relationship between Judaism and paganism: "Except these two do not permit of being brought into a dialectical relationship in which each stage develops out of the preceding one, as has been attempted" (*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*, p. 252). 12

what Sibbern calls the collateral] The concept of the "collateral" is an element in Sibbern's critique of what he sees as Hegel's one-sided emphasis on thought, to the neglect of other elements in human existence, such as feelings. As Sibbern sees it, these should be ranked alongside thought and not subordinated to it, thus they are said to be "collateral." See, e.g., Sibbern's review of *Perseus* (→ 10,1), no. 1 (1837), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (→ 6,21), vol. 19 (1838), pp. 323, 440, reprinted in *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser, fornemmelig betreffende Hegels Philosophie, betragtet i Forhold til vor Tid* [Remarks and Investigations, Chiefly Concerning Hegel's Philosophy, Seen in Relation to Our Time] (Copenhagen, 1838; ASKB 778; abbreviated hereafter as *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser*), pp. 41, 95, where Sibbern speaks of Hegel's lack of attention to this collateral. Whereas Hegel speaks of the polarities of the dialectical process, Sibbern sees the polar elements as having a collateral relationship. See *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 19, p. 561, and *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser*, p. 131. — **Sibbern**: Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872), Danish philosopher, professor of philosophy at Copenhagen University from 1813 to 1870. 17

my singing teacher Basil] This alludes to the teacher Basilio in W. A. Mozart's opera, *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786). In N. T. Bruun's 1817 translation of da 20 47

Ponte's libretto, Basilio becomes "Bazile." The opera was first performed at the Royal Theater on January 9, 1821, and then more than fifty times prior to October 29, 1838. It was not performed in 1839.

20 **Pastor Ipsen**] Peter Diderik Ibsen (1793–1855), Danish theologian and priest, parish priest of Kongens Lyngby from 1833 until his death. He had a close relation with the Crown Prince Christian, later Christian VIII, and to the princess, later Queen Caroline Amalie.

22 **the Prince**] Crown Prince Christian, who became King Christian VIII on December 3, 1839, often resided at Sorgenfri Castle in Kongens Lyngby.

30 **the old siren songs**] See Homer, *The Odyssey*, book 12, lines 158–200.

48 5 **flagship captain**] Captain of a squadron.

48 14 **disciplina arcana**] Usually used of secret religious teachings, as, according to some Catholic theologians, Christ's verbal teaching to the disciples in the forty days after the resurrection.

17 **Our Lord Jesus Xt in the night in which he was betrayed**] See 1 Cor 11:23. The words are used in the introduction to the words of institution in the communion service. See *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 17*m*,*20*), p. 253.

23 **fear and trembling**] → 9,*31*.

48 26 **The philosophers think . . . itself produces**] Probably a reference to such post-Kantian idealists as Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, whom Kierkegaard understood as reducing transcendent being, including the being of God, to the immanent activity of human consciousness. Ludwig Feuerbach went a step further and viewed divinity as a projection of humanity's unsatisfied needs and longings.

32 **in the beginning . . . heaven and earth**] See Gen 1:6–9 (→ 57,*5*).

48*m* 2 **in one of my other books**] See DD:176.a in *KJN* 1, 261.

3 **respiratio**] A play on the root meaning of the Latin *re-spiratio* ("again-breathe"), i.e., to draw breath in and out, or, simply, to breathe.

4 **knowledge . . . in part**] See 1 Cor 13:9.

6 **Jn 16:16 . . . you shall see me**] A direct quote from the Danish NT 1819.

7 49 **the name . . . it kept it**] On Adam's naming the animals, see Gen 2:19.

10 **status constructus**] A term from Hebrew grammar concerning the status and transformation of a word that stands in a close relationship with the words that follow it and that govern the relationship, often in a genitive relation.

4 49*m* **God called the light to be day**] Kierkegaard has rephrased Gen 1:5.

5 **לָאוֹר**] The Hebrew word lā'ôr is a combination of the noun אוֹר ('ôr, "light"), the definite article הָ (hā), and the preposition לְ (l^{e}) which is governed by the verb יִקְרָא (jiqrā' l^{e}, "he called"). Kierkegaard understands לְ in the sense of "to," as a preposition introducing a person or thing called to something. See Lindberg, *Hebraisk Grammatik* (→ 20*m*,*7*), p. 242; Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar* (→ 20*m*,*7*), pp. 26f.

13 49 **Appius Pulcher**] Combination of Appius Claudius Cæsar (censor in Rome from 312 B.C.) and his son Publius Claudius Pulcher (see the following note).

13 **the sacred hens . . . overboard**] Refers to Publius Claudius Pulcher, consul in Rome in 249 B.C. and commander of the Roman fleet in the battle of Drepana, during the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.). When he sought to attack the Carthaginian fleet, the sacred hens, used for divination, refused to eat, which was a bad augury. Thereupon he is said to have declared "Then let them drink," and had them thrown overboard—and suffered a serious defeat. See Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* [Memorable Events and Sayings], book 1, chap. 4.3, *Valerius Maximus Sammlung merkwürdiger Reden und Thaten* [Valerius Maximus's Collection of Memorable Sayings and Events], trans. Fr. Hoffmann (Stuttgart, 1829; ASKB 1296), p. 32. Also Suetonius's biography of Tiberius, chap. 2.2, in *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* (→ 20,*23*), vol. 1, p. 202.

22 49 **Kingo**] Thomas Kingo (1634–1703), Danish bishop and renowned hymn writer.

23 **Weep, my eyes . . . relief**] From the "Hierte-Suck" [Heart's sigh] of Kingo's twelfth song, v. 57–58, in Kingo's *Aandelige Siunge-koors Anden Part* [Spiritual Songs: Part Two] (first published in 1681). Kierkegaard quotes from no. 116 in *Psalmer og aandelige Sange af Thomas Kingo* [Psalms and Spiritual Songs of Thomas Kingo], ed. P. A. Fenger (Copenhagen,

1827; ASKB 203), p. 301, but with incorrect punctuation.

26 **that poor widow**] → 38,*3*.

27 **as Peter said ... silver**] According to Acts 3:1–11, the apostle Peter said to a lame man who asked him for alms, "I have no silver or gold, but what I have I give you; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, stand up and walk."

49 31 **King by the grace of God**] The phrase belonged to the formal legal title of the kings of Denmark in the period of absolutism.

50 10 **quodlibetarius**] The expression comes from the Middle Ages and refers to a theologian who wrote his university dissertation on a subject of his own choosing. Kierkegaard could have encountered the term in *Johann Gottfried von Herder's sämmtliche Werke. Zur Religion und Theologie* [Johann Gottfried von Herder's Complete Works: On Religion and Theology], 18 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827–1830; ASKB 1676–1684), vol. 18, p. 266.

50 14 **From the eater**] → 45,*15*.

50 25 **the blessing ... holy altar**] In Denmark the customary ecclesiastical form of blessing is that of the Aaronic blessing in Num 6:24–26.

28 **admiring the hum. works**] Probably refers to the much-admired (though also controversial) statues of Christ and the apostles in Copenhagen's Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady) by Thorvaldsen.

32 **the fructifying rain ... unjust**] See Mt 5:45: " ... he [God] maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (King James version).

50*m* 4 **something that happens a lot**] Kierkegaard is recorded as having attended the Friday communion in Vor Frue Kirke on August 9, 1839.

51 9 **turn your countenance from me no more**] See Ps 51:11.

18 **who came into the world ... lost**] See Mt 18:11.

19 **left the 99 sheep ... gone astray**] Refers to Jesus' parable of the lost sheep, Lk 15:4–6, esp. 4.

22 **Good Shepherd ... follow it**] See Jn 10:1–18, esp. 3–4.

24 **H. S.**] Holy Spirit.

24 **with unspeakable sighs**] See Rom 8:26.

pray for me ... corrupt Sodom] See the story of how Abraham prayed to God to spare Sodom in Gen 18:23–33. 25

the time of trial for the barren tree] See Jesus' parable of the barren fig tree, Lk 13:6–9. 27

Hol. S.] Holy Spirit. 28

renew me too ... new heart within me] See Ps 51:10. 30

with motherly care ... spark of life] Possibly refers to Mt 23:37, where Jesus says to Jerusalem "How often have I desired to gather your children together as a [mother] hen gathers her brood under her wings ... " 31

being once healed ... to him who gave me life] See the story of Jesus' healing of the nine lepers, of whom only one returned to give thanks (Lk 17:11–19). 34

hypocritical] Kierkegaard uses the Latinate term, cognate with the English but unusual at the time in Danish. 1 52

strains at a gnat ... a camel] See Mt 23:24. 3

Shewa] → 44,*29*. 6 52

Dagheš lene] In Hebrew, a point placed in the middle of the aspirated consonants b, g, d, k, p, and t to show that they must be spoken without aspiration when they follow a vowel. See Lindberg, *Hebraisk Grammatik* (→ 20*m*,*7*), pp. 9f.; Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar* (→ 20*m*,*7*), pp. 14ff. 7

a Pasha of three horsetails] The highest military and civil officials in the Ottoman Empire had the title pasha and their rank was shown by the number of horsetails affixed to the pole outside their tents; colloquially, a person who lets himself be waited on by others. 8

those whose consciousness ... lose their reward] See Mt 6:2, 5, 16. Jesus says (a) that we must give alms in secret, and (b) that those who pray or fast in a conspicuous manner, so as to be seen, have already received their reward, and in Kierkegaard's sense, have "lost" it. Kierkegaard, not illegitimately, combines these. 10

National Bank] A possible reference to the fact that in October 1838 the National Bank, after many years of financial crisis, was finally able to set the exchange rate at par. 2 52*m*

52 19 **וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה**] Hebrew (wajarʾ wᵉhinnēh), "and he saw and behold": a frequent expression in the OT.

52 21 **Grundtvig's preaching**] Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), Danish priest, poet, hymn writer, historian, politician, educator. Grundtvig had served as a non-stipendiary preacher at Frederik's Church (now Christian's Church) in the Christianshavn quarter of Copenhagen from 1832, but on May 28, 1839, was called to be priest at the Vartov Hospital Church in Copenhagen, a post that gave him time to pursue his many literary and theological projects. After his inaugural sermon on June 9, 1839, he preached at Vartov on most Sundays and sometimes also on Wednesdays, building up a large following.

23 **He says constantly that . . . it will be clear**] This probably refers to Grundtvig's sermon on August 25, 1839 (nineteenth Sunday after Trinity), especially the conclusion: "Therefore we say freely, to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and His gospel, that what casts a shadow on the peerless love of Christians is simply and solely *worldly force*—which seeks to make the true Christians unrecognizable by giving their name and their confession of faith to all—and *dead sermons* which deal with Christ's death for us without proclaiming His life in us. When, therefore, we, servants of the Word, proclaim the gospel according to our abilities with clear proofs of the Spirit and of power, then the Lord will see to it that the worldly force that mocks His name and conceals His true disciples will cease, so that it can again be seen who truly belongs to Him, and can again become as clear as daylight that whoever believes in the Son has Life, and that God's love is poured out in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which he has given us. Yes, my friends, by their fruits shall you know them—this is true in all things concerning the Lord, and the Word of the Lord shall therefore be known by its fruits, when he says what is called foolishness by the world, that whosoever believes in Him has eternal Life, that whosoever believes and is baptized will be blessed. Among those who kneel at the Lord's table in a free Christian community, faith and baptism will be known by their fruits, so that it will be seen that Christianity is indeed a tree planted by streams of water, yes, living water, a tree of God's planting with delicious fruits in its season and from which the leaves never fall" (*N. F. S. Grundtvigs Prædikener 1822–26 og 1832–39* [Grundtvig's Sermons 1822–1826 and 1832–1839], ed. Chr. Thodberg, vol. 12 [sermons from 1838–1839] [Copenhagen, 1986], p. 316).

Mynster] Jakob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), Danish priest, theologian, and politician; from 1834 bishop of Zealand Diocese and a popular preacher in the churches of Copenhagen, especially at the Church of Our Lady and the Court Church. 29

continually brings everything back to the individual] See, e.g., Mynster's sermon on Mt 7:15–21 (eighth Sunday after Trinity), "On Deciding to be in the world what God wills that we should be." Having shown the aptness of Jesus' words that "a rotten tree cannot bear good fruit" and "a good tree cannot bear bad fruit" with regard to those who speak of good works as something external, and to those who think faith can be true without producing any betterment, Mynster turns his attention to his listeners: "Now we shall rather apply to ourselves the words we have heard, for they are not spoken that others might be castigated by them, but that you shall castigate yourself with them, and test yourself by them. So be it! Apply them to yourself, and do it this very hour . . . and now that you have heard Him say to you as to all: Not everyone who calls me Lord shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father which is in heaven. You have gone to God's House to meditate and to pray and lift your mind to God, to your Father in heaven—so do what you intend! You know and you acknowledge that there is a God who is set over you as He is over all, that He is near to you, that He hears the words on your lips, knows the thoughts of your hearts" (*Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* [Sermons for Every Sunday and Feast Day in the Year], 3rd ed., 2 vols. [Copenhagen, 1837 (1823); ASKB 229–230], vol. 2, p. 162). 30

Rationalistic theology] A theological movement of the Enlightenment era, esp. 1750–1800. Rationalist theology held that both the Bible and Christian doctrines could be demonstrated rationally and thus harmonized with reason. It especially emphasized God's being, properties, and relation to the world; duty (including both religious and moral duty); and the immortality of the soul (as opposed to the 1 53

resurrection of the body), together with catechetical instruction. It remained widespread in Kierkegaard's time but could also be used loosely to denote any theologian who opposed pietism and emphasized the reasonableness of faith.

3 **he lets his sun . . . unjust**] → 50,32.

53*m* 1 **the unchangingness of Isaac's blessing**] → 19,30.

53 8 **the tendon . . . Jacob**] See the story in Gen 32:25–32, where Jacob, son of Isaac and one of the three patriarchs of the OT narrative, wrestles with a "man" who turns out to be God himself, or perhaps an angel. However, in the biblical story it is the thigh, not the Achilles tendon, which God touches, causing Jacob to limp.

9 **tendo Achillis**] Latin, "Achilles tendon." According to Greek mythology, Achilles' mother dipped her infant son in the River Styx in order to ensure his invulnerability. However, as her hands covered his ankle, it was not touched by the water, and it was at this point that Achilles was fatally hit by Paris's arrow in the war against Troy. See W. Vollmer, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Nationen* [Complete Lexicon of the Mythology of All Nations] (Stuttgart, 1836; ASKB 1942–1943), p. 17.

53*m* 3 **Rasmus Nielsen**] Rasmus Nielsen (1809–1887), Danish theologian and philosopher, from 1841 professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen.

3 **sure and trusty Morality**] In *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 229 (August 21, 1839), p. 920, Rasmus Nielsen invited subscriptions to *Grundtræk til en christelig Moral* [Basic Elements of Christian Morality], which he planned to publish in the course of the winter, having been prompted to do so, as he adds, by "an oral lecture which the undersigned had the honor to hold before a number of students in the auditorium of the *Collegium Medicæum*," i.e., Borch's College. The book never appeared.

53 19 **should pray . . . womb**] According to Gen 29–30, Jacob was married to the two sisters Leah and Rachel, and while Leah produced several children, Rachel remained childless a long time, until "God remembered Rachel, and God heeded her and opened her womb" (Gen 30:22–23).

20 **the heavenly man**] Possibly an allusion to 1 Cor 15:47–48.

Muhammed's grave between two magnets] This refers to a legend concerning the iron sarcophagus of Mohammed at Medina, that was kept hovering in the air between two magnets. 24 53

Mk 7:31–37] This was the gospel reading set for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, which in 1839 fell on August 18. 1 54

although everything had been created by God] See the introductory words of the collect for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity: "Almighty, eternal God! You who have created all things!" (*Forordnet Alter-Bog* [→ 17*m*,20], p. 136). 4

something he himself had come up with] Since 2 Cor 3:4–9 was the epistle set for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, this might be taken as an allusion to 2 Cor 3:5, where Paul writes, "Not that we are competent of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our competence is from God" (*Forordnet Alter-Bog* [→ 17*m*,20], p. 137). 7

as previously, Let there be light] As in the first words spoken by God in creating the world (Gen 1:3). 10

ephphata] Mk 7:34 (see above). Kierkegaard's transcription of the Greek εφφαθα omits an "h" after the "t." The word is derived from Aramaic and means "be open." 11

Xt commanded them . . . tell anyone, etc.] Mk 7:36 (→ 54,1). 13

Pharaoh . . . dreamed the second time] See Gen 41:1–7. 17 54

et quod iteratum est . . . et accelerat Deus facere eam] This is an abbreviated citation from Chr. Werliin, *Liber Geneseos ex textu hebræo latine versus* [The Book of Genesis Translated from the Hebrew into Latin] (Copenhagen, 1838; ASKB 84), pp. 115f. The words are a Latin translation of Gen 41:32. 1 54*m*

Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream] See Gen 41:29–32. 24 54

your mighty hand] See 1 Pet 5:6. 32 54

seize the wise in their folly] See 1 Cor 3:19. See also Job 5:12–13. 33

You open your gentle hand . . . with blessing] Refers to Ps 145:16. See also J. P. Mynster, *Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* (→ 52,30), vol. 1, p. 257, where the corresponding reference has the 34

following form: "You open your gentle hand and satisfy everything that lives with blessing."

55 9 **the Greek conception . . . in the underworld**] See, e.g., the account of Odysseus's visit to the underworld in the *Odyssey*, bk. 11.

55 25 **Goethe's Faust**] From the first part of *Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Faust: A Tragedy], which Goethe finished in 1808, and to which he added a short second part in 1828. — **Goethe**: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German poet, playwright, essayist, jurist, statesman, and scientist.

26 **Halb Kinderspiele, Halb Gott im Herzen**] Quote from *Goethe's Werke* (→ 14,*31*), vol. 12, 1828, p. 199. The evil spirit reminds Margarete of when, still innocent, she had gone to the altar to say her prayers in a spirit that was "half children's games, half a heart filled with God," before he goes on to ask her what misdeeds she now has in her heart.

55 30 **and its future**] Variant: *added*.

56 7 **as also the premonitory eyes . . . in his brow**] This refers to the tale "Isabella von Aegypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe" [Isabella of Egypt, the Emperor Charles V's First Love] in *Novellen von Ludwig Achim von Arnim* [Novellas of Achim von Arnim], ed. W. Grimm, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1839–1842; ASKB 1612–1617), vol. 1, pp. 1–188. The story goes that the gypsy princess Bella used magical means to turn a mandrake into a human being. A pair of extra eyes which she inserted into the back of the head of the mandrake enabled it to see hidden things as well as to see into the future. The "premonitory eyes of the mandrake" (in German a strongly alliterative phrase) are mentioned many times in the story, e.g., pp. 41, 55, 70, 74. — **Achim v. Arnim**: Ludwig Joachim von Arnim (1781–1831), German Romantic writer and publisher.

56*m* 2 **Isabella v. Ægypten . . . Jugendliebe**] → 56,*7*.

56 17 **nil admirari**] These are the opening words of letter 6 in book 1 of Horace's *Epistles*, (*Epistolarum liber I*). See *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* (→ 26,*2*), p. 232, where to admire nothing is seen as a necessary condition of human happiness; in a note, J. Baden, the editor of this edition, explains that it means "to regard nothing as great, nothing as worth desiring or fearing" (p. 304).

אֱלוֹהַּ] More correctly written as אֱלוֹהַּ (ʾælôah): Hebrew, "god" (as genus), "divinity," sometimes God as proper name. 18

from an Arab. radix admirari] From an Arabic root "to engender awe." Kierkegaard's source for this claim cannot be traced. 18

"at last" . . . our collects] It does not, in fact, appear in *all*, but is found in many, e.g., the collect for Christmas Day, which concludes: "and so at last be eternally blessed by the same, your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with you lives and reigns in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one true God, from eternity to eternity. Amen!" (*Forordnet Alter-Bog* [→ 17*m*,*20*], p. 12). 20 56

caroline] A technical term from billiards for the specially marked ball placed in the middle of the table. 26 56

looks at every woman . . . to desire her] See Mt 5:28. 31 56

God made a firmament . . . and earth] See Gen 1:6–8. The connotation is lost in, e.g., the NRSV's rendering "dome." 5 57

Jacob . . . yesterday or the day before] See Gen 31:2. 9 57*m*

the right hand . . . the left is doing] → 28,*26*. 16

he who spared . . . the patriarch's faith] This refers to God's testing of Abraham by asking him to sacrifice his son Isaac. At the last minute, a ram is substituted for Isaac. See Gen 22:1–19. 10 57

did not spare . . . Son] See Rom 8:32. See also Jn 3:16. 11

the Hebrew word עַד . . . eternity] See G. Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in veteris testamenti libros* [Hand Lexicon of Hebrew and Chaldean to the Books of the Old Testament] (Leipzig, 1833; ASKB 72), p. 736, where עַד (ʿad), used as a noun, is explained as follows: basically movement by, or progress (in space), also perpetuity (in time). Hence the meaning is of perpetual or eternal time, the same as עוֹלָם (ʿôlām, "eternity"), as in Gen 49:26: "everlasting hills," i.e., hills that will continue in existence. — **transitus**: Latin, "passing," "transitory." 15 57

18 **denominative**] Grammatical term for a word derived from a noun, i.e., a name.

57*m* 21 **as happened to agent Bærendt . . . a cambric ditto**] The anecdote concerning the Copenhagen businessman and jeweler Israel J. Behrend (ca. 1761–1821), famed as an eccentric character, is told in L. N. Bjørn, *Dumriana eller Indfald, Anecdoter og Characteertræk af Claus Dumrians Levnet* [Dumriana or Fancies, Anecdotes, and Characteristics of the Life of Claus Dumrian] (Copenhagen, 1829), p. 19. *Dumrian* is a Danish word meaning "fool" or "simpleton."

57 21 **Jehovah**] → 6,*31*.

21 **παιδαγωγος**] In Gal 3:24–25, Paul refers to the Law (Torah) as a "pedagogue" to direct God's people until the advent of the Christ.

22 **I am that I am . . . Egypt**] This is God's reply to Moses when the latter asks God to name Himself, so that Moses can say who it is that has sent him to lead the people out of Egypt. See Ex 3:1–4, 14, 17. Kierkegaard's wording follows that of Hersleb, *Lærebog i Bibelhistorien* (→ 17*m*,*20*), p. 33.

58 3 **kingship . . . (lowest) moment**] This probably refers to the pattern of decline discernible in the OT narrative of the history of Israel from the time of the patriarchs to 2 Kings, where the kingdom finally falls entirely away from God. On the negative judgment of the institution of kingship, see 1 Sam 10:17–27.

3 **patriarchs, judges, kings**] This refers to the historical sequence of ruling figures in Israel.

4 **a repetition . . . in the prophets**] The categories of judge and prophet are both somewhat fluid in the OT, and there are aspects of the prophets' ministry that are analogous to those of the earlier judges.

11 **the proverb as the first and highest**] The early nineteenth century saw considerable interest in traditional literature for which no single author could be identified, but which reflected (supposedly) the collective consciousness and moral experience of a people.

58*m* 8 **desires what belongs to the neighbor**] This refers to the tenth of the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:17).

26 **Don Giovanni . . . with his 1003 lovers**] A reference to the "list aria" in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (act 1, scene 6) in which the Don's servant, Leporello, lists the numbers of women his master has seduced in each country, ending " . . . and in Spain 1003."

made a fool of him] Probably refers to Holberg's 36
comedy *Jacob von Tyboe*, act 2: "Lucilia, my pretty doll, My heart's joy, trumpet and drum. Your loveliness has made a coward of me and taken my heart's bastion by storm. The bayonet and musket of your eyes have wounded me, robbing me of my mind. Yes, made a fool of me." See L. Holberg, *Jacob von Tyboe Eller Den stortalende Soldat* [Jacob von Tyboe or the Big-Mouthed Soldier] (1725), in *Den Danske Skue-Plads* [The Danish Stage], 7 vols. (Copenhagen, 1758 or 1788 [1731–1754]; ASKB 1566–1567), vol. 3. The volumes are undated and unpaginated.

ινα φανερωθη τα εργα του θεου εν αυτῳ] Jn 9:3, 16 58
quoted from *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 4,*13*), but without the Greek accents.

like the one born blind] Refers to Jesus' healing of 17
a man born blind in Jn 9.

lucida intervalla] Latin, "lucid intervals"; a clinical 20 58
expression describing moments of clarity during madness.

a stroll in the cool of the evening] → 26,*5*. 22

a revoir] Misspelling of the French *au revoir*. 25

Dr. Exstaticus] Latin, "The Ecstatic Doctor," a pun 28
on the titles given leading scholastics, such as " The Angelic Doctor" for Thomas Aquinas, etc.

it never found any roof so lowly . . . with joy] A 18 59
reference to the story of the centurion of Capernaum who approaches Jesus to seek the healing of his servant. See esp. Mt 8:8.

make its dwelling in his heart also] See Eph 3:17; 20
also Jn 1:14.

in humble lowliness] See, e.g., Phil 2:5–11, esp. 22
7–8, where it is said of Christ that he "emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness, And being found in human form, he humbled himself . . . " See also Mt 11:29, where Jesus says "Take my yoke upon you and learn from me; for I am gentle and humble in heart."

the one in whose name . . . in heaven and on earth] 24
See Phil 2:5–11, esp. 10.

the way and the life and the truth] Cf. Jn 14:6, 26
where the sequence is way, truth, life.

I will be your God and establish my covenant with you] See Gen 17:7. 29

35 **I shall nonetheless not forget you**] The theme that God remembers and is faithful to his covenant, even when Israel forgets it, occurs at many points in the prophetic literature; see also Lk 6–7.

37 **call upon you in the opportune hour**] This might be a reference to Sir 10:4 (although this is not very apparent in the English translation).

60 2 **God's grace will overshadow you**] i.e., as Mary is overshadowed by the "power of the most high" at the annunciation. See Lk 1:35.

60 6 **that wants to harvest at the same time as it sows**] Perhaps referring to the proverbial saying "One must sow, before one can harvest," listed as no. 8227 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [A Treasure of Danish Sayings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1879), vol. 2, p. 205.

14 **everything earthly is vanity**] See Eccl 1:2. Some recent translations have "emptiness" instead of "vanity."

22 **directed toward what is imperishable**] See 1 Cor 15:42.

24 **as old as Anna, as grizzled as Simeon**] A reference to the prophetess Anna and the pious Simeon who prophesied over the infant Jesus when he was brought to the temple for ritual dedication by Joseph and Mary. See Lk 2:22–38. Anna is later used by Kierkegaard as the subject of the upbuilding discourse "Patience in Expectancy" (see *EUD*, 205–226).

25 **as miserable in the world as Lazarus**] See the parable of Lazarus and the rich man in Lk 16:19–31, esp. 20–21.

28 **2 Cor V.**] See 2 Cor 5:1–10.

61 35 **too great an anxiety about going to the Lord's table**] Pietists frequently practiced intense self-examination before receiving communion to decide whether they were worthy to receive. See 1 Cor 11:27–29.

62 23 **as high . . . as Heaven is above earth**] Ps 103:11–12.

24 **even if the earth opened to swallow me up**] A fate that befalls the ungodly on various occasions in the OT, e.g., Num 16:30, Ps 106:17.

25 **Heaven open to receive me**] See the story of the stoning of Stephen, proto-martyr, in Acts 7:54–60, where Stephen declares "I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!" (v. 56).

who will climb up . . . fetch it down] See Rom 10:6. 30

Be always joyful!] See 1 Thess 5:16. 30

Rejoice . . . rejoice in Christ!] See Phil 4:4. 31

he prayed that his children . . . forget God] See Job 1:4–5. 35

Those Who Were Called at the Eleventh Hour] See the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Mt 20:1–16). The NRSV replaces the King James version's "eleventh hour" with "about five o'clock." 1 63

the Thief] Possibly refers to the so-called good thief, one of the two crucified at the same time as Jesus. According to Lk 23:39–43, one of the thieves mocked Jesus, "But the other rebuked him, saying, 'Do you not fear God, since you are under the same sentence of condemnation? And we indeed have been condemned justly. . . ' Then he said, 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom.' He replied, 'Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in Paradise' " (v. 40–43). 2

full of days] An allusion to an OT expression said of those who die in old age; also translated as "full of years" (King James version) and "a good old age" (NRSV). 7

the world would certainly write him off] Kierkegaard's idiomatic expression literally means break a stick over him (i.e., in beating him with it). 32

should have the same reward as those . . . offended] (→ 63,*1*). Those who receive only what the men called at the eleventh hour also receive are, unsurprisingly, angry with their employer. 34

Discursive Raisonements] Discursive reasonings; Kierkegaard omits an "n" in *Raisonnement*. 1 64

the birch rod . . . the one who first got it] Kierkegaard's allusion is unclear. See Vilhelm Bang, *Latinskoleliv og Studenterliv* [Life in the Latin Schools and at the University] (Copenhagen, 1892), p. 95: In some Danish schools the birch rod had its own name, such as "Thomas" or "Tomkin." 15

Baggesen] Jens Immanuel Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish writer. 26

vol. 7, p. 195] Kierkegaard's reference is to *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* (→ 6,*6*). It relates to a three-part polemical work titled "Asenutidens Abracadabra. Eller Skialdbørnelærdommens, hiin 'lurvedes' 'betydningsfulde' Kiærne i tre Skaller" 27

[The Modern Aser's Abracadabra: Or the Elementary Bardic Doctrine, That "Shabby" or "Meaningful" Kernel in Three Shells] (originally published in 1816).

28 **Madness's One in All-ness's Two**] A quote from the third part of Baggesen's work referred to in the preceding note.

32 **the madder the better**] Proverbial saying meaning "the more the merrier."

64*m* 1 **all the occupants of Bistrup**] The reference is to an asylum for the mentally ill at Bidstrupgård.

65 3 **Orthodox**] Probably used here to refer to N. F. S. Grundtvig and his followers, who referred to themselves variously as "the orthodox," "old-fashioned Christians" and "the old believers." See, e.g., Grundtvig's polemical writings *Om Daabs-Pagten* [On the Baptismal Covenant] (Copenhagen, 1832), pp. 15ff., and *Om Sogne-Baandets Løsning og Hr. Professor Clausen* [On Freedom from the Parish Restrictions and Herr Professor Clausen] (Copenhagen, 1834), p. 21. The expression was often used in the context of discussions at the Provincial Estates' meetings concerning J. Chr. Lindberg's campaign for the freedom of church members not to be limited in worship to the use of their parish church, but to be able to choose a parish which had a priest to their liking. See, e.g., *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende, 1838* [Reports of the Roskilde Estates, 1838], 2nd series (Copenhagen and Roskilde, 1839), cols. 1167, 1170, 1178 (see also the following note).

4 **the matter of parochial freedom**] This was debated at the Provincial Estates' meetings at Roskilde on October 8 and December 7 and 11, 1838. See *Tidende for Forhandlingerne ved Provindsialstænderne for Sjellands, Fyens og Lollands-Falsters Stifter samt for Island og Færøerne. 1838* [Reports of the Proceedings of the Provincial Estates' Meetings for the Dioceses of Sjælland, Fyn, and Lolland, as well as for Iceland and the Faroe Islands] (Copenhagen and Roskilde, 1839; abbreviated hereafter as *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende, 1838*), 1st series, nos. 17–18, Oct. 14–15, 1838, cols. 255–271; and 2nd series, nos. 72–78, Jan. 5–8, 1839, cols. 1137–1245. In his polemical writings *Om Daabs-Pagten* and *Om Sogne-Baandets Løsning og Hr. Professor Clausen* (→ 65,3), Grundtvig had already recommended the freeing of parochial restrictions, as well as doctrinal and liturgical freedom for clergy. This was developed into "A Request and Recommendation for General Freedom of Conscience for Clergy and Congregations in Denmark," by Magister J. Chr. Lindberg, and presented to the Provincial Estates' Assembly in the following terms: "(1) That the clergy of the Danish State Church should only be obliged to administer the sacraments in accordance with the dominical words of institution and to proclaim the Word in accordance with Holy Scripture and (2) That every member of the Danish State Church should be able to seek the ministry of any legally called and properly ordained priest in the State Church . . . " (*Roskilde Stænder-Tidende, 1838*, 2nd series, no. 72, cols. 1137f.). A committee appointed to consider the issue and chaired by Bishop J. P. Mynster decided against the request for doctrinal and liturgical freedom but did recommend a limited loosening of the parochial restrictions. This was debated at the Provincial Estates' meeting on December 7, 1838, where the politically appointed lay members argued against it, and, after further discussion, it was defeated on December 11. See *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende, 1838*, 2nd series, no. 78, col. 1245.

politicians and the orthodox are really in with one another] Refers to the alliance between liberal politicians regarding the lifting of parochial restrictions. Grundtvigians such as Lindberg thus found themselves alongside men like T. Algreen-Ussing, who opposed both church and Christianity and was an advocate of tolerance and freedom of conscience in religious affairs. 2 65*m*

summa summarum] Latin, "the sum of sums," as in the final sum of an accounting process or, more generally, any form of decisive synopsis. 6 65

discursive raisonement] → 64,1. 9

when they hold their hats . . . when praying] Probably refers to the funeral custom of mourners holding their hats in front of their eyes when the coffin is lowered into the grave. 11 65*m*

physiognomy] → 7,27 and → 8,6. 14

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JOURNAL FF

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL FF

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Journal FF was originally a small bound book in oblong format. According to H. P. Barfod, Kierkgaard had "labeled it F.F.,"[1] but the binding itself and eight leaves—i.e., sixteen pages—are no longer extant. In most cases where the original manuscript of Kierkegaard's text has not survived, the text has been transmitted indirectly via Barfod's *Af Søren Kierkegaard's Efterladte Papirer* [From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers] (*EP*);[2] in three cases Kierkegaard's text has been transmitted via handwritten copies made by Barfod but not published in *EP*;[3] and in two cases Kierkegaard's text has survived only in P. A. Heiberg's handwritten copy of Barfod's copy.[4] In nine cases, where the manuscript has not been preserved or the entire text not transmitted indirectly, the entries are registered in Barfod's catalog of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-cat.*), which either cites the first several words of an entry or gives a brief description of an entry's contents.[5] In one case, the first several words of an entry have been transmitted only via *B-cat*., while the conclusion of that entry, which continues onto a new manuscript page, is transmitted via the journal.[6] The surviving pages are in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Danish Royal Library.

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1) *B-cat*. 443

2) This is the case with entries FF: 30, 31, 33, 53, 54, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 81, and the first two-thirds of entry FF:126 as well as the latter two-thirds of entry FF:191.

3) Barfod copied the last portion of FF:24.1, all of FF:25, and the last portion of FF:29, onto the journal manuscript.

4) These are entries FF:78 and FF:80.

5) These are entries FF:5, 6, 32, 51, 52, 77, 82, 123, and 124.

6) FF:55.

II. Dating and Chronology

Journal FF consists of 215 short entries, of which 54 are dated.

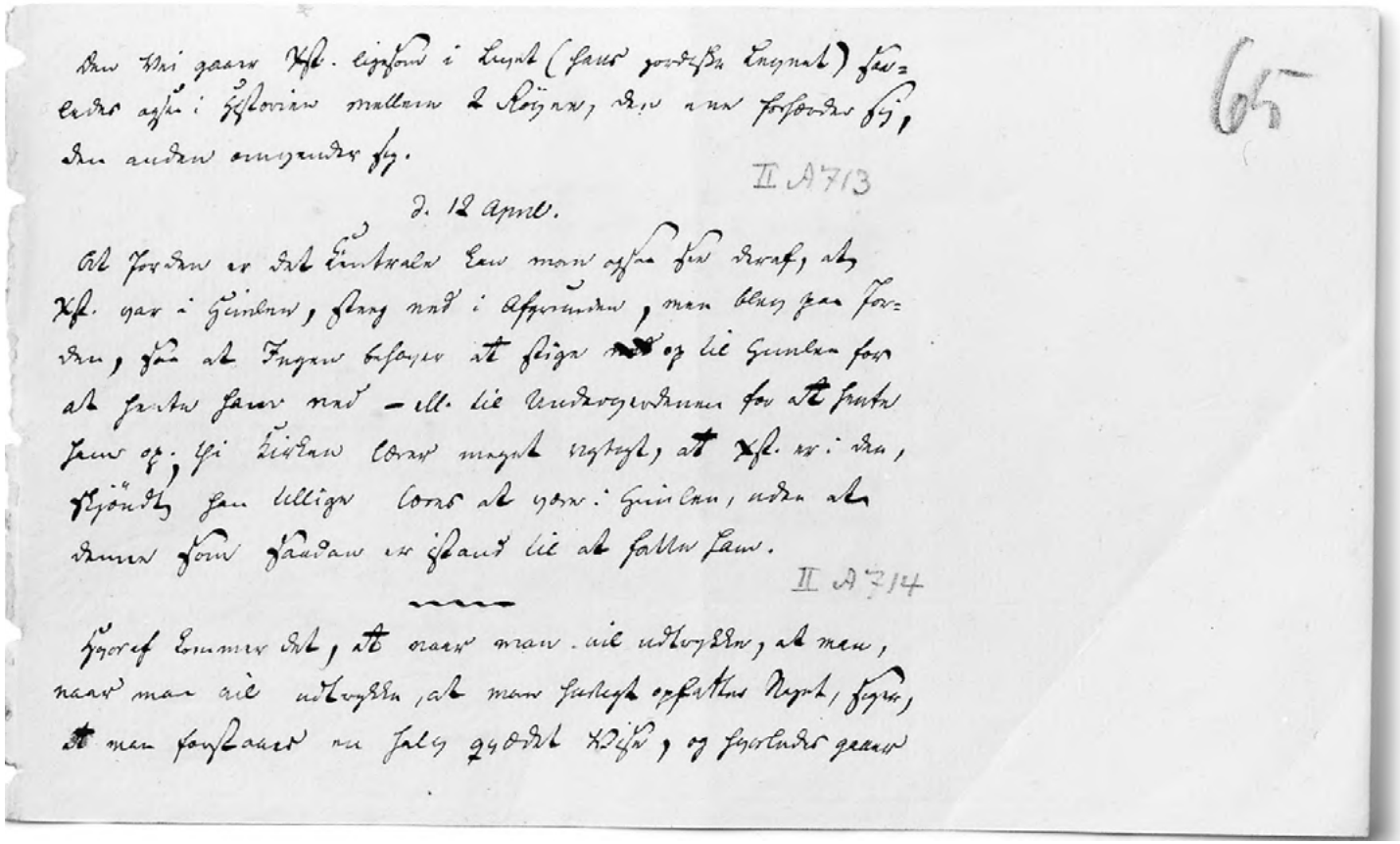
The first entry is dated September 13, 1836, while the last dated entry, FF:191, is from August 18, 1838. The succeeding entries, FF:192–215, are not dated, but FF:213, the third-to-last entry, must have been written after September 1, 1838, because in it Kierkegaard appears to allude to an article by K. F. Rodecker von Rotteck which was translated and published under the title "On Public-Spiritedness" in issue no. 235 of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [The Copenhagen Post], which was published on August 28, 1838, and in issue no. 239–240, which was published on September 1, 1838.

Even if the entries in FF were written between September 1836 and September 1838, they were presumably not entered into the journal volume during that period. The many chronological inconsistencies in the journal support this assumption; for example, entry FF:156, dated December 30, 1837, comes immediately after entry FF:155, which is dated July 18, 1838.

When organized according to the dates Kierkegaard assigned to those entries he in fact dated, the journal entries fall into four chronological groups: entries FF:1–106 are from September 1836 to October 1837; the second group of entries, FF:107–155, are from April to July 1838; the third group of entries, FF:156–184, are from December 1837 to February 1838; and the final pages, comprising entries FF:185–215, can be dated to the period August–September 1838. Thus it is clear that the entries were not entered into the journal volume in the same sequence in which Kierkegaard had originally written them down, because if the journal entries were organized chronologically, the entries in the third group (FF:156–184) would precede the entries in the second group (FF:107–155).

Within the various groups of entries, additional chronological inconsistencies exist, further confirming the view advanced above. For example, entry FF:55 bears the date July 9, 1837, while entries FF:61 and 62 are dated June 9, 1837 and May 1837, respectively. And FF:175, which is dated January 18, 1838, is placed between two entries dated January 17, 1838.

The explanation must be that Kierkegaard copied older entries, probably from loose sheets of paper, into Journal FF. This assumption is supported by the fact that the handwriting is uniformly neat and regular, with straight margins and very few corrections (see



3. Journal FF:111–113.
The handwriting is neat and uniform with very few corrections; see pp 89 and 396 in this volume.

illustration 3), and by the fact that the entire journal contains only two marginal notes in the outer column. Presumably, Kierkegaard sorted his old notes into groups, and then, when copying them into the journal volume, he apparently switched the piles around without noticing it. Thus the chronological breaks between FF:106 and 107, between FF:155 and 156, and between FF:184 and 185 are not accompanied by page breaks in the journal; in each case, despite the chronological discontinuities between the several groups of original notes which Kierkegaard copied into the volume subsequently labeled Journal FF, his entries simply continue one after another on the same page.

A corrupted bit of text in FF:68 also seems to indicate that Kierkegaard was copying from a source. It reads: "this is why I also the composer of genuine ballad melodies ... truly am reproduces," but it presumably should have read "this of course is why also the composer of genuine ballad melodies ... truly reproduces."

The entries in FF were thus written between September 1836 and September 1838, but we do not know when Kierkegaard entered them into his journal. It could have been shortly after September 1, 1838, when the dates in the journal come to an end, but it could also have been much later, perhaps as late as May 1842, when Kierkegaard first set about creating a reference system and in connection with these efforts labelled his journals AA–KK.[1]

III. Contents

Journal FF is a composite of entries originally written on loose sheets of paper, and this has left its mark on the contents. No recurrent themes can be detected, and—unlike the three other groups of loose papers from 1834 to 1836, which were all organized and collected according to their subject matter in three wrappers bearing the respective titles, "Theologica—older" (*B-cat*. 433), "Philosophica—older" (*B-cat*. 434), and "Aesthetica—older" (*B-cat*. 435), *Journal FF* contains no lengthy, weighty accounts of aesthetic, philosophical, or theological topics. The organizing principle for the entries originally written on loose sheets of paper and subsequently entered into *Journal FF* seems to have been that they had no common theme.

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[1]) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal JJ*," p. 459 in the present volume.

They consist of a wealth of ideas, hurriedly jotted down, often in an easy, elegant form, sometimes in aphoristic style. See, for example, FF:41: "Someone dies at the very moment that he has proven that Hell's punishment is eternal, caught in his own theory. Remarkable transition from theory to practice." Or FF:69, which is the source for the fifth aphorism in the "Diapsalmata" in the first part of *Either/Or*.[1] The entry begins as follows:

> I don't feel like doing anything. I don't feel like walking, it is strenuous. I don't feel like lying down, because then I would either remain lying down for a long time, and I don't feel like doing that, or I would get right up again, and I don't feel like doing that either. I don't feel like going riding, it involves motion that is too strenuous for my apathy. I just want to go for a drive in a carriage. . .

And it ends with these emphatic words: "In brief, I don't even feel like writing what I have just written, nor do I feel like erasing it."

Other entries are quite brief, abrupt, fragmentary, sudden impulses, as, for example, FF:100: ". . . . . therefore the Chinese have neither light or shadow in their paintings." Still others are ideas that came into being while Kierkegaard was working with larger, related topics elsewhere in his journals. This is case, for example, with FF:61, which deals with Carl Daub's language, where Kierkegaard writes that "Daub's sentences are true labyrinths." This entry, dated June 9, 1837, was jotted down in late May and the first part of June of that year, while Kierkegaard, in *Journal DD*, was preoccupied with Daub's dissertation "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" and his *Vorlesungen über die philosophische Anthropologie* [Lectures on Philosophical Anthropology].[2] This is also the case with respect to entry FF:58 concerning "Colonel von Plessen" and his unruly saddle horse, which J. Kerner tells about in his *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* [A Manifestation from the Nocturnal Realms of Nature].[3] This journal entry stems from the beginning of June 1837 and is thus contemporary with Kierke-

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1) See *EO* 1, 20; *SKS* 2, 28:5–9. See also the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller* in *SKS* K2–3, 49f.

2) See DD:1.c, 2, 6.a, 12, and 13 in *KJN* 1, 205, 208, 214, 215.

3) See the Explanatory Note to FF:55, pp. 413 in the present volume.

gaard's reading of Kerner, as can be seen in *Journal DD*, where he writes in DD:26, dated July 13, 1837, that in Kerner he "detect[s] the same artistic helplessness" that he himself has.[1]

Other journal entries make it clear that Kierkegaard has been to the theater, has read a review in a journal, or that his attention has been caught by a review in a newspaper. Thus entries FF:6–11, which concern Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*, appear to indicate that Kierkegaard attended a performance of that opera at the Royal Theater on September 29, 1836, and FF:18 seems to indicate that he has heard the opera again on November 16, the next time it was performed. Soon thereafter, Kierkegaard read an anonymous review of Oehlenschläger's tragedy *Sokrates* [Socrates] (1836), which was published in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 11, which appeared in November 1836; this can be seen in FF:20, where he copies out a short passage from the review. Entry FF:29 is a similar case; here Kierkegaard refers to a review of *Jens Baggesens poetische Werke in deutscher Sprache* [The Poetical Works of Jens Baggesen in German], noting that the review appeared in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* "today," i.e., December 10, 1836. Even the *Almanak for det Aar efter Christi Fødsel 1838* [Almanac for 1838 A.D.] could provide the occasion for a journal entry, FF:127, which reads: "If Xt is to come and dwell in me, it will have to happen in accordance with the almanac heading containing the gospel verse for the day: Xt enters through closed doors."

Not many journal entries in FF subsequently found their way into Kierkegaard's published writings. Apart from the aphorism in FF:69 which, as has been noted, reappears in a shortened and reworked form as one of the "Diapsalmata," there are only two entries that resurface later on. In FF:169, Kierkegaard writes that in the writings of Lucian he has found the expression "παρανεκροι (someone who, like me, is dead)," which could serve to "designate the class of people I would like to write for." Kierkegaard seems to have been inspired by this idea when he wrote "Ancient Tragedy Reflected in Modern Tragedy: An Essay in Fragmentary Endeavor, Read to the Συμπαρανεκρωμενοι" and "The Unhappiest One: An Enthusiastic Address to the Συμπαρανεκρωμενοι. Peroration at the Friday Meetings," both included in the first volume of *Either/Or*.[2] And in FF:35 Kierkegaard writes about presentiment and original

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1) See *KJN* 1, 219; cf. also DD:25 in *KJN* 1, 219.

2) See *EO* 1, 137–164 and 217–230; *SKS* 2, 137–162 and 211–223.

sin, citing as examples three figures: Hamlet, Robert le diable, and Høgne. Hamlet appears in *The Concept of Anxiety*,[1] while Høgne and Robert le diable are cited in "Vocalizations for *On the Concept of Anxiety*."[2] In addition to these, there are the final eighteen entries, FF:198–215, which discuss, among other things, Hans Christian Andersen; they seem to be related to finishing up and publishing the critical essay on Andersen as a novelist, *From the Papers of One Still Living*, which appeared on September 7, 1838.

Two entries in FF appear in a different form in *Journal DD*. One is FF:55, which has been partially lost as a result of editing and publication by Barfod, and which appears in what seems to be its entirety, but reworked and expanded, in DD:30, where it bears the date July 14, 1837.[3] The other is FF:89, where Kierkegaard realizes that "genuine humor, like irony, cannot be captured by the novel," which is why Socrates did not leave any writings and Hamann only produced occasional pieces. Like the previously mentioned entry (FF:55), this entry exists in a slightly reworked and clarified form that was copied into *Journal DD* as DD:37.[4] In addition, FF originally included a quotation from Hamann, but the entry, FF:32, has been lost, and it is known only from a note in *B-cat*. 443 that states its contents. To these should be added FF:48, which in all its brevity reads as follows: "This is the path we all walk, over the Bridge of Sighs into the peace of Eternity.—" Entry CC:19, from the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837, has almost the same wording.[5]

In sum, FF is not a journal in which Kierkegaard wrote things over an extended period of time, but is a book into which he copied the contents of a collection of loose sheets and scraps of paper that did not fit in elsewhere. The situation was different with other loose sheets of paper that were assembled into three packets with labeled wrappers, just as it was different with the various loose scraps of paper that he inserted into his other journals—as, for example, an entry on Fichte the younger in AA:22, which, Kierkegaard notes, is a

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1) See *CA, 128; SKS* 4, 429.

2) See *SKS* K4, 338; *Pap.* V A 102–108.

3) See *KJN* 1, 222–223.

4) See *KJN* 1, 226.

5) See *KJN* 1, 198.

copy, and the marginal note DD:7.b, which is noted by Kierkegaard as stemming from "a slip of paper, dated 5 Jan. 37, which I found in my drawer."[1] *Journal FF* is thus bound together by a single principle: to preserve the contents of a pile of loose papers on which Kierkegaard had hastily jotted down ideas, thoughts, sudden impulses, associations, or ideas for aphorisms, and which he wished to capture while he was simultaneously engaged in writing in journals AA, BB, CC, and DD about other subjects which sometimes were related to the entries in FF.

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[1]) See *KJN* 1, 210–211.

Explanatory Notes

69 2 **In what does the concept of myth and mythology consist . . . how does it differ from poetry**] Both the concept of myth and that of mythology were important subjects, particularly during the Romantic period, when writers, including Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel, tried to emphasize poetry as a religious and mystical phenomenon. In "Rede über die Mythologie und symbolische Anschauung" [Lectures on Mythology and Symbolic Ideas] (1800), in *Friedrich Schlegel's sämmtliche Werke* [Complete Works of Friedrich Schlegel] 10 vols. (Vienna, 1822–1825; ASKB 1816–1825), vol. 5 (1823), pp. 261–276, Schlegel claimed that mythology was of decisive significance for poetry, asserting that the poetry of the times lacked the center of gravity that mythology had given the poetry of antiquity (p. 262), and he was of the opinion that "the beginning of all poetry is the suspension of the procedures and the laws of rationally thinking Reason, which transports us back into the beautiful disorder of fantasy, into the primordial chaos of human nature; I know of no more beautiful symbol of this than the variegated throng of ancient gods" (p. 272). Schlegel further suggests that scholarship can trace mythology back into poetry because mythology—if it has attained truly spiritual, inward revelation—leads back to the "living view of nature" (pp. 274–275) that characterized the mythology of antiquity. — **Novalis**: Pseudonym for Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772–1801), German Romantic poet. The relationship between poetry and myth plays a leading role in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802) (English translation: *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, trans. Palmer Hilty [New York: Unger, 1964; reprint, Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1990]). The principal character in that work compares his experience of the world with that of antiquity: "Once I heard tell of the days of old, how animals and trees and cliffs talked with people then. I feel just as though they might start any moment now and I could tell by their looks what they wanted to say to me," in *Novalis Schriften* [The Writings of Novalis], ed. L. Tieck and Fr. Schlegel, 4th ed. (2 parts in one volume) (Berlin, 1826 [1802]; ASKB 1776), pt. 1, p. 6 (Hilty trans., p. 15). See also Wolfgang Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur* [German Literature], 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1836 [1828]; ASKB U 79), vol. 4, pp. 159–160.

the subjunctive] The imagined, the assumed as opposed to the actual. 4

the novel] → 70,*30*. 4

in the indicative] In a manner such that the content of the sentence is understood or presented as actual. 5

the Romantic outlived] Cf. an entry from June 12, 1836, written on a loose sheet of paper: "It is obvious that the Romantic character of the times is subsiding more and more, to the same degree, in fact, that necessity is insisted upon (Hegel), so that what is Christ[ian] does not remain the Rom[antic]" (*Pap*. I A 170). 10 69

mad Peter . . . a bare piece of rye bread] It has not been possible to verify this story, presumably recounted by A. Lund (→ 69,*18*). 16 69

Miss A. Lund] Miss A. Lund, perhaps Anne or Anne Cathrine Lund, both daughters of Ole Lund and cousins of the brothers Johan Christian and Henrich Ferdinand Lund, who were married to Kierkegaard's sisters Nicoline Christine and Petrea Severine, respectively. 18

Philosophical knowledge . . . into the System] This echoes the common understanding of the German idealistic tradition, which insisted that philosophy, if it is to be viewed as scholarly, must culminate in a system. Cf. "Kts." (pseudonym for Bishop J. P. Mynster) "Om den religiøse Overbeviisning" [On Religious Conviction], which discusses J. L. Heiberg's prospectus, *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* [On the Significance of Philosophy to the Present Age] (→ 69,*22*) in *Dansk Ugeskrift* [Danish Weekly], nos. 76 and 77 (Copenhagen, 1833), pp. 249–250: "Philosophical knowledge must, however, be knowledge that is devel- 21 69

oped in a scholarly manner, and of course this development, whereby what is known comes increasingly to form a system, must attain its results . . . in some sort of causal manner."

22 **idea**] According to Hegel's (→ 89,*1*) system, the philosophical idea constitutes the highest point within (or the culmination of) the system. The idea is the unity of the concept (German, *der Begriff*) and its actualization in an object. Cf. *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, ed. L. v. Henning, 3 vols. (Berlin 1840–1845 [1817]; ASKB 561–563; abbreviated hereafter as *Encyclopädie*), vol. 1, in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin 1832–1845); vol. 6, p. 385, § 213 (*Jub.*, vol. 8, p. 423): "The Idea is truth in itself and for itself,—the absolute unity of the notion and objectivity. Its 'ideal' content is nothing but the notion in its detailed terms: its 'real' content is only the exhibition which the notion gives itself in the form of external existence, whilst yet, by enclosing this shape in its ideality, it keeps it in its power, and so keeps itself in it." (English translation: *Hegel's Logic: Part One of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. William Wallace [Oxford: Clarendon, 1975], p. 352). See also § 14, pp. 22–23, and § 18, pp. 26–27 (*Jub.*, vol. 8, pp. 60–61, 64–65). Cf. in addition J. L. Heiberg, *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 568), pp. 5–6: "Philosophy is nothing other than knowledge of the eternal or speculative Idea, reason, or truth; these different terms all designate the same substance. Philosophy presents the Idea as the only cause. Consequently, in all finite effects philosophy sees nothing but the Idea." (English translation: *Heiberg's "On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age" and Other Texts*, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart [Copenhagen: Søren Kierkegaard Research Centre and C. A. Reitzel's Publishers, 2005], p. 88; see pp. 83–119.)

22 **form**] For Hegel, to the extent that the idea is the concept (*der Begriff*; → 69,*22*), it constitutes a purely formal structure; it finds its various contents by being actualized in things in the world.

69 25 **My God, my God**] Quoted from Ps 22:1: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? / Why are you are so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning?" See also Mt 27:46.

The bestial sniggering] These words are the first 26 69
words of an entry, the only part preserved by editor Barfod, who wrote in the margin opposite entries FF:6–FF:8 "Don Juan." These few words have served as the basis for some quite imaginative speculation concerning Kierkegaard's personal life.

The conversion scene in D. Giovanni] In the dia- 27 69
logue with his servant Leporello in act I, scene 15 of W. A. Mozart's opera *Il dissoluto punito, ossia il Don Giovanni* [The Dissolute Punished, or Don Giovanni] (1787), with libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte, Don Giovanni asserts that he has been converted after having met his earlier mistress Donna Elvira, whom he had seduced while she was in a cloister. Don Giovanni then calls upon Leporello to follow suit and also to appeal "to the God of grace" by kneeling before Elvira, which the servant understands as his master's request that he propose marriage to Elvira; cf. *Don Juan. Opera i tvende Akter bearbeidet til Mozarts Musik* [Don Giovanni: An Opera in Two Acts, Adapted to Mozart's Music], trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1807; abbreviated hereafter as *Don Juan*), pp. 46–47. The opera was performed at the Royal Theater for the first time in May 1807 and countless times thereafter; in 1836 it was performed three times, March 12, September 29, and November 16.

aria . . . "Cool grapes"] This aria, frequently known 28
by its Italian opening phrase, "Finch' han dal vino," is also called the "champagne aria"; it concludes the conversion scene (see previous note). An English translation of the Danish version of the aria follows: "Cool grapes / Flames of love / Are always at war / Within my breast! / We bravely endure / The struggles they produce! / Blushing maidens / Bring them to combat! / I will not yield / Until peace is declared! / Flattery and sighs, daring eyes / Can surely prise / Open the enemy's breast! / It cannot withstand / This armed combat! / As soon as it opens / To these arms / Its heart will easily / Submit to me, / Through the power of a kiss! / And it is conquered / Captivated, and bound, / Surrendering everything: / For it is weak! / Struggles you cause—/ Bravely we endure! / Blushing maidens, / Do not despair! / Although

you are conquered, / Captivated, and bound, / The heart surrenders everything: / For it is weak! / Flattery and sighs, daring eyes / Are able to defeat / The power to resist! / And it is conquered / Captivated, and bound, / Surrendering everything: / For it is weak!" in *Don Juan* (→ 69,*27*), pp. 49–50.

70 1 **Why is it only after her chance encounter ... Elvira]** Donna Anna, who is the daughter of the Commendatore, is engaged to Don Ottavio, but Don Giovanni has attempted to seduce her. Only when she encounters Donna Elvira, whom Don Giovanni has abandoned, does it become clear to her, during the course of their conversation, that the person she has just met is Don Giovanni, and that it was he who had murdered her father during his nocturnal escape.

3 **But Hoffmann is right]** Kierkegaard alludes to the short story, "Don Juan. Eine fabelhafte Begebenheit, die sich mit einem reisenden Enthusiasten zugetragen" [Don Juan: A Marvelous Occurrence Which Encountered a Traveling Enthusiast] (1813) by Hoffmann, who has Donna Anna love Don Juan even though he has killed her father. The short story is the fourth piece in part 1 of Hoffmann's *Phantasiestücke* [Fantasies] (1814); see *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [Selected Writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann], 10 vols. (Berlin, 1827–1828; ASKB 1712–1716), vol. 7, 1827, pp. 81–97. — **Hoffmann**: Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776–1822), German author, editor, jurist, and musician.

3 **her aria]** Donna Anna's aria in act 1, scene 14: "Of all traitors / He ought to be punished most harshly. / By his doing I caused to bleed / The best of all fathers. / Oh! Promise me you will meet / His breast with your sword. / / The blood we saw running / Still clings to him; / Remember your oath! / Only when you kill him / Will my soul recover from / Its burning rage" in *Don Juan* (→ 69,*27*), pp. 44–45.

4 **the one in the second scene]** Kierkegaard here alludes to the different division into scenes in the third edition of Kruse's translation (→ 69,*27*) from 1822. Here the focal point is Donna Anna's aria, which she sings after having discovered the corpse of her father (the Commendatore): "He did not spare your whitened head!—Oh, misery! These eyes—are broken! / He is all girt round with the pallor of death! / You do not hear my voice, nor see my pain! / Oh, beloved Father! Hear your daughter, / I swoon, I tremble—" in *Don Juan* (→ 69,*27*), act 1, scene 4, p. 8.

the delaying aria in the 4th act] Starting in May 1833, *Don Giovanni* (→ 69,*27*) was not performed at the Royal Theater in the original two acts, but in four acts. Donna Anna's aria (in what was originally act 2, scene 16) delays the pace of the action when she asks Ottavio to postpone the wedding because of the death of her father (the Commendatore). Ottavio utters the following plea: "So then you will no longer close—your ears so cruelly to Ottavio's warm request, / But will forget the grave and share the sighs of love!" (p. 113), and is answered by Anna's aria: "Yes, all my thoughts / Are in the grave's quiet dwelling! / Now, be silent, my distress! / Oh, my beloved! Be not yourself! / But the heart will become tranquil, / The sufferings of memory will not daunt me. / Strengthened—beloved!—by your fires, / My heart will once again beat with joy!" (p. 114). — **delaying**: Retardative; a musical term for the harmonic connection that is established when a single note in a chord continues to resound while the other notes move on to form another chord against which the continuing note forms a dissonance, waiting until a subsequent measure to change to the harmonic note that is a part of the new chord. 4

the vaudeville-like character] → 72,*29*. 7 70

the buffa aria in Figaro] The concluding, comic aria in Mozart's opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* [The Marriage of Figaro] (1786), with libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte, based on P. A. C. de Beaumarchais's play *Le mariage de Figaro* [The Marriage of Figaro] (1778). The opera was performed at the Royal Theater for the first time in January 1821, and it was performed on many occasions thereafter, including three times in 1836: May 6, October 4, and November 11. — **buffa**: "Opera buffa" (comic opera), as opposed to "opera seria" (serious opera) , dominated the Italian stage in the second half of the 18th century. Mozart was one of the leading composers who made the new genre his own. 7

for 30 years] → 69,*27*. 11 70

Hoffmann's Meister Floh ... the tailor who was 15 70

given balloon gas] This alludes to the fairytale "Geschichte des Schneiderleins aus Sachsenhausen" [The Story of the Little Tailor of Sachsenhausen] by E. T. A. Hoffmann (→ 70,3), which tells of a tailor who, after church one day, was given permission by his wife to go to the pharmacy for a glass of schnapps, but an unskilled apprentice instead gave him a glass of the fluid used for filling balloons, which caused him to float up toward the ceiling. When the door was thrown open, a window sprang up, a draft seized hold of him, and he floated out through the window and up into the air. In the evening he illuminated the sky like a ball of fire, which eventually burned out, and he fell back to earth as a little lump of ashes and various other items, including the black knob of a walking stick, which a very learned man determined to be a meteorite. The fairytale is the sixth story in Hoffmann's *Meister Floh* (1822); see *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* (→ 70,3), vol. 10, pp. 240–243. (An English translation of this tale is available in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *The Golden Pot and Other Tales*, trans. Ritchie Robertson [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992].) — **balloon gas**: Kierkegaard's rendering of "*brennbare Luft, womit die Lüftballe gefüllt werden*" (p. 241).

17 **that he had chiseled . . . a new outfit**] In the fairy tale it is recounted as follows: "All week long he had been diligent and had been polite to his beloved wife, for whom he made a nice slip from the scraps of material that had fallen under the bench" (*E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 10, p. 241).

19 **every Sunday . . . to the pharmacy**] In Hoffmann's fairy tale there is no mention of the tailor going to the pharmacy every Sunday, but merely that "The beloved wife therefore kindly permitted the little tailor to go to the pharmacy and enjoy a bit of hot schnapps" (*E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 10, p. 241).

70 29 **the troubadours**] Medieval love poets, particularly those of Provence.

30 **the novel**] i.e., the romance, which is the precursor of what was termed a novel (Danish, *Roman*) in later times, particularly the 18th and 19th centuries.

30 **the short story**] The short story or, more precisely, the novella (Danish, *Novelle*). Among those who began developing this genre was Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, ca. 1350.

the concept of the short story] The short story became a very popular genre in Danish literature during the 1820s and especially during the 1830s. 1 71

Most of the books popular today . . . written in verse] Many printed works by anonymous authors, particularly those published in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries and based on heroic poems, knightly romances, legends, etc., had originally been written in verse and sung by minstrels, both at court and in public squares. One example of this is the legend of Holger the Dane, which is attributed to the poet Adenès, who was active during the latter half of the 13th century; he produced romances in rhyme and was the author of *Ogier le Danois* [Holger the Dane]. On the history of this romance, see R. Nyerup, *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* [Centuries of Popular Light Reading in Denmark and Norway] (Copenhagen, 1816), p. 101: "Adenès's *Ogier le Danois* had a history similar to that of other old French romances that had originally been written in verse: in the 14th and 15th centuries they were recast into prose, and with the introduction of printed books, it was these prose versions that appeared in print." 2

in the Law, with the Pharisees] The Pharisees, i.e., members of the party of the Pharisees, one of the most important religious groups or tendencies within Judaism during the Hellenistic and Roman period; they are represented in the Christian gospels as having great zeal for precise compliance with all the provisions of the Mosaic law and placing much emphasis on rules concerning cleanliness. 7 71

in the prophets . . . an earthly Messiah] The NT represents many Jews as interpreting OT prophecies about a future Messiah as pertaining to an earthly king who would free them from Roman occupation; see, e.g., Jn 6:15 and 18:33ff. 7

The parodic . . . final stage of development] Cf. a journal entry from November 20, 1836, jotted down on a loose sheet of paper, in which Kierkegaard writes that since "in my opinion, every development is only complete when its parody has been produced, it will turn out that *politics* is the parody of the development of the world" (*Pap*. I A 285). 10 71

71 26 **Hoffmann**] → 70,3 and see FF:12.

71 29 **If Mozart were alive now . . . dance music**] At the beginning of the 19th century, music became accessible for middle classes not only at the theater and in concert halls, but also in restaurants and dance halls, where overtures, waltzes, marches, galops, and gallopades were put in light arrangements and played by house orchestras.

72 5 **in the final act, with the Commendatore**] At the beginning of the opera, Don Giovanni kills the Commendatore, who is Donna Anna's father. In the final act, the statue on the Commendatore's grave comes to life, and when Don Giovanni is eating dinner, it appears as a ghost who sends Don Giovanni into the flames of Hell; the gallopade Don Giovanni imagines dancing with the Commendatore is thus a sort of dance of death. See *Don Juan* (→ 69,27), pp. 123–128.

72 9 **What does it mean . . . that every age has its Faust**] Cf. a journal entry from October 7, 1835, written on a loose sheet of paper: "With respect to the *critique* of the various versions of *Faust*: by doing so one can provide the basis for dividing them into categories and simplify an overview of them by noting how such an idea must reflect itself in the various ages, or how each age must view this idea through its individually prepared spectacles. For example, a moralizing age must employ Faust as an involucrum [sheath, cover] that permits it to view the warped side of life; a critical age must limit itself to viewing the exaggerations in the story, explaining them as the fabrications of monks, etc. The modern age must see what is more profound" (*Pap*. I A 88). — **Faust**: The legend of Faust goes back to a German chapbook from 1587. Kierkegaard was familiar with various editions of the legend and pays particular attention to a Danish version, *Den i den gandske Verden bekiendte Ertz-Sort-Kunstner og Trold-Karl Doctor Johan Faust, og Hans med Dievelen oprettede Forbund, Forundringsfulde Levnet og skrækkelige Endeligt* [The World-Renowned Arch-Practitioner of the Black Arts and Magician, Doctor Johan Faust, and the Pact He Made with the Devil, His Astonishing Life and Frightful Doom] (Copenhagen, n.d. [prior to 1823]; ASKB U 35), and it has since been adapted in countless literary works. After G. E. Lessing's version (never completed), and especially starting with and after Goethe's *Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Faust: A Tragedy] (1808), the figure of Faust became the epitome of striving and searching for the truth. In the mid-1830s Kierkegaard studied the Faust legend and its development, including C. L. Stieglitz's essay "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Legend of Doctor Faust], published in *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Fr. v. Raumer, 5th year (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 125–210; see BB:12–14 in *KJN* 1, 90.

one Don Juan] Kierkegaard apparently has in 11
mind Mozart's and da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* (→ 69,27) as the archetype of the figure.

Faust can reform . . . a new era's understanding] 14
Cf. AA:12, dated June 1, 1835, where Kierkegaard views it as "a sin against the idea that Goethe lets Faust be converted," in *KJN* 1, 14. Here Kierkegaard probably has in mind the final scene of act 5 of Goethe's *Faust. Der Tragödie zweyter Teil in fünf Acten* [Faust, the Tragedy: Part Two in Five Acts] (1831), which is set in heaven, after Faust's death; here Gretchen, whom Faust had deceived in part 1, pleads for him, so that he is apparently saved. Cf. *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–1842; ASKB 1641–1668, 55 vols. [1828–1833], abbreviated hereafter as *Goethe's Werke*), vol. 41 (1832), pp. 333ff. Cf. also a journal entry from November 1, 1835, written on a loose sheet of paper: "It would have made me very happy if *Goethe* had never continued *Faust*; then I would have called it a miraculous work, but here he has been conquered by human weakness. It takes a certain strength to see the hero of a piece be defeated in his struggle and, as in this case, despair over his doubt. But this was exactly what made Faust the great figure he is; precisely by being converted, he is drawn down to a more quotidian level. His death constitutes the perfect harmony of the piece, and we could certainly sit at his grave and weep, but would never think of lifting the curtain with which death made him invisible to our eyes" (*Pap*. I A 104).

Maanedsskrift . . . review of Oehl.'s Socrates] An 18 72
anonymous review of Oehlenschläger's tragedy *Sokrates* [Socrates] (Copenhagen, 1836), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], 8th year, no.

11 (November 1836), in vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 383–419. — **Oehl.**: Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), Danish poet, named titular professor in 1809, extraordinary professor (that is, a professor outside the ordinary appointment system) of aesthetics in 1810, rector of the University of Copenhagen in 1831–1832.

19 **If the tragedy with which we are concerned is viewed . . . images, etc.**] Quoted from *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16, pp. 400–401. Kierkegaard breaks off the quoted passage in the middle of a sentence, the rest of which reads: "or more specifically, the poet's own voice, bearing all the marks of his poetic individuality."

72 28 **Our opera—i.e., as we present it here**] This alludes to the Royal Theater's practice, in keeping with the Danish (and German) singspiel tradition, of replacing the sung recitative in Italian operas with spoken dialogue; this was also the case in the performance of Mozart's operas, starting in 1798 with *Cosi Fan Tutte* and subsequently with productions of *Don Giovanni* and *The Marriage of Figaro* (→ 69,27 and → 70,7). In 1842, this practice was changed. Cf. FF:9. In *Søndagsblad* [Sunday Paper], no. 7 (February 15), 1835, col. 110, Hans Christian Andersen faults the Royal Theater for performing Italian operas in this manner.

29 **vaudeville**] In the 1820s and 1830s, the vaudeville became a popular genre in Denmark, in part by virtue of J. L. Heiberg's vaudevilles, which were performed at the Royal Theater. In his essay *Om Vaudevillen, som dramatisk Digtart, og om dens Betydning paa den danske Skueplads. En dramaturgisk Undersøgelse* [On the Vaudeville as a Type of Dramatic Poetry, and on Its Significance for the Danish Theater: A Dramaturgical Investigation] (Copenhagen, 1826), Heiberg defines the genre as "the unity of two *art* forms: music and dramatic poetry" (p. 44), and as "a situational piece which has loosely sketched characters and in which the song takes the place of dialogue wherever the dialogue becomes most interesting" (p. 47).

72 31 **The Two Days**] Jean-Nicolas Bouilly, *Les deux Journées* (1800), in Danish translation, *De to Dage eller Flygtningene. Syngestykke i tre Acter af Bouilly oversat til Cherubinis Musik* [The Two Days, or the Fugitives: Singspiel by Bouilly in Three Acts, Translated and Set to Music of Cherubini], trans. N. T. Bruun (Copenhagen, 1802; abbreviated hereafter as *De to Dage eller Flygtningene*). The piece was performed at the Royal Theater for the first time in April 1803 and had more than fifty performances between then and 1836, when it was performed on November 30.

If they do not believe . . . from the dead] Abraham's reply to the rich man in Jesus's parable about the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:31): "If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead." 2 73

repressed being] i.e., self-developing being, fixed in one of its moments. 7 73

Chiliasm] The doctrine of the coming of the kingdom of Christ, which will last for a thousand years, a "kingdom of heaven" on earth, as mentioned in Rev 20:1–6. Notions of such a thousand-year kingdom have recurred during the entire history of the church. In particular, two principal variants of Chiliasm are well-known: *chiliasmus crassus* ("coarse chiliasm"), which wishes to force the creation and actualization of the thousand-year kingdom by means of struggle and, if necessary, with violence, and *chiliasmus subtilissimus* ("refined chiliasm"), which views the thousand-year kingdom as a time of spiritual bloom for the church and of the spread of Christianity prior to the return of Christ. (H. L. Martensen was an exponent of this latter view.) 9

subjunctive] → 69,4. 12

indicative] → 69,5. 14

p. 1 in the present volume] Page 1 of Kierkegaard's *Journal FF* (→ 69,2). 14

Pastor Stiefel . . . came close to killing him] Michael Stiefel or Stifel (1486 or 1487–1567), German Augustinian monk, friend of Luther, evangelical pastor and mathematician; he was interested in apocalyptic and cabalistic calculations based on various sources, including the Revelation of John, and he predicted (e.g, in his *Sermon vom Ende der Welt* [Sermon on the End of the World] from 1532), that doomsday and the end of the world would take place on October 16, 1533, at eight o'clock in the morning (according to other sources, on October 3 at ten o'clock in the morning); when this failed to happen, his many adherents felt cheated and 17

they threw Stiefel down from his pulpit, tied him up, and dragged him to Wittenberg, where they accused him of fraud. See *Herrn Peter Baylens . . . Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche übersetzt* [Mr. Peter Bayle's . . . Historical and Critical Dictionary, Translated into German from the Most Recent Edition of 1740], trans. J. C. Gottsched, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1741–1744; ASKB 1961–1964), vol. 4, pp. 288–291; and W. D. Fuhrmann, *Handwörterbuch der christlichen Religions- und Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of the History of the Christian Religion and the Church], 3 vols. (Halle 1826–1829; ASKB 75–77), vol. 3, pp. 738–739.

73 23 **the Quaker mentality**] An allusion to the Quakers or the Society of Friends, a Christian religious society founded by George Fox in mid-17th-century England. The Quakers permitted themselves to be led and guided by the spiritual inspiration of "the inner light," both in the conduct of their lives and during their religious services, in which the participants might sit quietly for many hours. They distanced themselves from every sort of historical Christianity, viewed outward forms as superfluous, and refused to perform military service, take oaths, or pay their tithes, just as they disdained worldly pleasures, pomp, and rank.

73 29 **The entire development of idealism in Fichte . . . an "I" . . . but without content**] This refers to the first principle of Fichte's epistemology. According to Fichte, it is an incontestible, primary, unconditional principle of knowledge that a self-identical thinking subject exists; employing a variant of the principle of identity, Fichte expresses this as "I = I." This is a purely formal principle, however, and not an actual empirical subject. Despite the fact that Fichte's "I" (like his predecessor Kant's transcendental "ego"), is thus an a priori, eternal, or "immortal" principle, it is nonetheless empty and "without content." — **Fichte**: Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), German idealist philosopher. In 1794 he published *Über den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre oder der sogenannten Philosophie, als Einladungsschrift zu seinen Vorlesungen über diese Wissenschaft* (English translation: "Concerning the Concept of the *Wissenschaftslehre*" in *Fichte: Early Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Daniel Breazeale [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988]) and *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre als Handschrift für seine Zuhörer* (English translation: *The Science of Knowledge*, trans. Peter Heath and John Lachs [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982]); in 1797 Fichte published his "Erste Einleitung in die Wissenschaftslehre" [First Introduction to the Science of Knowledge] and "Zweite Einleitung in die Wissenschaftslehre" [Second Introduction to the Science of Knowledge].

Aurora . . . grasshopper] According to Greek mythology, Aurora (Latin for the Greek goddess *Eos*, "dawn") asked Zeus to make Tithonos immortal. Tithonos was given eternal life but not eternal youth, and he sank under the burden of old age. Aurora finally transformed him into a cicada. 31

Fichte threw the empirical ballast overboard and capsized] This refers to Fichte's attempt, based on the first and second principles of his doctrine of science, to reason his way a priori to the subject and to the world. According to the first principle (→ 73,29) the subject posits itself as self-identical, "I = I." According to the second principle, the subject posits the world as the antithesis of itself; that is, the "not-I" (the world of things) is not the same as "I." In this way it can be said that Fichte "threw the empirical ballast overboard" by reasoning his way a priori (i.e., without any reference to empirical experience) both to the world and to the subject. But according to a widespread critique of Fichte, he "capsized" because both "the I" and "the world" ended up as abstract principles without content. 1 74

The first aria in The Two Days] The song about the little Savoyard in act 1, scene 1 of Bouilly's singspiel *The Two Days, or The Fugitives* (→ 72,31), pp. 5–6. Verse 1: "A Savoyard lay on a path,—Was almost dead and very cold; / A Frenchman was just walking by, / He hears the man's sigh and goes over to the poor fellow. / He now sees light and life again / Through the noble help of friendly hands:—/ Good Man! May God send you His reward; / This is what the charitable man reaps." Verse 2: "Soon we will see our beloved country / The victim of the wild flames of war; / The noble man is reduced to servitude; / His days threaten to end in a cruel death. / Death's messenger will soon call; / He sees that the end of his days is at 3 74

hand:—/ Friends, parents, cease your laments! / God rewards every good deed." Verse 3: "Our Savoyard goes to prison; / He seeks out the greatest dangers; / Not even Argus himself can resist his cunning; / When he is appreciated, his courage increases. / With his assistance the man escapes / And is free from the dark tower:—/ Oh! listen, then, to what Nature says: / God rewards every good deed."

5 **occasioned by the old man's desire ... without knowing it**] The old man is the grandfather, Daniel. His son, Michelli, conceals Count Armand and his wife in Paris and prevents them from being captured during a search of the house. The count had earlier saved the life of Michelli's son, Antonio. Antonio is mirrored in the song about the little Savoyard (i.e., a person from the French province of Savoy).

74 16 **critique of Baggesen ... in Kiøbhsposten today**] This refers to a Danish translation of an anonymous German article (a review) in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [Copenhagen Post], no. 347 (December 10, 1836), pp. 1–3, under the heading "Jens Baggesen's poetische Werke in deutscher Sprache, herausgegeben von den Söhnen des Verfassers Carl und August Baggesen" [The Poetic Works of Jens Baggesen in German, Published by the Author's Sons Carl and August Baggesen]; according to the editor of *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, the review article was "taken from a widely read German periodical." — **Baggesen**: Jens Immanuel Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish author.

17 **B. lacks that "ineffable something,"**] See the article in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, p. 3: "Even where he follows the loftiest flight of enthusiasm and the earth lies far beneath his delighted gaze, he lacks the one ineffable something without which there can be no poetry. His untiring spirit certainly fights its way free from matter, but not from reflection."

18 **continual**] Variant: *changed from* "inward."

20 **the allegory**] Here used in the sense of the pictorial or indirect, and thus unreal, presentation, behind which there is an interpretation or an understanding which is the correct one (see the previous note).

21 **cf. my papers on the Romantic**] Presumably an allusion to loose pages dated August 3 and August 4, 1836, respectively. On the first page is written: "Doesn't 1 Cor 13:12 βλεπομεν γαρ αρτι δι' εσοπτρου εν αινιγματι [For now we see into a mirror, dimly] contain a recognition of the necessity of *allegory* for our present standpoint? / The relation of allegory to the Romantic? / ... / when precisely the idea cannot reside in and be understood in the genuine expression.—the image—" (*Pap*. I A 214). And on the next page: "In a way the Romantic can also see into the drapery which modern art provides for its sculptures and paintings (in a way, allegory)" (*Pap*. I A 218).

the bush that sprouted up ... doom ... only to wither immediately thereafter] Alludes to an episode in the book of Jonah, in which, after the people of Nineveh changed their ways in response to the prophet's warning of doom and destruction, God spared them and Jonah became angry and bitter. However, as he sat outside the city, God caused a bush to sprout up and shade him from the sun—only to allow a worm gnaw at the plant so that it withered, leaving Jonah unprotected from the heat. When Jonah complained, God said to him that if he was concerned for the plant that withered, should not God be concerned for the more than 120,000 inhabitants of Nineveh? (The story is in Jon 4.) 25 74

Quotation from Hamann] See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal FF*, pp. 401 in the present volume. — **Johann Georg Hamann**: German philosopher and author (1730–1788); was born and grew up in Königsberg, where Immanuel Kant was the most famous of his many friends in the literary and philosophical circles of the day. His works, which are rich in allusions but not easy to understand, were an important philosophical source of the 19th-century reaction against the one-sided ideal of reason that characterized the Enlightenment. 7 75

the men ... dumb] among other things, alludes to the account in Lk 1:8–20 in which Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, was struck dumb when he was visited in the temple by the angel Gabriel, who revealed to him that his wife, Elizabeth, would give birth to a son who would "be great in the sight of the Lord." 9 75

Lemming] Frederik Carl Lemming (1782–1846), Danish musician and guitar virtuoso; in 1818 he 12

became a royal court musician in Copenhagen; from 1833–1835 Lemming was a violist with the royal court in Stockholm, but from October 17 to October 31, 1835, he performed at the Student Association in Copenhagen.

75 32 **why Robert le diable . . . perpetrates so much evil**] Alludes to a French legend; see the German translation, "Robert der Teufel" [Robert the Devil], in G. Schwab, *Buch der schönsten Geschichten und Sagen* [Book of the Most Beautiful Stories and Legends], 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1836–1837; ASKB 1429–1430), vol. 1, pp. 335–377. The legend tells of a duke and duchess in Normandy, who were unable to have children; in her despair the duchess promised the devil that if she had a son, he would belong completely to him. She gave birth to Robert, who proved to be evil and cruel. One day he wanted to know the truth about himself and the cause of his wickedness, and he asked his mother: "Mother, do tell me—I ask you, why is it that I am so godless and cruel? It must have come either from you or from my father. Therefore I ask you, tell me the truth about this!" (p. 347).

76 2 **the girl . . . to be mute**] On his pilgrimage to Rome, Robert met a hermit who had a dream in which an angel announced that as penance Robert must comport himself as a mute fool. In Rome, Robert lived among the dogs at the court of the emperor, and when the emperor had to go to war, Robert received weapons from an angel and heroically turned the tide of battle to the advantage of the emperor. This happened three times, and each time the emperor's mute daughter observed Robert secretly putting on his armor and riding off. She could thus reveal to her father that the mute fool, who ate with the dogs every day, was the knight who had saved Rome from its enemies and must therefore be rewarded by having the emperor's daughter as his wife. See "Robert der Teufel" (→ 75,*32*).

6 **Høgne . . . his body was formed as it was . . . p. 242**] The legendary hero Høgne was the son of King Aldrian's queen and an elf who had impregnated her while she was asleep after drinking. When Høgne was four years old, the boys he played with told him that he looked like a troll; he therefore went and looked at his reflection in the water, where he saw that his face was large and hideous. Thereafter he sought out his mother and asked her why he looked as he did, and she told him the truth. The story is found in *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier efter islandske Haandskrifter* [Stories of Nordic Heroes, taken from Icelandic Manuscripts], trans. C. C. Rafn, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: 1821–1826; ASKB 1993–1995), vol. 2, 1823, pp. 242ff.

Xt . . . equally much God and Man] This alludes to the dogma of Christ's two natures, one divine, one human. 9 76

The D. Juanian life] → 69,*27*. 20 76

in his Faust Lenau has Mephistopheles strike up a tune] This alludes to the section entitled "Der Tanz" [The Dance] in Lenau's epic dramatic poem *Faust. Ein Gedicht* [Faust: A Poem] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836), pp. 46–51. Faust and Mephistopheles come upon a rural wedding where Faust becomes infatuated with a woman. This causes Mephistopheles to complain to the musicians about the sleepy waltz they are playing. He therefore takes up a violin and plays so ecstatically that Faust dances out the door, through the garden, and into the forest with the beautiful woman. — **Lenau**: Pseudonym for the Austrian Romantic author Nikolaus Franz Niembsch Edler von Strehlenau (1802–1850). — **Mephistopheles**: In the story of Faust, Mephistopheles is the servant of the evil spirit, the devil. 21

Marthensen has not seen] This alludes to *Ueber Lenau's Faust. Von Johannes M. . . . . .n* [On Lenau's Faust: by Johannes M. . . . . .n] (Stuttgart, 1836). "Johannes M. . . . . .n" is a pseudonym for Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884); he took his cand. theol. degree in 1832, traveled abroad (visiting, in particular, Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, and Paris) in 1834–1836; received the lic. theol. degree in 1837; and in 1838 he was appointed lecturer in theology at the University of Copenhagen. During his stay in Vienna in 1836, he became a close friend of Lenau, whose *Faust* (see the previous note) he viewed as a Christian poem from beginning to end. Martensen incorporated his essay in "Betragtninger over *Ideen af Faust*. Med Hensyn paa *Lenaus* Faust" [Observations on the Idea of Faust, with Reference to Lenau's *Faust*], published in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for 22

the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg, no. 1 (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 569), pp. 91–164.

76 25 **a sect of Gnostics, in which one acquaints oneself with everything evil**] Presumably this refers to the Carpocratians, a Gnostic sect founded by Carpocrates (2nd century); cf. Eusebius's history of the church, bk. 4, chap. 7, *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første aarhundreder af Eusebius* [Eusebius's History of the Church during the First Three Centuries], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 37), p. 191, and C. W. F. Walch, *Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Kezereien, Spaltungen und Religionsstreitigkeiten, bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation* [Outline of a Comprehensive History of Heresies, Divisions, and Religious Disputes up to the Period of the Reformation], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1762–1785), vol. 1, p. 324. Kierkegaard could also be alluding to the Nicholites, a Gnostic sect founded by Nikolaos (2nd century); see *Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Kezereien*, vol. 1, p. 178, and H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of Church History], 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159), vol. 1, p. 155. Both sects were anti-Jewish and antinomian and taught that one must conquer vices by giving in to them.

27 **in the legends . . . those who have not been baptized . . . that others do not see**] It has not been possible to identify the source.

77 1 **the tax collector Zacchaeus in a sycamore tree**] This alludes to the account of the chief tax collector Zacchaeus in Jericho: because of his small stature and the great throng of people, Zacchaeus had to climb up a sycamore tree in order to see Jesus (Lk 19:1–10).

8 **The Drone House**] Here used in the sense of "the house for parasites."

8 **printed this year**] In early popular literature, especially broadsheet ballads, this phrase was sometimes printed instead of the year of publication; the purchaser in any given year was thus misled into believing that the book was new.

77 12 **Hell's punishment is eternal**] The idea that the ungodly were condemned to everlasting punishment in hell was based on such NT texts as Mt 25:41, Mk 9:47–48, and 2 Thess 1:9–10; it appears in the theology of Kierkegaard's time in, e.g., *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studierende* [Hutterus Redivivus, or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: A Handbook in Dogmatics for Students], ed. K. A. Hase, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1833 [1828]; abbreviated hereafter as *Hutterus redivivus*; see ASKB 581, which is a 4th ed. from 1839), § 127, pp. 382–388.

Faust] → 72,*9*, → 72,*14*, and → 76,*21*. 19 77

bestows upon us its founder's own body and blood] Refers to the belief that the bread and wine of the Christian eucharist becomes the body and blood of Christ. 27 77

Paul says about the relation of Xnty to Judaism: "Everything has become new"] Refers to 2 Cor 5:17: "So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!" 9 78

phraselike] Filled with or compounded of phrases; the German word *Fratze* ("mask," "grimace") may also be a part of the meaning here. 12 78

opening phrase] Premise, presupposition. 19

the Bridge of Sighs] In Venice, "il ponte dei sospiri" is the bridge (between the doge's palace and the prisons) across which those who were condemned to death were led to their execution; as early as Kierkegaard's day, this was presumably also the name for the connecting bridge that went over Slutterigade (*see map 2, A2*) between what was then Copenhagen's city hall and courthouse, on the one side, and the jail, on the other, designed by the architect C. F. Hansen and built 1808–1815. 22 78

Alcedo ispida (the kingfisher) . . . one's nest upon the sea] *Alcedo ispida* is the European species of kingfisher (*alcedinidae*). According to the Greeks, the period during which the kingfisher sits on its nest is one of calm weather; the Greek word for kingfisher, αλκινών (halkyon), can be used to describe calm and peaceful weather and can also be used to describe mental states. 25 78

The Hottentots always cut off . . . cause harm with its poison] This piece of information comes from 28 78

an article titled "De giftige Slanger i det sydlige Afrika" [The Poisonous Snakes of Southern Africa] in *Archiv for Historie og Geographie* [Archive for History and Geography], ed. J. Chr. Riise (Copenhagen, 1835), vol. 61 (= Nye Samling, vol. 22), p. 202.

79 9 **Frederiksberg Gardens**] A large royal park at Frederiksberg Castle, about two miles from the center of Copenhagen; the public was granted access to the park.

10 **Rørdam**] Cathrine Georgia Rørdam, née Teilmann (1777–1842), widow of Dean Thomas Schatt Rørdam (d. 1831), who lived in Frederiksberg. At the date in question, her son, cand. teol. Peter Rørdam (1806–1883), a teacher at the Westen Institute and at the Copenhagen asylum schools, was still living at home with his mother, as were his three younger sisters, of whom the youngest was Bolette Christine Rørdam (1815–1887); Peter Rørdam, a follower of Grundtvig, became a pastor in 1841. See AA:53 and AA:54 in *KJN* 1, 47.

79 12 **Sometimes it happens that ing are reconciled**] A different and complete version of this entry, stemming from the same period, can be found in DD:30 in *KJN* 1, 222–223. See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal FF*, pp. 395–397 in the present volume.

79 19 **Amagertorv**] S*ee map 2, C2.*

20 **At midnight last night . . . No one knows about it**] If this is a reference to a historical event, it has not been possible to identify it.

80 3 **the sort of paper on which writing . . . is held up to the light**] It has not been possible to determine what sort of paper this is. It may, however, refer to "sepia paper" on which writing becomes visible after the paper has been developed by being exposed to light; it could also be a reference to "sympathetic ink," a special sort of ink which only becomes visible on paper after it has been treated with heat, chemicals, etc.

80 9 **Colonel von Plessen . . . J. Kerner . . . p. 299**] This alludes to J. Kerner's account of Colonel von Plessen and his restless saddle horse in *Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur, durch eine Reihe von Zeugen gerichtlich bestätigt und den Naturforschern zum Bedenken mitgetheilt* [A Manifestation from the Nocturnal Realms of Nature, Corroborated by a Series of Testimonies, Reported for the Consideration of Natural Scientists] (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836), p. 299. Von Plessen was a former colonel in Napoleon's guard and after 1815 was the owner of Schmiedelfeld Castle in Würtemberg; Kerner visited the castle and recounted a series of remarkable incidents that occurred there. — **J. Kerner**: Andreas Justinus Kerner (1786–1862), German author, physician with an interest in parapsychological phenomena, and poet; one of the principal representatives of the late Romantic "Swabian School" of poetry.

Hamann] → 75,*7*. 21 80

Daub's] Carl Daub (1765–1836), German philosopher and theologian, appointed professor of theology at Heidelberg in 1795. Daub's theological and philosophical notions were first influenced by Immanuel Kant, but he subsequently came under the influence of F. W. J. Schelling, and he ended up as a right Hegelian and a leading representative of speculative theology. In May and June of 1837 Kierkegaard read Daub's essay "Die Form der christlichen Dogmen- und Kirchen-Historie" [The Shape of the History of Christian Dogma and of Church History], which appeared in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie in Gemeinschaft mit einem Verein von Gelehrten* [Journal for Speculative Theology, in Cooperation with a Society of Scholars], ed. B. Bauer, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1836–1838; ASKB 354–356); the essay begins in vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–60; it continues in vol. 1 no. 2, pp. 63–132; and is concluded in vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 88–161. See DD:1.c, 2, 12, and 13, in *KJN* 1, 205, 214–215. 24 80

A tree is standing in my father's courtyard . . . here, alone] Fourth verse of a Norwegian peasant song, "Kjøre Ved og kjøre Vatn" [Cart Wood and Cart Water]; see J. Davidsen *Ny Sangbog* [New Songbook] (Copenhagen, 1844), p. 286. The present wording differs slightly from Davidsen's version; it has not been possible to find an earlier source. 6 81

Thiele, Danish Folk Legends . . . blows in the silver horn] Cited from the last portion of the children's rhyme: "The crow sits on the red roof / And 10

cries with its daughters / We will travel to Denmark / And there buy shoes for half a mark! / Boys, boys, peppercorn, / The cat blows in the silver horn!" (J. M. Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* [Danish Folk Legends], 4 collections, 2 vols. [Copenhagen, 1818–1823; ASKB 1591–1592], collection 3 [1820], vol. 2, p. 152). — **Thiele**: Just Matthias Thiele (1795–1874), Danish author and folklorist.

82 6 **"to be sung to such and such or such and such a melody"**] If there is a source for this phrase, it has not been possible to identify it.

8 **the headings accompanying hymns . . . such and such a melody**] Apparently refers to the version of the *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog* [Evangelical Christian Hymnal] authorized in 1798, in which each hymn has a heading that indicates the melody to which the hymn is to be sung; see ASKB 195–196, printings from 1807 and 1823, respectively.

16 **this of course is why also the composer**] The text here has apparently been corrupted in copying; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal FF*, p. 398 in the present volume.

18 **the elder Hartmann**] Johann Ernst (or Joseph) Hartmann (1726–1793), Danish composer; known as "the elder" as distinguished from his son, A. W. Hartmann (1775–1850) and his grandson J. P. E. Hartmann (1805–1900), who were also musicians and composers. The elder Hartmann composed the music to Johannes Ewald's *Balders Død* [The Death of Balder] and his *Fiskerne* [The Fishermen]; the music to the latter work contains the song "Liden Gunver" [Little Gunver], in which the melody resembles folk tunes.

82 41 **what is said about Christ's words—that they are life and spirit**] Cf. Jn 6:63, where Jesus says to his disciples: "The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life."

83 4 **They talk . . . about variety . . . of the Romantic**] See lecture 21 in Christian Molbech's *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie, særdeles efter Digterne Evalds, Baggesens og Oehlenschlägers Værker* [Lectures on Modern Danish Poetry, Especially Since the Works of Ewald, Baggesen, and Oehlenschläger], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1832; abbreviated hereafter as *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie*), vol. 2, pp. 198f.: "This poetic use of Romantic material takes many different forms; but in general they can be said to have the common quality of seeking and presenting a *beauty in the multiplicity of things*, binding the most varied, wonderful, fabulous, and fantastical forms and images into a whole that can be apprehended by the receptive power of the imagination and the observant artistic sense." See BB:1 in *KJN* 1, 55.

6 **absolute solitude . . . no dog is heard baying in the distance**] See lecture 21 in Molbech's *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie*, vol. 2, p. 183, where he writes that Jean Paul compares "the Romantic with the illumination of a region by moonlight, or to the reverberations in the echoes of a bell, or a stroked string — 'a trembling sound, that as it were swims further and further away and finally becomes lost in ourselves, still sounding within even though outside us it is quiet.'" See BB:1 in *KJN* 1, 54. See also Jean Paul's description of the feelings of the Romantic poet in § 24, "Poesi des Aberglaubens" [The Poesy of Superstition], in *Vorschule der Aesthetik* [Introduction to Aesthetics], 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813 [1804]; ASKB 1381–1383), vol. 1, pp. 165f. (English translation, *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, trans. Margaret R. Hale [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973]).

9 **nymphs dwelt in them**] Refers to the wood nymphs who, according to Greek mythology, caused the growth of trees (especially spruces and oaks), which sprouted when nymphs were born and were protected by them from being cut by the axes of human beings; only when Fate decreed their death did the trees wither and the life disappear from the nymphs' souls. See *Paul Fr. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul Fr. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], F. G. Klopfer, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945), vol. 2, pp. 335f.

14 **a Socratic question**] That is, in Socrates' manner of ironically questioning the notions of his interlocutor.

14 **Pompeian taste is not . . . varied**] Refers to the polychrome murals of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which neoclassicists called the Pompeian style; it was seen as typically classical in style and was an inspiration to the neoclassicists, while the Romantics opposed it. In his twenty-first lecture on "the Romantic," Molbech emphasized this new art

form's debt to classical art; see his *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie*, vol. 2, p. 188: "After 2000 years we seek in vain to produce anything that can surpass the elegance of form, the grace, and the harmony of an urn or a vase modeled in accordance with ancient Greek taste, or everything connected with the decorative paintings from the excavated houses of Herculaneum and Pompeii or with their beautifully formed implements and furniture." The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum were begun in 1756, resumed in 1806, and continued in the years that followed.

84 2 **subterranean beings**] Supernatural beings (dwarves) which, according to popular legend, lived underground. See, e.g., *Mythologie der Feen und Elfen; vom Ursprunge dieses Glaubens bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Aus dem Englischen* [The Mythology of Fairies and Elves, from the Origins of These Beliefs to the Most Recent Times: Translated from the English], trans. O. L. B. Wolff, 2 vols. (Weimar, 1828), which Kierkegaard read in July 1837; see DD:23 in *KJN* 1, 218–219.

3 **changeling**] A child whom supernatural or subterranean beings place in a cradle in place of a child who has not been baptized; changelings often fail to thrive. The first legend in the third collection of Thiele's *Danske Folkesagn* (→ 81,*10*) is about such a changeling.

84 11 **novel**] → 70,*30*.

12 **short story**] → 70,*30*.

84 21 **a quotation . . . in an old devotional work**] It has not been possible to identify the source.

84 25 **"to orient"**] From the Latin *oriri*, ("to arise"); to orient (oneself) is to seek the rising (of the sun); to turn oneself toward something; to clarify.

85 2 **the Palau Islands**] A group of islands in the Pacific Ocean, east of the Philippines. The islands were under the Spanish crown until 1898. The allusion is apparently to the article "The Imprisonment of Some American Sailors in the Palau Islands," translated from the *North American Review* and published in the *Archiv for Historie og Geographie*, ed. J. Chr. Riise (Copenhagen, 1837), vol. 70 (= Ny Samling, vol. 31), cols. 1–13. The article tells of a shipwreck, imprisonment, enslavement, and for some of the sailors, liberation from the "uncivilized" wilderness.

Hamann] Presumably alludes to the Agagite Haman, whom Ahasuerus, king of the Persians, promoted to a position superior to all the great men of the monarchy, and who wanted to exterminate all the Jews because the Jew Mordecai, unlike all the others at court, would not obey the king's decree and fall to his knees before Haman; see Esth 3. Esther destroyed Haman's plans, however, and he ended his life on the gallows he had intended for Mordecai, who instead had honors bestowed on him, and the Jews were saved; see Esth 7. *14* 85

we are speaking of Pryssing] Cited from act 1, scene 14 of J. L. Heiberg's vaudeville *Recensenten og Dyret* [The Reviewer and the Beast] (1827), in which the book printer Klatterup (the name in Danish is a wordplay meaning "spotter up") has a conversation with the sixty-year-old law student Trop about the bookbinder Pryssing, and he says to the deaf writer Ledermann: "We are speaking of Pryssing." Cf. *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter. Skuespil* [The Collected Works of J. L. Heiberg: Plays], 7 vols. (Copenhagen, 1833–1841; ASKB 1553–1559), vol. 3 (1834), p. 231. Pryssing, who is attempting to establish himself as a publisher, owes money both to Klatterup and to Ledermann; and both Pryssing and Klatterup are made to appear ridiculous as two men who are interested only in money and in making a profit on what others write. *18*

depicted at Vesterport . . . holding a pair of scales] Vesterport is here confused with the larger and more grandiose Nørreport (*see map 2, C1*); in a niche in the outer wall (on the left-hand side as one looked toward the city) there was a statue of the goddess of justice, blindfolded and with a pair of scales in her left hand. *26* 85

Now I see why . . . occasional pieces] A slightly longer version of this entry can be found in DD:37, from August 1837; see *KJN* 1, 226. — **Socrates did not leave any writings**: Socrates (ca. 470–399 B.C.) developed his philosophy in dialogues with his contemporaries and left no written remains, but his character and his teachings were depicted by three of his contemporaries: Aristophanes, in the com- *8* 86

edy *The Clouds*; Xenophon, in his four "Socratic" writings, including the *Memorabilia*, a piece in memory of Socrates; and Plato in the dialogues. — **nor, in similar fashion, did Hamann . . . occasional pieces**: But see *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth and G. A. Wiener, 7 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–1825), and vol. 8, 1–2 (index volume) (Berlin, 1842–1843; ASKB 536–544), vol. 1, pp. x–xi; see DD:37 in *KJN* 1, 226 and the accompanying explanatory notes in *KJN* 1, 513 — **Hamann**: → 75,7.

86 28 **what Hamann calls "spiritual pederasty"**] See "Fünf Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend" [Five Pastoral Letters concerning School Drama] (1763), in *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 86,8) vol. 2 (1821), p. 434, where Hamann (→ 75,7) uses the expression "*die Schande der heiligen Päderastie*" ("the shame of holy pederasty").

86 30 **Janus bifrons**] The Roman god Janus, who guarded the crossing over the brook at the Forum, was usually depicted with two faces (*bifrons*), one looking forward, the other backward.

87 2 **Seeing is like**] Variant: *SKS*, following *Pap.*, notes that this may perhaps be Kierkegaard's slip of the pen for "Seeing God is like."

87 11 **The dualis of the Greeks**] A special form employed in Greek grammar, used with the inflection of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, when two of something is involved (duality).

11 **parallelism**] Alludes to "parallelism of the members" (often called *parallellismus membrorum*), which is the most important stylistic trait in Hebrew poesy and which is evident in the repetition of identical or analogous statements and/or grammatical structures in two or more successive lines of verse.

12 **the tonic of Greek music**] Refers to μέση, properly ἡ μέση χορδή (Greek [hē mésē chordē], "the middle string"), i.e., the central note in the most ancient note system, which consisted of three notes. According to Greek legend, Apollo tore the lyre strings to pieces, but the Muses succeeded in finding the tonic, μέση, which was one of the strings on the four-string Greek lyre, the tetrachord, which became the consonance—i.e., the harmony or accord of two notes—which formed the fundamental system underlying the most ancient Greek music. See Bindesbøll's review in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (see full reference in the next note), pp. 137, 139–140, and esp. 148, where it is explained that this system was further developed into an octave consisting of two independent tetrachords, "each of which had its own tonic in the highest note (e.g., *a* and *e*), but in which the higher tetrachord corresponded as the plagal (to use a later term) to the authentic, lower chord, so that the entire system had its tonic in the center (μέση)."

Bindesbøll] Refers to Bindesbøll's review of two essays on Greek music by E. F. Bojsen, *De harmonica scientica Græcorum dissertationis pars prior* [Dissertation on the Greek Science of Harmony: Part One] (1833) and *De problematis Aristotelis dissertatio* [Treatise on the Problems of Aristotle] (1836) in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 18 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 127–185, followed by supplementary remarks by one of the editors, F. C. Petersen, pp. 186–192. — **Bindesbøll**: Severin Claudius Wilken Bindesbøll (1798–1871), religion teacher at the Borgerdyd School, 1825–1832 and 1834–1838, and thus presumably Kierkegaard's teacher; subsequently a pastor, politician, and bishop. 12

The Lord's Prayer] Mt 6:9–13. 10 88
the Ten Commandments] Ex 20:1–17. 11

he wrote only in sand] Refers to the account in Jn 8:1–11 concerning the woman who was taken in adultery, where it is related that Jesus bent down and wrote "with his finger on the ground" (vv. 6, 8). 16 88

Pilate: What is truth] Cf. the account in Jn 18:28–38 concerning the Roman governor Pilate's questioning of Jesus. Jesus replied: "For this I came into the world, to testify to the truth. Everyone who belongs to the truth listens to my voice" (v. 37). And Pilate retorted, "What is truth?" (v. 38). 19 88
they crucify it] Refers to the gospel account that, after questioning Jesus concerning truth, Pilate ordered him to be crucified. 20

"B-minus"] Corresponds to the Danish mark *mg?*, which means "very good?" and was the equivalent 25 88

of "very good, minus-sign"; a mediocre mark in the grading system of the day.

89 1 **Hegel**] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher; 1801–1806, privatdozent at Jena; 1816–1818, professor at Heidelberg; and, from 1818 until his death, professor at Berlin.

1 **Charles V . . . setting clocks**] Refers to Charles V (1500–1558; king of Spain, 1516–1555; Holy Roman Emperor, 1519–1556). In 1555 he abdicated as king and in 1556 as emperor and sought peace in a private dwelling he had built earlier in Estremadura, Portugal, near the monastery of San Juste; he lived there in profound solitude. "He divided his time between devotional exercises and mechanical work (winding clocks), for which he had a natural talent," *Karl Friedrich Beckers Verdenshistorie, omarbejdet af J. G. Woltmann* [Karl Friedrich Becker's World History, revised by J. G. Woltmann], translated and augmented by J. Riise, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1822–1829; ASKB 1972–1983), vol. 6 (1824), pp. 165f.

89 4 **perfect pitch**] To say that perfect pitch is false in the mathematical sense refers to the circumstance that by dividing the octave into twelve equal intervals, the temperament tuning (→ 90,*1*) (which had become established by Kierkegaard's time) causes certain notes to deviate significantly from their ideal frequency. Since its introduction, this sort of tuning has dominated Western musical culture, so that these notes, which in the mathematical sense are imperfect, have become those preferred by the ear.

89 14 **between 2 thieves . . . repents**] See Lk 23:39–43.

89 18 **descended into the abyss**] Presumably refers to the notion that after his death on Good Friday and prior to his resurrection on Easter morning, Jesus descended into the kingdom of the dead in order to proclaim the gospel to the dead; see, e.g., 1 Pet 3:19 and 4:6, as well as the Apostles' Creed, which states that Jesus was "dead and buried, descended into hell, on the third day rose again from the dead."

19 **no one needs to ascend . . . to bring him up**] This alludes to Rom 10:6–7: "But the righteousness that comes from faith says, 'Do not say in your heart, "Who will ascend into heaven?" [that is, to bring Christ down] or "Who will descend into the abyss?" [that is, to bring Christ up from the dead].'"

the Church teaches . . . Xt is in it . . . is in heaven] 20 This refers to the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity, i.e., the doctrine of Christ's omnipresence, both in heaven, at the right hand of the Father, and as the body and blood in the elements of the eucharist, a presence "in, with, and under" the bread and wine during the consumption of the eucharist; see, e.g., the Lutheran confessional text *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession], article 10. (For an English translation see *The Book of Concord*, ed. and trans. Theodor G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988].)

he understands a fragment of a song] Danish 26 89 expression meaning to be able to take a hint, to understand what is merely implied.

The Greeks had much purer intervals in their mu- 1 90 **sic**] Ancient Greek musical theory employed intervals (i.e., tonal separations) based on relations between integral frequencies, e.g., the octave: 2/1; the fifth: 3/2; and the fourth: 4/3—the so-called Pythagorean tuning. By Kierkegaard's day, however, this tuning had been replaced by the equal temperament (still in use today) which, by dividing the octave into twelve equal intervals, makes the intervals less perfect but at the same time provides greater uniformity and flexibility in the use of musical keys.

A mad schoolmaster . . . ripe almonds] Perhaps 5 90 alludes to E. T. A. Hoffmann's tale of a mad secretary, Nettlemann, who believes himself to be the king of Amboina; he further believes that he has long been in captivity but now that his general has vanquished the Bulgarians, he can return home to his country. This is accomplished with a sort of procession in which he wears a royal crown made of gold paper and carries a scepter that consists of a ruler on which he has impaled a gilded apple. See "Ein Fragment aus dem Leben dreier Freunde" [A Fragment from the Life of Three Friends], which is included within the framework of a larger narrative work, *Die Serapionsbrüder* [The Serapion Brothers] (1819–1821); see *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* (→ 70,*3*), vol. 1, p. 175. — **Shrove Tuesday birch**: A decorated birch rod with which Danish

children wake up their parents on Shrove Tuesday. — **Aaron's priestly rod, bearing ripe almonds**: This refers to the selection of Aaron as priest of the Israelites in the desert. In accordance with God's command, Moses placed one staff for each of the twelve tribes in the tent of meeting; when he came into the tent the following day, Aaron's rod had "sprouted. It put forth buds, produced blossoms, and bore ripe almonds" (Num 17:8).

90 12 **Crucify him, crucify him**] This refers to the account of the judgment of Jesus in Lk 23:21, where it is related that the crowd shouted, "Crucify him, crucify him!" when Pilate wanted to release him.

12 **they cast lots for his cloak**] See Mt 27:35.

90 15 **vapeurs**] French, "fumes," "wind," "the vapors": nausea accompanied by an ill humor; a fashionable illness (especially among women), comparable to hysteria and hypochondria, but also to spleen.

90 20 **Ussing**] Tage Algreen-Ussing (1797–1872), Danish jurist, employed in the chancellery. In 1835 he was elected as a liberal candidate to the first Advisory Assembly of Estates in Roskilde, where he acquired great influence, owing in part to his sharp, polemical tone.

90 29 **John the Baptist**] John was a forerunner of Jesus and heralded his arrival; he was known as "the Baptist" because he preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" and baptized all who confessed their sins; see Mk 1:4–5.

91 6 **only after he was resurrected that Xt began to interpret the Scriptures**] Refers to the account in Lk 24:13–35 about Christ meeting the two disciples on the road to Emmaus and expounding to them the passages of scripture relating to himself, while not being recognized by them.

91 10 **Bjørn the barber**] In 1816 or 1817 Johan Christian Gottlieb Biørn (1778–1851) purchased the position of county barber (→ 91,*16*), though he did not obtain a royal license to operate a medical and surgical practice as county surgeon until 1823, when he also became a member of the guild of barbers; according to *Kjøbenhavns Veiviser* [Copenhagen City Directory], beginning in 1838, he resided at Frederiksberggade, property registry number 35 (*see map 2, A1–B1*).

Gjødwad] Jens Finsteen Giødwad (1811–1891), Danish jurist and journalist, editor of *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in 1837–1839. In April 1838 Giødwad was accused of several violations of the law concerning freedom of the press, but he was acquitted shortly thereafter. 11 91

licentiate] A university graduate who has obtained the degree of licentiate; here used in the sense of someone who takes license. 11

Kjøbenhavnsposten] The elder of the two leading liberal newspapers in Copenhagen (the other was *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland]), founded in 1827 by the jurist and journalist A. P. Liunge. During its first years the paper was particularly interested in aesthetic and cultural matters; in the 1830s it became a quite liberal political organ. 13

incarnations of Brahma] According to Hinduism, the divine principle, Brahman, can become incarnate in many forms. 15

Rosenhoff] Caspar Claudius Rosenhoff (1804–1869), Danish author and (political) journalist; from 1831 to 1834 (with some interruptions) he was co-editor of *Allernyeste Skilderi af Kjøbenhavn* [The Very Latest Sketches of Copenhagen]; from 1835 to 1846 he was the founder and editor of the liberal papers *Den Frisindede* [The Liberal] (→ 91,*17*) and *Concordia* (→ 91,*17*). 15

county barber] A barber who was a member of the barbers guild and who had passed the surgical examination administered by the Academy of Surgeons, thus earning the right to purchase the position of county barber. 16

with 3 tonsorial basins] Unlike other barbers who could place one or two tonsorial basins on their signs, county barbers were permitted to place three on theirs. In addition to serving as signs that could hang outside the shop, these basins were also used when mixing and applying lather. 16

Den Frisindede] A newspaper edited by C. C. Rosenhoff (→ 91,*15*); during the years 1835–1837 it bore the subtitle *Et Ugeblad af blandet Indhold* [A Weekly Newspaper of Varied Contents]. It was a liberal political paper that carried political and civic news as well as debate; in the early years it did not carry much news, but did so increasingly starting in mid-1837. The paper ceased publication in 1846. 17

17 **Concordia**] *Concordia. Et Ugeblad af almeeninteressant Indhold* [Concordia: A Weekly Newspaper for the General Reader], edited by C. C. Rosenhoff (→ 91,*15*), published by Den typografiske Forening [The Typographers Association]; it was published from August 1835 until July 1839. Concordia was the Roman goddess of unity; in the foreword to the first issue, Rosenhoff wrote that the name *Concordia* had been chosen because it meant "harmony."

91 20 **Heine . . . became fearful**] Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German poet, author, and critic; Heine made his literary debut with his *Gedichte* [Poems] in 1822. In 1833 and 1834 he published critiques of Christianity and German idealism: *Die Romantische Schule* [The Romantic School] (Hamburg, 1836 [1833]; ASKB U 63) and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* [Toward a History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany]. Heine participated in the loose-knit political and literary movement called *Das junge Deutschland* ("Young Germany"), which saw itself allied with various movements—including the July 1830 Revolution in France and the biblical criticism of the left Hegelians—and called for liberation in religious, moral, and political affairs. — **baroque**: Here used in the sense of unusual, bizarre.

22 **Buch der Lieder**] Heine's *Buch der Lieder* [Book of Songs] was published in Hamburg in 1827.

26 **on Heine, on his own doleful form**] Perhaps an allusion to the fact that the impoverished Heine, after applying for help from the French government, received annual support from a secret fund for the support of political refugees; he was severely criticized for receiving this support. Dissatisfied with his circumstances as well as with the political and literary situation in Germany, Heine had settled in Paris in 1831.

27 **Knight of the Doleful Countenance**] The hero and principal character in Spanish poet Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's novel *Don Quixote* (I–II, 1605–1615). Kierkegaard knew the work both from a Danish translation and—worth noting in the present context—from Heine's German translation, *Der sinnreiche Junker Don Quixote von La Mancha* [The Clever Knight Don Quixote of La Mancha] translated into German and with an introduction by Heinrich Heine, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1837; ASKB 1935–1936).

in his prose] Presumably an allusion to *Die romantische Schule* and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (→ 91,*20*). 1 92

the almanac heading containing the gospel verse for the day . . . closed doors] An allusion to the heading for the week beginning Sunday, April 22: "Jesus came in through closed doors; Jn 20," in *Almanak for det Aar efter Christi Fødsel 1838, som er det andet Aar efter Skudaar* [Almanac for the Year 1838 after the Birth of Christ, the Second Year after Leap Year] (Copenhagen, 1838). — **gospel verse for the day**: Jn 20:19–31, the gospel for the first Sunday after Easter, which in 1838 fell on April 22; the gospel text begins as follows: "When it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and the doors of the house where the disciples had met were locked for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said, 'Peace be with you.'" Further on, in verse 26: "A week later his disciples were again in the house, and Thomas was with them. Although the doors were shut, Jesus came and stood among them and said, 'Peace be with you'" (*Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Authorized Service Book for Denmark] [Copenhagen, 1830 (1688)]; ASKB 381; abbreviated hereafter as *Forordnet Alter-Bog*], pp. 76f). 5 92

music from Don Giovanni] Mozart's music for the opera *Don Giovanni* (→ 69,*27*). 14 92

Grabbe's Don Juan] *Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Don Juan and Faust: A Tragedy] (Frankfurt am Main, 1829; ASKB 1670), by Christian Dietrich Grabbe (1801–1836), German dramatic poet and theater critic. 18 92

oak leaves] A wreath of oak leaves, sometimes placed on the head, was formerly used as a sign of honor for deserving citizens. 22 92

bundle of firewood] Firewood in fairly long (two or three foot) pieces. 24

Charlottenlund] A wooded area, with parklands, about five miles north of the center of Copenhagen. 24

bad pennies] Money of little value, unusable money, or for money ordinarily used in trade. 28 92

Equal strokes . . . Danish blokes] Cited from part 2 93

2, scene 9 of Johannes Ewald's singspiel *Fiskerne* (1779); see *Johannes Ewalds samtlige Skrifter* [The Complete Writings of Johannes Ewald], 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1780–1791; ASKB 1533–1536), vol. 3 (1787), p. 213. Kierkegaard omits the punctuation from all four lines.

93 7 **Die Ironien in den Reden Jesu . . . Leipzig, 1838**] F. J. Grulich, *Ueber die Ironieen in den Reden Jesu noch ein Beitrag zu seiner Characteristik* [On the Irony in Jesus's Words, with a Contribution to Their Description] (Leipzig, 1838). — **Friedrich Joseph Grulich**: (1766–1839), German archdeacon in Torgau.

93 12 **Xt feeds us with his body and blood**] Refers to the words of institution of the eucharist; see Mt 26:26–28 and *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 92,5), pp. 252f.

93 14 **Lovers' Lane**] The path on the city side of the Copenhagen lakes, parallel to present-day Vester Søgade, Nørre Søgade, and Øster Søgade. The entire length was popularly known as Lovers' Lane, but in Kierkegaard's day people also differentiated Friendship Path (along Sankt Jørgens Lake), Lovers' Lane (along Peblinge Lake), and Marriage Lane (along Sortedam Lake). Other sources, however, called them Lovers' Lane, Marriage Lane, and Divorce Lane, respectively *(see map 5)*.

20 **a D. Quixote who will see such things everywhere**] Alludes to Don Quixote, the hero and principal character in Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote* (→ 91,27), who takes a group of windmills for terrible giants whom he must attack (bk. 1, chap. 8), *Den sindrige Herremands Don Quixote af Mancha Levnet og Bedrifter. Forfattet af Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* [The Life and Deeds of the Clever Lord Don Quixote of la Mancha: Written by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], trans. Charlotte D. Biehl, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1776–1777; ASKB 1937–1940), vol. 1, pp. 58f.

93 23 **Notarius publicus**] Latin, "public writer" (notary public); official whose business is to witness and confirm legal papers, e.g., wills.

93 25 **spirit-duplicator copy**] This is also a pun in Danish (*Brændeviinsaftryk*), playing on the fact that in addition to being an intoxicant—and as such rather mysteriously linked to the human "spirit"—alcohol, or "spirits," is also a fluid used for printing copies.

it is said that in drunkenness human beings place themselves beneath the animals] It has not been possible to verify the source of this saying. 1 94

Görres's Athanasius] J. Görres, *Athanasius* (Regensburg, 1838; ASKB 1673). Cf. KK:5, pp. 323 in the present volume. — **Joseph von Görres**: (1776–1848), German publisher, philologist, and historian; professor at Munich. 12 94

he demands freedom of speech] Alludes to the protracted and bitter debate in the opposition press concerning the much-condemned decree of September 27, 1799, on freedom of the press and its highly inconsistent interpretation by the courts. The decree was tightened, first by the public notice of May 13, 1814, concerning oversight of newspapers, journals, and periodicals by the chief of police, and subsequently by the public notice of November 1, 1837, which dealt with criticism of the monarchy, the constitution, and the government. On the other hand, this latter pronouncement also included a number of reductions in the severity of fines and imprisonment and in the duration of prior censorship for those who violated its terms. 16 94

Socrates . . . stand still] Alludes to Plato's *Symposium*, 220c, where Alcibiades states that Socrates once stood still for an entire day in order to consider something: "One morning he was thinking about something which he could not resolve; he would not give it up, but continued thinking from early dawn until noon—there he stood fixed in thought" (English translation, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961]). 22 94

a presentation copy] A fine copy of a book, intended as a gift to be presented by the author to his benefactor or patron; the book is specially bound, often has gilt-edged pages, and sometimes is printed on paper that is more expensive (e.g., thinner, India paper or thicker vellum) than that used for ordinary copies of the book. 26 94

95 2 **morocco leather**] Finegrained goatskin leather, often with reddish dye; from the late 18th through the middle of the 19th century it was a favored, if somewhat fragile, material for binding books.

95 8 **counterpoint**] From the Latin *punctus contra punctum* ("note against note"); here used in the sense of opposition.

95 16 **The watchman cries: "There is no other Savior."**] See *Instruction for Natte-Vægtere i Kiøbenhavn* [Instructions for Watchmen in Copenhagen] (Copenhagen, 1784), which lists the instructions from 1709, 1726, and 1729, where the verse the watchman was to sing at one o'clock in morning was: "Help us, O Jesus dear! / Our cross in this world / Patiently to bear! / There is no other Savior / Our bell has struck one. / Stretch out your hand to us, / O Savior-man! / Then our burdens will become light." In the version decreed in 1686 as well as in that decreed after 1784, the fourth line was "There is no other Helper." The 1784 version, which Kierkegaard uses, was reprinted in various places, including Th. Thaarup's *Journal og Haandbog for Kjøbenhavnere* [Journal and Handbook for Copenhageners] (Copenhagen, 1797).

96 3 **the divine economy**] The divine order or the order of the world (from the Greek οἰκονομία, [oikonomía]). The expression is used, for example, in chapter 4 of the letter of Diognetus, one of the writings in the collection of works by the Apostolic Fathers; see *Brevet til Diognetus om Christendommens Fortrin skrevet kort efter Aposteltiden* [The Letter to Diognetus, concerning the Excellence of Christianity, Written Shortly after the Time of the Apostles], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB 141), p. 5. See also Eph 3:9, where Paul speaks of God's "oikonomía," meaning a plan of salvation.

4 **not even knowing how one ought to pray ... assistance of the Spirit**] Alludes to Rom 8:26, where Paul writes: "Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but that very Spirit intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words."

96 9 **like those of Nebuchadnezzar ... what he had dreamed**] Alludes to Dan 2:1–12, where it is related that Nebuchadnezzar has had a dream (which later in the chapter turns out be a dream about a gigantic statue). He summons all his magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and astrologers and demands that they tell him both what it is he has dreamed and what it means. — **Nebuchadnezzar**: Babylonian king, actually Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 B.C.).

God creates out of nothing] Since the 2nd century, an increasingly widespread Christian understanding of the account of creation in Gen 1:1 has been that God created everything out of nothing; see, e.g., § 62 in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 77,12), p. 107: "*Creatio ex nihilo*" (Latin, "creation out of nothing"). See also 2 Macc 7:28: "I beg you, my child, to look at the heaven and the earth and see everything that is in them, and recognize that God did not make them out of things that existed. And in the same way the human race came into being." 1 96*m*

the communion of saints] See the third part of the Apostles' Creed, where one confesses believing in "the communion of saints..." 5

receives someone just as Rebecca did ... your camels as well] Alludes to the account in Gen 24 about Abraham, who sends his servant to his land and his people in order to find a wife for his son Isaac. Scarcely had the servant arrived at the well in the town of Nahor when Rebecca came up with a water jar on her shoulder. When she had filled the jar with water from the spring, the servant ran to her and asked to have something to drink, and she replied: "Drink, my lord" (v. 18). When he had slaked his thirst Rebecca said to him, "I will draw for your camels also, until they have finished drinking" (v. 19). 15 96

an old folk song ... "and wept so bitterly."] Refers to "Det var en Lørdagaften" [It Was a Saturday Evening]: "It was a Saturday evening / I sat and waited for you; / You promised me you would come, / But you did not come to me. // I lay down on my bed / And wept so bitterly; / And every time the door opened, / I thought that it was you. // I arose on Sunday morning / And wept so bitterly; / I wanted to go to church / To have a look at you. // But when I went to church, / I did not see you; / For you had gone another way, / In order to deceive me. // How shall one pick roses / Where there are no roses? / How shall one find love, / Where there is no love?" (*Danske Folkeviser og* 21 96

Melodier. Første Pentade, indeholdende fem jydske Viser med Melodier [Danish Folksongs and Melodies: First Pentad, Containing Five Verses and Melodies from Jutland], collected by Fr. Sneedorff-Birch [Copenhagen, 1837], p. 4). The editor "wrote down" the songs "in the same form in which he received them, orally from Jutland peasant girls" (p. 8). — **Sneedorf-Birck**: Frederik Sneedorff Birch (1805–1869), Danish author whose activities included the collecting of folk legends, proverbs, songs, and melodies.

34 **a substratum for the will . . . its object**] A substratum is something that supports the existence of something else. A substratum for the will is thus something that enables the will to hold on to its object.

97 4 **hatred of the monarchical principle . . . solo parts for four voices**] Presumably alludes to the four Advisory Assemblies of Estates which the absolute monarch Frederick VI had established by four decrees of May 15, 1834, and which the liberal opposition exploited as four more or less independent organs with which to criticize the policies of the absolute monarch.

97 26 **abnormality in the livers of Strasbourg geese**] Geese in various places, including Alsace in northern France, are force fed in order to overdevelop their livers, which are used in pâté de foie gras.

97 31 **post horn**] A signal horn that was used by a coachman to signal the arrival or departure of a mail coach, as well as to warn other coaches, which were obliged to yield the right of way to a mail coach.

98 6 **the Italian text . . . "Though they wither and soon die"**] Quoted from the Danish version of the conclusion of Leporello's "list" aria in act 1, scene 6 of Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (→ 69,27): "But the sweet—Tender, red / Flowers, pale with longing, / He inscribes in his heart; / Though they wither soon / In the flames around them! / Then he plucks new ones again!" (p. 23). Since the Danish translation is almost a complete rewriting of the original libretto, it would not have been possible for Kierkegaard to cite a parallel text in Italian. The opera was not performed at the Royal Theater between April 1, 1837 and May 28, 1839.

the song "My Full Glass and the Hearty Sound of Song"] Song no. 132 in *Visebog indeholdende udvalgte danske Selskabssange; med Tillæg af nogle svenske og tydske* [Songbook with Selected Danish Party Songs; with a Supplement Including Some Swedish and German], ed. A. Seidelin (Copenhagen, 1814; ASKB 1483), pp. 203f. 9

the stock exchange (its ruinous recession)] Perhaps an allusion to the consequences of the state bankruptcy and currency reforms of 1813. 19 98

walk in cothurni] A cothurnus or buskin is a boot with high heels and thick soles worn during the performance of tragedies. It can also designate a tragic manner of speech and expression, a stilted, grandiloquent, or bombastic writing style; to "walk in cothurni" perhaps means to be grandiloquent. 23 98

in boots] That is, on thin soles, as opposed to thick soles (see the previous note); "walking in boots" perhaps means the opposite of being grandiloquent. 23

Mrs. Ross] It has not been possible to identify Mrs. Ross. 26 98

"Good King Henry"] Danish, *stolten Henrik*, ("proud Henry") is the popular name for various medicinal herbs, e.g., *Chenopodium bonus Henricus*, a member of the goosefoot family, or for ordinary groundsel, *Senecio vulgaris*, as well as for various other plants, especially in the Compositae family. 34 98

The White Lady] *Den hvide Dame* [The White Lady] trans. Th. Overskou (Copenhagen, 1826); singspiel in three acts by the French author A. E. Scribe (*La dame blanche*, 1825) to music by the French composer F. A. Boieldieu (or Boyeldieu). It was performed at the Royal Theater for the first time in October 1826, and by December 5, 1837 it had been performed forty times; it was not performed in 1838. 2 99

the great aria "The White Lady hovers around us"] In act 1, scene 5, Jenny sings the aria "The old castle in the shadows of the forest," with the choral refrain "The White Lady hovers around you; / The White Lady can chastise!" (*Den hvide Dame*, pp. 15f.). 2

99 6 **Vaudeville**] → 72,29.

99 14 **Lucian**] Lucian of Samosata in northern Syria (ca. 120–ca. 180 A.D.), Greek sophist and author of satirical dialogues.

14 **παρανεκροι**] The word παράνεκρος (paránekros) is not found in Lucian, but the synonymous ὁμόνεκρος (homónekros) is found in the "Dialogues of the Dead," *Dialogi mortuorum*, no. 2, 1; see *Luciani Samosatensis opera* [The Works of Lucian of Samosata] stereotype ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1131–1134), vol. 1, p. 180. In *Lucians Schriften* [Lucian's Writings], 4 vols. (Zürich, 1769; ASKB 1135–1138), vol. 2, p. 358, the word is translated as "*so todt, wie ihr selbst*" (German, "as dead as yourself").

99 18 **There is an excellent dialogue in Lucian . . . he doesn't have one**] This refers to Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" (a series of short, comical sketches of life among the dead), *Dialogi mortuorum*, no. 22, 1; see "Charon und Menippus" in *Lucians Schriften* (→ 99,14), vol. 2, pp. 428–430. — **Lucian**: → 99,14. — **Charon**: According to Greek mythology, Charon ferries the souls of the dead across the Styx, the river of the underworld, to the kingdom of the dead. — **the Cynic Menippus**: Menippus (3rd century B.C.) was a member of the Cynic school who developed the Menippic satire as an extension of the diatribe (i.e., a pastime, a polemical piece). — **obol**: Greek coin; according to popular belief among the Greeks, one had to place a copper coin, an obol, in the mouth of a corpse in order to pay the ferryman Charon, who otherwise would not ferry the deceased over to the kingdom of the dead; see W. Vollmer, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Nationen* [Complete Dictionary of the Mythology of All Nations] (Stuttgart, 1836; ASKB 1942–1943), p. 528. — **Styx**: Also referred to as Acheron, a part of the Oceanos (the world sea) which streams down into the underworld as a river.

99 24 **The plasterer in Østergade**] Giuseppe Barsugli, who made plaster casts of works of art, had display windows on Østergade in Copenhagen (*see map 2, C2–D2*).

27 **Venus's admired loins**] Venus was the Roman goddess of love, the equivalent of the Greek Aphrodite; Pompeiian murals often depict Venus as the goddess of love and feminine beauty.

chamberlain's key] A special distinction in the form of a golden key which was worn on the right-hand coattail of a chamberlain's uniform. "Chamberlain" was originally the title of an important person at court, who waited on or escorted a king or a prince. In the Danish system of order and rank, the title of chamberlain situated one in the fifth position of the second rank. 28

Those who have gone beyond Hegel] To "go beyond" and to "get past" were stock phrases in Danish Hegelianism. See, e.g., H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College, Begun in November 1834] (Copenhagen, 1835), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen, 1836), pp. 515ff., where Martensen asserted that Heiberg had "gone beyond" Hegel's philosophy. See also F. C. Sibbern's review of Heiberg's journal *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee*, no. 1, June 1837 (ASKB 569), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, vol. 19 (Copenhagen, 1838), pp. 291f., where Sibbern acknowledged that Heiberg "both can move more or less freely within the Hegelian point of view, and has now begun to *go beyond* Hegel." Cf. also Sibbern's *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser, fornemmelig betreffende Hegels Philosophie, betragtet i Forhold til vor Tid* [Remarks and Investigations Primarily concerning Hegel's Philosophy, Considered in Relation to Our Age] (Copenhagen, 1838; ASKB 778 [a special edition of Sibbern's aforementioned review, which appeared in August 1838]), pp. 9f. These expressions appear to refer to the recent series of great German philosophers—Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel—each of whom took his point of departure in the ideas of his predecessor but reshaped those ideas in his own way and ended by rejecting him; in this sense it was said that they had "gone beyond" their predecessors. After Hegel's death, the 1830s were buzzing with the question of who would further develop his system and "go beyond" it. 19 100

the tree of knowledge] This refers to the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which stood in the middle of the garden of Eden, the fruit of which 27 100

God forbade Adam and Eve to eat; see the account of the fall into sin in Gen 3. The expression "the tree of knowledge" appears in Gen 2:17.

101 2 **Apollo**] In Greek mythology, the god of light and of the sun; when Apollo is portrayed as the ideal form of a male youth, he is normally nude.

3 **shame**] Here used in the sense of genitals.

101 5 **head tax**] A "poll tax," that is, a tax that is equally assessed on all heads, i.e., on all those subject to taxation. See G. L. Baden, *Dansk-Juridisk Ordbog* [Danish Legal Dictionary], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1822), vol. 1, p. 268: "We call it—or, we called it, because it is now abolished—a head tax, an extra tax of 1 rixdollar per year upon every head."

6 **competence of heads**] It has not been possible to identify this expression, but it presumably means equal rights or equal access for every head—i.e., for everyone—to participate in a matter.

101 9 **instructional assistants in modern philosophy**] Instructional assistants (Danish, *Repetenter*, ("repeaters") are teaching assistants employed by the university who repeat or go through the lectures with students. "Modern philosophy" here means Hegelian philosophy, and the allusion is presumably to J. L. Heiberg and H. L. Martensen.

13 **quatre à pointe**] French; ostensibly an expression from billiards, but it has not been possible to verify this.

101 17 **gnomes lift a mountain up . . . making merry inside**] See, e.g., Steen Steensen Blicher's tale "En Aften-Underholdning paa Dagbjerg Dos" [An Evening Entertainment on Dagbjerg Hill], in *Nordlyset. Et Maanedsskrivt* [Northern Light: A Monthly], ed. St. St. Blicher and J. M. Elmenhoff (Randers, 1827), vol. 1, pp. 102–107. In the story, Blicher relates that he took an evening walk and fell asleep near the top of the hill and saw that "the hilltop slowly rose into the air and formed a tent of heather held up by six fiery red columns," and a banquet was held inside, with food, wine, music, singing, and dancing.

101 22 **mistletoe . . . by the hand of a blind (anonymous) man**] Alludes to the story in Norse mythology about Loki, who seduced the blind Høder to shoot a fatal arrow of mistletoe at Balder, who was otherwise invulnerable. See J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte indtil Frode 7 Tider* [Superstitions, Gods, Fables, and Heroes of the Nordic People up to the Times of Frode VII] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1947; abbreviated hereafter as *Nordiske Folks Overtroe*), pp. 243f.

Kornmann: Mons Veneris] H. Kornmann, *Mons Veneris, Fraw Veneris Berg Das ist Wunderbare vnd eigentliche Beschreibung der alten Haydnischen vnd Newen Scribenten Meynung von der Göttin Venere, ihren Vrsprung Verehrung und Königlicher Wohnung vnd deren Gesellschaft wie auch von den Wasser Erd Lufft und Fewer Menschen sampt vielen andern wunderbaren Geschichten* [Mons Veneris: The Mount of Madame Venus That is, the Wondrous and Genuine Description of the Views Held by Ancient Pagan and Modern Writers of the Goddess Venus, Her Origin, Worship and Regal Dwelling and Society and also about Water, Earth, Air, and Fire, Human Beings, and Many Other Wondrous Stories] (Frankfurt am Main, 1614). — **Kornmann**: Heinrich Kornmann (ca. 1580–ca. 1640), from Kirchheim. 25 101

tiers etate] French, properly *tiers état*, ("third estate"), i.e., the bourgeoisie. 2 102

like the sword of Vaulunder . . . boulders as if they were clay] See Adam Oehlenschläger's poetic retelling of a portion of Sæmund's Edda in "Vaulundurs Saga," in *Poetiske Skrifter* [Poetical Writings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1597–1598), vol. 2, p. 29, where Vaulundur hacks a piece of ore out of a rock and forges it into a sword: "From this iron ore Vaulundur now forged a sword, the hilt of which he ornamented with perfectly blue gems; and this sword was so supple that he could wrap it around his waist, and so sharp that it could cleave boulders as if they were clay." — **Vaulunder**: In Norse mythology, Vaulunder (or Vaulundur or Vølund) was the god of smithing. In Anglo-Saxon literature he is known as Wayland. 6 102

the liberal press] In addition to *Den Frisindede* (→ 91,17), *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 91,13) and *Fædrelandet* (founded in 1834 by Professor C. N. David and J. Hage, a senior teacher), were the two leading liberal newspapers. 10 102

11 **"in response to the express request of countless well-distilled egg schnapps brewers"**] Quoted from Jens Baggesen's *Labyrinten eller Reise giennem Tydskland, Schweitz og Frankerig* [The Labyrinth, or a Journey through Germany, Switzerland, and France] (1792–1793), in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesen's Danish Works], edited by the author's sons and C. J. Boye, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1827–1832; ASKB 1509–1520), vol. 8 (1829), p. 203: "In accordance with the express command of countless distilled egg schnapps brewers." The phrase is also found, in quotation marks, in Thomasine Gyllembourg's novella "Slægtskab og Djævelskab" [Kinship and Devilry]; see *Noveller, gamle og nye, af Forfatteren til "En Hverdags-Historie"* [Novellas, Old and New, by the Author of "A Story of Everyday Life"], ed. J. L. Heiberg, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1835), vol. 2, p. 82. — **egg schnapps**: An alcoholic drink consisting of egg yolks, sugar, and plain schnapps or rum.

102 20 **oppido**] Actually a Latin adverbial ablative of the adjective *oppidus* ("firm, stable"). This adjective—the neuter noun form of which is *oppidum* ("town")—has apparently not been used by Latin in any other way, and the adverb *oppido* can therefore with some justice be described as an "antediluvian fossil" (→ 102,22). Kierkegaard could have found an explanation of the origin of this adverb in *Imman. Joh. Gerhard Schellers ausführliches und möglichst vollständiges lateinisch-deutsches Lexicon oder Wörterbuch* [Imman. Joh. Gerhard Scheller's Detailed and Most Comprehensive Latin-German Lexicon or Dictionary], 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1804 [1783–1784]; ASKB 1016–1020), vol. 3, col. 7197.

21 **formation**] Here perhaps referring also to a geological formation.

22 **antediluvian fossils**] Fossils of creatures that antedate Noah's flood. In Kierkegaard's day it was generally believed that an enormous flood (*diluvion*) had exterminated all plant and animal species, and that, with certain exceptions, they had thereafter been re-created. These exceptions were attested to by fossils of extinct plants and animals. A more radical theory proposed that all species had been re-created after the deluge and that the human race was a product of this second creation.

the Greek reciprocals (αλληλοιν) . . . oblique case] 25 102 ἀλλήλοιν (Greek [allēloin], "reciprocal pronoun") i.e., pronouns that designate mutuality, here cited in one of the *dualis* forms (dative/genitive in masculine or neuter). The nature of the case means that such pronouns are never in the singular form; rather, they occur in the *dualis* and plural forms, but only in the so-called oblique case, i.e., not in the nominative, which is the subjective case.

Saul's evil spirit] 1 Sam 16:23 relates that every 29 102 time an evil spirit from God came upon Saul (see v. 14), David played on his lyre, whereupon the evil spirit left Saul, and he felt better again.

finished his race] Presumably alludes to 2 Tim 4:7, 8 103 where Paul uses the expression "finished the race."

"Come unto me, all ye who suffer and are heavy laden"] 17 See Mt 11:28: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (King James version).

John alone who lay closest to his breast] Jn 13:23, 23 refers to John as the disciple "whom Jesus loved . . . the one who had reclined next to Jesus at the supper"; see Jn 21:20.

voice in the wilderness that prepares the way of the Lord] 26 See Mt 3:3.

Come ye, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from before the foundation of the world] 35 See Mt 25:34 (King James version), where Jesus utters this sentence, though without the word "before."

gossip mushrooms] A species of edible morel 3 104 mushroom (*Morchella esculenta*), which takes its common Danish name from the German *Sludderpilzen* ("gossip mushroom"); the term is also used about people who gossip.

cf. Miss Nielsen's cookbook] Miss Margrethe Sofie 3 Nielsen, *Veiledning i Kogekunsten for Huusmødre og Huusholdersker, indeholdende Tillavningen af næsten to hundrede udsøgte Retter* [Housewives' and Housekeepers' Guide to the Art of Cooking, Containing Recipes for Almost Two Hundred Exquisite Dishes] (Copenhagen, 1829). The final recipe, number 198, has the heading "stuffed morels" and begins "This uses the so-called large gossip mushrooms" (p. 120).

104 6 **human walking is a continual falling**] If there is a source, it has not been possible to identify it.

104 12 **the Jews, who at Nain exclaimed truthfully: "God has visited us."**] Refers to the account in Lk 7:11–17 about Jesus reviving the widow's son at Nain. When the dead man sat up and began to speak, everyone was seized with fear; they praised God, saying, " 'A great prophet has risen among us!' and 'God has looked favorably on his people' " (v. 16).

14 **over whom Xt wept . . . the hour of their visitation**] Refers to the account in Lk 19:41–44 in which Jesus weeps over Jerusalem, saying: "If you, even you, had only recognized on this day the things that make for peace! But now they are hidden from your eyes. Indeed, the days will come upon you, when your enemies . . . will crush you to the ground, you and your children within you, and they will not leave within you one stone upon another; because you did not recognize the time of your visitation from God."

104 18 **modern philosophy . . . adoptive son**] Kierkegaard possibly has in mind such left Hegelians as David Friedrich Strauß (1808–1874) and Bruno Bauer (1809–1882), both of whom interpreted the figure of Jesus mythologically.

104 21 **The Hegelians undertake many conceptual sublations . . . so much elation**] Hegel's German term for "sublation"—which connotes both negation and preservation—is *Aufhebung*, which was rendered by the Danish Hegelians as *Ophævelse*. Kierkegaard here makes a wordplay involving the ordinary Danish term *at gøre Ophævelser*, which means "to make a fuss." See Hegel, *Encyclopädie*, vol. 1, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 69,22), vol. 6, p. 191 (*Jub*. vol. 8, p. 229): "We mean by it [*aufheben*] (1) to clear away, or annul: thus, we say, a law or a regulation is set aside; (2) to keep, or preserve: in which sense we use it when we say: something is well put by" (Wallace translation, p. 180). See also *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1.1, in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 110f. (*Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 120f.). With respect to the use of the term *Aufhebung* / *Ophævelse* in Danish Hegelianism, see, e.g., J. L. Heiberg's *Ledetraad ved Forelæsningerne over Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik ved den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Guide to the Lectures on the Philosophy of Philosophy, or Speculative Logic, Held at the Royal Military Academy] (Copenhagen, 1831–1832), § 15, note 2, p. 7: "That which is sublated is not destroyed. To destroy something would be to return it to the same point it was at before it came into existence; but what is sublated *has nevertheless existed*. To sublate is therefore rather to *preserve*."

the mystery of God has been revealed in Xt] See Col 1:26–27, where Paul writes: "the mystery [*Greek*, μυστήριον, mystērion], that has been hidden throughout the ages and generations but has now been revealed to his saints. To them God chose to make known how great among the Gentiles are the riches of the glory of this mystery [μυστήριον], which is Christ in you, the hope of glory." And Col 2:2, where Paul speaks of having "knowledge of God's mystery [μυστήριον], that is, Christ himself, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." 24 104

mysterium impietatis] Latin, "the mystery of ungodliness." 25

the Antichrist] See 1 Jn 4:3: "every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God. And this is the spirit of the antichrist, of which you have heard that it is coming; and now it is already in the world"; see also 1 Jn 2:18–29. 26

Andersen] Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875), Danish poet and author, was made an actual knight (*Ridder*) in 1846, an honor never bestowed upon Kierkegaard. 27 104

Khavnsposten] *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 91,13). 2 105

imperial folio] Very large folio, i.e., a format that is more than about eighteen inches in height. 2

magna charta] From the Latin for "great document"; it is the fundamental basis of the English constitution, dating from 1215; usually referred to as the Magna Carta. 3

armed neutrality] Alludes to Danish foreign policy; in 1780 and again in 1800, Denmark entered into "armed neutrality" agreements designed to protect its shipping and its neutral status from the depredations of other powers. 5 105

105 7 **Sir Knight saw many fall down from the ladder . . . la la!**] Refers to the stanza of the song sung by Jørgen Hattemager's daughter, Luise, in scene 3 of J. L. Heiberg's vaudeville *Kong Salomon og Jørgen Hattemager* [King Solomon and Jørgen the Hatmaker] (1825): "No, knight, so many / Fall down from ladders, / But the path through the church door / Is safe and wide / La la!" See *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter. Skuespil* (→ 85,*18*), vol. 2 (1833), p. 317.

8 **churchyard**] In Danish, *Kirkegaard*; note that in Heiberg's vaudeville *Kong Salomon og Jørgen Hattemager* (see previous note) the term used is *Kirkedør* ("church door").

105 12 **Put off thy shoes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground**] Refers to the account in Ex 3 in which God reveals himself to Moses in a burning bush. When Moses saw the bush ablaze, he wanted to go closer to have a better look, but God called out to him, warning him against coming closer and ordering him to remove his shoes.

105 16 **sub poena præclusi et perpetui silentii**] Latin, "under penalty of exclusion and perpetual silence," a stock phrase used in legal notices to creditors and heirs concerning the lodging of claims in the settling of an estate.

105 19 **in the fairytale . . . the tongue in a church bell**] See *Irische Elfenmärchen*, trans. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm (from Thomas Crofton Croker *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* [London, 1825]), (Leipzig, 1826; ASKB 1423), p. xxxvii, where it is related that tenant of Strathspey had a talkative wife who "had a tongue and an empty head, like a bell in a church tower."

105 21 **The story of clever Else . . . don't we have a clever Else!**] Alludes to the fairytale of clever Else. One day, when her swain, Hans, was in the house, her mother sent her to the cellar for some beer. While Else was standing there tapping the beer from the keg, she looked around the room and saw a mason's hammer over her head, which the masons had mistakenly left on the wall. Then Else began to cry, saying: "When I get Hans and we have a child and he grows up and we send the child down to the cellar to tap some beer here, then the hammer will fall on his head and kill him!" And Else remained sitting in the cellar, crying miserably about the possible accident. When the serving maid, then the farm hand, then her mother, and finally her father heard Else tell of the frightful possibility, they exclaimed: "My, don't we have a clever Else!" and started crying. Finally, when Hans also came down there and learned why Else was crying, he realized how clever she was and decided to marry her. See "Die kluge Else," no. 34 in *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* [Fairytales], ed. J. L. K. and W. K. Grimm, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Berlin, 1819–1822 [1812]; ASKB 1425–1427), vol. 1, pp. 173–176. (English translation available in *The Complete Fairytales of the Brothers Grimm*, expanded 3rd ed., trans. Johnny Gruelle and Jack Zipes (New York: Bantam, 2003.)

Den Frisindede] → 91,*17*. 1 106

Khavnsposten] *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 91,*13*). 1

the way Niels Klim's caraway pretzels are related to himself] Refers to chapter 1 of Ludvig Holberg's anonymously published *Nicola Klimii Iter subterraneum* (1741); published in Danish as *Niels Klims underjordiske Reise* [Niels Klim's Subterranean Journey], translated by Jens Baggesen (1789); here, after his descent to subterranean depths, Niels Klim relates: "It occurred to me, however, that I had a pretzel in my pocket; I took it out just to see if I had a taste for anything while in this condition; but with the first mouthful I immediately noticed that all earthly food had become disgusting to me, and I therefore threw it away as a useless burden. How great was my suprise, on this occasion, when the pretzel I had thrown away not only remained hanging in the air, but—oh, miraculous!—even began to move about me in a circle. I thus got an idea of the true laws of motion, according to which all bodies, when they are in equilibrium, must move in a circle" (*Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [→ 102,*11*], vol. 12, p. 180). 1

the musk animal . . . strong stench] Refers to the musk ox, the musk sheep, or polar ox (*Ovibos moschatus*), a medium-sized, hollow-horned ungulate that lives in polar regions; during the mating season in August, the older males, in particular, have a penetrating and revolting smell of musk. 4 106

Khavnsposten] *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 91,*13*). 8 106

106 12 **But if you speak a single word . . . The Treasure Hunter**] Quoted from the third stanza, v. 3–4, of Oehlenschläger's romance "Skattegraveren" [The Treasure Hunter] in *Digte* [Poems] (Copenhagen, 1803), p. 29. The son asks his father whether there is such a thing as treasure that is given away by subterranean beings. The father answers: "Yes, son! When the cock crows / Then you must go and get it, / But if you speak a single word, / It disappears again!" — **Oehlenschlaeger**: → 72,*18*

106 16 **Andersen**] → 104,*27*.

106 25 **public-spiritedness**] Kierkegaard may possibly be alluding to the article "Om Almeenaand" [On Public-Spiritedness] by the German liberal political science professor K. W. Rodecker von Rotteck, translated in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 235 (August 28, 1838), pp. 947–949; nos. 239–240 (September 1, 1838), pp. 965–968.

26 **universalitas**] Here in the sense of the setting aside of the individual for the sake of the universal, the whole.

28 **antiquitas**] Here in the sense of old-fashioned virtue, integrity, and honesty.

107 3 **not saddle me with: One of those street tarts . . . whistles**] Quoted from J. H. Wessels (undated) poem "Jødepigen. Et Fragment" [The Jewish Girl: A Fragment]: "God of all poets, judge of all wit, / You, who are called upon so often, and who come so rarely, / Inspire my song, if you have time, / And if you have none, then send me a muse. / But send not one of those street tarts, / Who turn up right away, when some Jack whistles" (*Samlede Digte af Johan Herman Wessel* [Collected Poems of Johan Herman Wessel], ed. A. E. Boye [Copenhagen, 1832], p. 222).

Come out here . . . rib bone cracks] Quoted from 7 107
the Jutlandic monk and priest Ole Pedersen (Wolle Pæiersen or Peiersen), who, in his sermon on "the day of reckoning," placed himself in the situation of being ordered to stand before the judge. But he tried to hide, and the third time he was called with the following words: "Old Father Wolle Pæiersen in Jarlov, come out, or I'll pull you out so your rib bone cracks" (*Prædiken af den grundlærde Munk Pater Wolle Pæiersen i Jarlov om Hyrden, Faarene og Regnskabet, meget lystig og tillige sørgelig at læse. Nu med allerstørste Flid igjennemseet og efter det jydske Sprogs bedste Udtale forandret* [Sermon of the Very Learned Monk, Father Wolle Pæiersen in Jarlov, on the Shepherd, the Sheep, and the Reckoning: Very Merry and also Very Sorrowful Reading; Now, with the Greatest Diligence, Thoroughly Inspected and Put into the Best Jutland Dialect] (Copenhagen, 1823).

the passage in Claudius] Presumably refers to a 9
retelling of the story of David's fight with Goliath (1 Sam 17:4–51) by the German author Matthias Claudius (1740–1815), "Die Geschichte von *Goliath* und *David*, in Reime bracht" [The Story of David and Goliath, Put into Rhyme]; here it says, in the third stanza: "He was built like a horse, / With a shameless face, / An appallingly large mouth, / And only a little brain; / He bantered with everyone, / Telling tall tales and bragging a lot." And in the fourth stanza: "So he came forth every day, / Heaping scorn upon *Israel*. / 'Who is the man? Who will dare to face me? / Be it father or son, / If the dirty dog comes here, / I'll strike him down to the ground.'" See Matthias Claudius *Werke*, 5th ed., 4 vols., 8 parts (Hamburg, 1838 [1774–1812]; ASKB 1631–1632), vol. 1, part 3 (Wandsbeck, 1774; with separate title page, "*ASMUS omnia sua SECUM portans, oder Sämmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen*" [Everything I Have I Carry With Me, or the Complete Works of the Wandsbeck Messenger]), p. 110.

Notes for

JOURNAL GG

Critical Account of the Text of Journal GG

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Explanatory Notes for Journal GG

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL GG

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript and Its Transmission

Journal GG is mentioned in *B*-cat. as "[Loose Sheets:] From an old journal called GG." This designation of the journal as GG, though not found in the manuscript, may well have been Kierkegaard's own, perhaps written on an envelope or cover used to keep the loose sheets together. The bracketed description "Loose Sheets" is, however, certainly H. P. Barfod's. When both parts of the description are taken into account, it is clear that the journal did not exist in its original form when Barfod produced his catalogue of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers. Where the manuscript pages no longer exist, the text of the entries has been transmitted indirectly, via Barfod's *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [*EP*]. Four leaves (i.e., eight pages) in quarto format of the original journal survive and are preserved in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library. The handwriting is careful and easily readable. The pages show traces of having been folded. There are few corrections.

II. Dating

Five of the six surviving entries are dated. The first, GG:1, is dated August 6, 1838, and the last, GG:6, April 3, 1839. Since the first portion of the journal has been preserved, the journal was surely begun on August 6, 1838. But since the journal originally contained more pages than were available to Barfod, it does not follow that GG:6 was the last entry in what Kierkegaard himself knew as *Journal GG*.

III. Contents

All six entries have a theological character. The journal is introduced by an entry that, under the title "Copyist Exegesis," concerns the difference between the New and Old Testaments, according to the



4. Journal GG:1, the second page in the journal, though the first page written upon; see pp. 111 and 431 in this volume.

Christian ascetic Hierax. Entry GG:3 deals with the changing historical views of the concept of miracle. Entries GG:2, GG:4, and GG:5 contain Kierkegaard's thoughts on the exegesis of texts from Matthew's gospel, Chapters 11 and 12. Entry GG:2 deals with Mt 11:19: καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ("Yet wisdom is justified by her children"). GG:4 discusses Mt 11:11, where Jesus uses the word μικρότερος ("the least") to say that even the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist. GG:5, the next-to-last entry, relates to Mt 12:24–29, 43–45, regarding which Kierkegaard concludes that the devil could not assist in the driving out of evil spirits. The final entry, GG:6, concerns Romans 4. Kierkegaard points out that, rather than using the example of Abraham's offering of Isaac as an instance of faith, Paul instead discusses Sarah's barrenness (Rom 4:19), "for then everything was indeed left to God."

Journal GG, as indicated, was in use in 1838–1839, and it was in this period that Kierkegaard also began Journal KK. In both journals he was occupied with exegetical topics, but where KK:7 deals with chapters 9–16 of Romans in a fairly systematic way, GG is principally concerned with isolated texts, especially from Matthew's gospel. It is not unlikely that this interest in Matthew was inspired by H. N. Clausen's public lectures on New Testament hermeneutics or his private lectures on the interpretation of the first three Gospels, which were held in the winter semester of 1838–1839.[1]

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[1]) See the official list of lectures at Copenhagen University for the winter semester 1838–1839, p. 2: "*Dr. Henrik Nicolai Clausen* ... will give public lectures ... on New Testament hermeneutics ...; in private lectures ... he will interpret the first three Gospels (in Latin) ... Privatissime [most privately], written exercises will be set for senior students ..." The winter semester ran from November 1 of one year to the end of March in the following year.

Explanatory Notes

111 4 **After Hierax or Hierakas ... celibacy was not taught in the latter**] See C. W. F. Walch, *Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Kezereien, Spaltungen und Religionsstreitigkeiten, bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation* [Outline for a Complete History of Heresies, Divisions and Religious Conflicts until the Time of the Reformation], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1762–1785), vol. 1, p. 816, which describes how Hierax (ca. 300 A.D.), also known as Hierakas, a Christian ascetic from Leontopolis in Egypt, had extensive knowledge of Egyptian and Greek sciences and languages, as well as of the Bible, and made his living as a copyist of books. On pp. 820 and 822 Walch reports that he rejected marriage, which had been accepted in the OT, but was forbidden by Christ.

111 11 **καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς**] Mt 11:19, quoted from *Novum Testamentum graece* [Greek New Testament], ed. C. G. Knapp, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1829 [1797]; ASKB 14–15).

13 **Chrysostom ... (see de Wette, p. 121 inf.)**,] W. M. L. de Wette, *Kurze Erklärungen des Evangeliums Matthäi* [Short Explanations regarding the Gospel according to Matthew], 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1838 [1836]; ASKB 109), p. 121: "Chrys. Theoph. finds the sense [of the saying] to be as follows: J. [Jesus] (= Wisdom) has no guilt in relation to the Jews (= Children of Wisdom?)." — **Chrysostom**: John Chrysostom (ca. 344–407), bishop of Constantinople and one of the Doctors of the Church. Many of his sermons have survived, and de Wette refers here to his sermons on Matthew's gospel. — **Theoph.**: Theophylact (b. ca. 1050/1060, d. after 1125) Byzantine exegete and archbishop of Ohrid in Bulgaria from ca. 1090. De Wette refers only to his interpretations of the four gospels. — **de Wette**: Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849), German Protestant theologian, professor at Heidelberg (from 1807) and Berlin (from 1810) from where he was dismissed in 1819 because of his liberalism. From 1822 professor at Basel. Among his many works is *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* [Short Exegetical Handbook to the New Testament], vol. 1 (in 4 parts) and vol. 2 (in 8 parts) (Leipzig, 1836–1846; ASKB 108–109, 111–112); the commentary on Matthew is in vol. 1, pt. 1.

one or another later interpreter held the same opinion] See de Wette, *Kurze Erklärungen des Evangeliums Matthäi*, pp. 121–122 (in continuation of the quotation in the previous note): "which is the explanation [Meyer] has put forward: *the divine Wisdom*, conceived of as a hypostasis, *is justified* and far *from the guilt of the children of Wisdom* (as the Jews, as God's chosen people, are called)." "Meyer" is a reference to H. A. W. Meyer, whose four-volume commentary on the NT was published in 1832–1836.

as at 2 Thess 1:9] "These will suffer the punishment of eternal destruction, separated from [ἀπὸ] the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might."

This seems to be confirmed by what follows ... ingratitude.] See Mt 11:20–24.

transition to v. 20] Mt 11:7–19, where Jesus speaks about John the Baptist, ends with the words "Yet wisdom is vindicated by her [children]" (→ 111,*11*).

vv. 20–24] Mt 11:20–24 (→ 111,*22*).

what Christ had said: that they were like children.] See Mt 11:16–17.

Clausen ... moral considerations ... the Gergesenes] It is uncertain where Clausen gave his interpretation of the miraculous element of the NT—it is possible that it was in lectures attended by Kierkegaard. — **Clausen**: Henrik Nicolai Clausen (1793–1877), Danish theologian and politician; extraordinary professor of Theology (dogmatics) at the University of Copenhagen from 1822 and ordinary professor from 1830. — **Gergesenes**: See Mt 8:28–34. Some translations also have "Gadarenes."

the wedding in Cana] See Jn 2:1–12.

Christ's walking on the sea] See Mt 14:22–33.

Lazarus's awakening] See Jn 11:1–44.

a Judas (Jn XII:4)] See Jn 12:3–8.

112 *14* **μικροτερος**] Mt 11:11 says in reference to John the Baptist that "the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."

19 **God's household**] A reference to the NT concept of *oikonomia*, as at Eph 1:10 and 3:9, where the NRSV translates it as "plan." Here the reference is probably to Rom 9–11.

22 **the apostle**'s] Matthew; the author of the gospel was traditionally regarded as one of the twelve apostles.

23 **the more modern interpreters**] De Wette's *Kurze Erklärungen des Evangeliums Matthäi* (→ 111,*13*), p. 119, gives a full discussion of the use of the comparative, although not in the spirit of what Kierkegaard proposes here.

113 *2* **Xt's word 43–45 about the evil spirit's departing from a pers.**] See Mt 12:43–45.

carried over into God's Kingdom] See Mt 12:28. *6*

Rom IV] Rom 4 deals with Abraham as the father of faith. *11* 113

Some people have been surprised] It is unclear to whom Kierkegaard is referring here. Such a view is not presented in any of the commentaries on Romans known to have been in Kierkegaard's library. *11*

in emphasizing Abraham as an example of faith] See Rom 4:18–25. *11*

P.] Paul. *12*

that moment . . . sacrifice Isaac] See Gen 22:1–19. *12*

the example of Sarah's barrenness] See Rom 4:19–20. *15*

Notes for
JOURNAL HH

Critical Account of the Text of Journal HH
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NOTES FOR JOURNAL HH

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Journal HH is a bound book in octavo format, originally composed of twenty-two leaves (forty-four pages). Two leaves with two entries are no longer extant; these entries are not reproduced in H. P. Barfod's edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*), but the first several words of each are registered in Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-cat*.)[1] The binding and the surviving pages of the volume are in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Entry HH:1, which is on the first page of journal, bears the date "Cphgn. 14 June 1840." The remaining entries are undated.

In entries HH:2 and HH:3, Kierkegaard outlines what he calls "my standpoint for a speculative Chr. epistemology." Kierkegaard's draft of this epistemology appears under the heading "*Everything is New in Christ*," (i.e., Christ understood as an unfathomable breach in the history of the human race), and this position is contrasted with the Hegelian view that Christ can be understood as a stage in the development of the human race. Kierkegaard discusses this latter view under the heading "*There is Nothing New under the Sun*." Entries HH:4 and 5 are short commentaries on the two preceding entries. Judging from their content, these first five entries were in all probability written in July 1840 at the latest, following Kierkegaard's successful completion of the theological examinations at the University of Copenhagen on July 3, 1840.

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[1]) The entries that exist only in this fragmentary form are HH:6 and HH:7.

Having completed his theological examinations in July 1840, Kierkegaard enrolled in the Royal Pastoral Seminary on November 17 of the same year. A certificate from the pastoral seminary dated October 1, 1841, and signed by headmaster B. Münter confirms that "Mag. artium Hr. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard participated in homiletic and catechistic training in the winter semester of 1840–41." The pastoral seminary's register reveals that, in addition to the obligatory single semester of instruction, Kierkegaard continued his training during the summer semester of 1841. It was probably during his participation in the winter semester's exercises that Kierkegaard used *Journal HH* for outlining a series of sermons. In the summer semester of 1841 he was immersed in the preparation of his master's thesis, *On the Concept of Irony*, and was presumably not particularly active at the pastoral seminary; the thesis was published on September 29, 1841.[1]

For these reasons *Journal HH* was probably written in the period between June 1840 and March 1841, when the winter semester ended.

III. Contents

Journal HH contains thirty-four entries and consists primarily of sketches and drafts for sermons which Kierkegaard prepared in connection with training at the pastoral seminary. The Royal Pastoral Seminary was founded by an ordinance of January 3, 1809, for the purpose of overseeing the practical dimensions of the training of clergy. Through lectures and a series of exercises, the seminary offered theological candidates instruction in the disciplines of practical theology, such as homiletics, catechism, liturgy, psychology, and church law. After enrolling in the seminary in November 1840, Kierkegaard participated in training in homiletics during the subsequent year. The entries in *Journal HH* show Kierkegaard, on the basis of selected biblical passages, attempting to set forth the themes and develop the framework for various sermons. Fourteen of the thirty-four entries in *Journal HH* are provided with headings.

Entry HH:2 has its point of departure in 2 Corinthians and the book of Ecclesiastes. Kierkegaard's notes for a Christian epistemol-

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[1]) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Om Begrebet Ironi* in *SKS* K1, 119–145.

ogy are developed under the two headings: "*Everything is New in Christ*" and "*There is Nothing New under the Sun*." The entry is briefly referred to in the following entry, HH:3.

Entries HH:8 and HH:9 deal with the account of God's testing of Abraham in Gen 12–25 and with Abraham's designation as the father of faith. Two of Kierkegaard's entries in *Journal HH* served as drafts for passages that subsequently appeared in his published works. One of these, the above-mentioned entry HH:8 concerning Abraham and Isaac on Mount Moriah, appears in revised form in *Fear and Trembling* (in the "Eulogy on Abraham" and in the four versions of the "Exordium").[1] The other such entry is HH:10, which bears the title *"On the edification which lies in the thought that we are* **always** *in the* **wrong** *before God"*; the entry appears with only a few modifications in the "Ultimatum" of the second part of *Either/Or*.[2]

Entry HH:12 takes its point of departure in Heb 12:5–6 and contains a sketch for a sermon with the title "**God's tests**." In entries HH:19–20 Kierkegaard addresses the spiritual significance of experience: in HH:19, with reference to the account of the Pharisee Nicodemus in Jn 3:1–15 under the heading, "*What is it to want to have experience*," as well as in the shorter entry HH:20 on "Xn Experience." The subject of "experience" surfaces once more in HH:30, an entry titled, "*On* ***wanting*** *to have experience*." *Journal HH* concludes with three brief entries, HH:32–34, containing short sketches for sermons drawing from biblical texts, including Rom 8:38–39 and Mt 22:1–14. Entry HH:32 has the subtitle, "a Homily," which underscores the nature of these final entries.

In the period leading up the writing of *Journal HH*, Kierkegaard was also working with *Notebook 5*. In terms of content, certain shorter entries in that notebook coincide with portions of *Journal HH*, namely entries HH:12, 17, 25, and 26, which take up and elaborate ideas from the notebook in connection with Kierkegaard's instruction at the pastoral seminary. In addition, the outlines for five sermons in *Journal EE* were written at the same time as *Journal HH*.[3]

In summary, the first entry in *Journal HH* is dated June 14, 1840.

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[1]) See *FT*, 21–22 and 10–14; *SKS* 4, 117–118 and 107–111.

[2]) See *EO* 1, 339 and 348; *SKS* 3, 320 and 326.

[3]) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal EE*," pp. 355–364 in this volume.

After the completion of his theological examinations on July 3, 1840, Kierkegaard recorded four entries (HH:2–5) with ideas for a Christian epistemology. In November 1840, Kierkegaard made use of the journal again when outlining sermons during his training at the pastoral seminary.

Explanatory Notes

117 1 **14 June 1840**] Trinity Sunday; the gospel text was Jn 3:1–15, Jesus's nighttime encounter with the Pharisee Nicodemus, in which Jesus proclaims: "No one can see the kingdom of God without being born again" (v. 3) and "You must be born again" (v. 7); → 126,19.

117 2 **Everything is New in Christ**] Refers to 2 Cor 5:17.

10 **it is not as a new patch . . . elixir of youth**] Variant: *added*.

11 **a new patch on an old garment**] Alludes to Mt 9:16. Kierkegaard's reference seems to reflect Luther's German translation rather than NT 1819; see *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers mit einer Vorrede vom Dr. Hüffel* [The Bible, or the Complete Holy Scriptures: German Translation by Dr. Martin Luther with a Foreword by Dr. Hüffel] (Carlsruhe and Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 3).

11 **elixir of youth**] Refers to the magic potion that Faust drinks just before he meets Gretchen. The potion is to restore his youthful desires; see the scene in the witch's kitchen, in Goethe's *Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Faust: A Tragedy], in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen 1828–1842; ASKB 1641–1668, 55 vols., 1828–1833), vol. 12 (1828), pp. 128–132. Perhaps directed polemically against J. L. Heiberg's treatise, "En logisk Bemærkning i Anledning af H. H. Hr. Biskop Dr. *Mynsters* Afhandling om Rationalisme og Supranaturalisme, i forrige Hefter af dette Tidsskrift" [A Logical Observation on the Occasion of the Rt. Revd. Bishop Mynster's Treatise on Rationalism and Supernaturalism, in the Preceding Issue of This Journal], in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Journal of Literature and Criticism], ed. F. C. Petersen, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1839), pp. 441–456; see, for example, pp. 455f.: "In this way, Hegel has brought philosophy to the point at which a sudden shift of standpoint, which could only be achieved by a leap, will no longer take place, but everything new will be produced by the structural development of the existing order of things, that is to say, only insofar as the latter is honored . . . In this way, philosophy's structural form is established and it bears within itself the source of its rejuvenation." The Danish term here, translated as "the existing order of things," is *det Bestaaende*, which can refer either to that which exists, taken as a whole, or to the established order, the status quo.

13 **By way of comparison . . . There is Nothing New under the Sun**] See, for example, J. P. Mynster's treatise "Rationalisme. Supranaturalisme" [Rationalism and Supernaturalism] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* (→ 117,11), vol. 1, p. 260, in which he cites C. H. Weiße's *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* [A Critical and Philosophical Rendering of the History of the Gospel] 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838): "'We deny—he says—the miracles by which God, at first prior to Christ, but only among the Israelite people, and thereafter in Christ himself, is supposed to have revealed his external power over nature through the overturning of the lawful course of nature. We acknowledge only such wonders as consist in the manifestation of the power of the Spirit within frontiers which in normal conditions are inaccessible to it; but we claim that these wonders have occurred no less among pagans than among Jews, and in Christ only in a more pronounced manner than elsewhere.' " — **There is Nothing New under the Sun**: See Eccl 1:9.

21 **the very notion of mediation, the watchword of modern philosophy**] The term *Mediation*, which does not occur in Hegel, is used by the Danish Hegelians to render the Hegelian concept *Vermittlung*, i.e., "mediation" or "reconciliation." See, for example, J. L. Heiberg's "Det logiske System" [The Logical System] in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. Heiberg, no. 2 (Copenhagen, 1837–1838; ASKB 569), pp. 18, 21, and esp. 30. See also Kierkegaard's notes on H. L. Martensen's lectures on "Speculative Dogmatics," § 6 and § 16; see KK:11 in this volume. See, further, Martensen's treatise "Ratio-

nalisme, Supernaturalisme og *principium exclusi medii* (I Anledning af H. H. Biskop Mynsters Afhandling herom i dette Tidsskrifts forrige Hefte)" [Rationalism, Supernaturalism and the Principle of the Excluded Middle (On the Occasion of Rt. Revd. Bishop Mynster's Treatise on This in the Preceding Issue of This Journal)] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* (→ 117,11), vol. 1, pp. 456–473, esp. p. 458: "Christianity's central point, the doctrine of the Incarnation, the doctrine of the God-man, shows precisely that Christian metaphysics cannot rest in an either-or, but that it only arrives at the truth with *the Third* which that principle [the principle of the excluded middle] excludes." And again on p. 459, where Martensen asserts "that the concept of the supernatural cannot become actual without being mediated through the natural; thus it must contain this as its own moment."

22 **the exact opposite of the Xn**] See Mynster's treatise "Rationalisme. Supranaturalisme" in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* (→ 117,11), vol. 1, pp. 249–268, esp. pp. 261f.: "If Christ, the absolutely sinless, holy, and blessed, could appear in accordance with the natural course of things, by humanity's natural process of development, then human nature is not corrupt, then it is still what it originally was—a pure emanation or manifestation of the Godhead .... But if not, then our Salvation is not through any act of humanity, ... and, just as the first creation could not be a part of any preexisting series and could not have what we call natural continuity—though certainly continuity with the divine nature—in this way, the new creation in Christ, though prepared by divine provisions, is the first step in a new series, a new, unmediated infusion of divine life into the human." In response to this Martensen writes in his treatise (see the note above): "It must be acknowledged and strongly insisted upon that Christ does not appear 'in accordance with the natural course of things, that the new creation in Christ is the first step in a new series, a new, unmediated infusion of the divine life into the human.' Christ is not the *product* of the human race, his entry into history is not the *result* of the development of the race, though it is of course mediated by it" (p. 463).

28 **Xnty did not arise in the mind of any hum. being**] Alludes to 1 Cor 2:9, where Paul speaks of "God's wisdom," which is hidden from the wise of this world: "what no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him." See Mynster's treatise "Rationalisme. Supranaturalisme" (→ 117,22), p. 258, where he characterizes rationalism as "nothing other than the sum of the knowledge of God and divine things that reason is capable of providing."

fortes fortuna] "*Fortes fortuna adiuvat*" (Latin, "fortune favors the brave") is a quote from *Phormio* [Formio], act 2, scene 2 (v. 203); see *P. Terentii Afri Comoediae sex* [Six Comedies by P. Terentius Afer], ed. M. B. F. Schmieder and F. Schmieder, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1819 [1794]; ASKB 1291), p. 425. See also Publius Terentius Afer, *Andria, Selvplageren og Formio, tre latinske Lystspil* [Andria, the Self-Tormentor, and Phormio: Three Latin Comedies], trans. Mathias Rathje (Copenhagen, 1797; ASKB 1295), pt. 2, p. 124, where the expression is rendered as "he who dares, wins." 1 117*m*

God is mighty in the weak] Alludes to 2 Cor 12:9, where Paul reports God as telling him that "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness." See also 2 Cor 13:4. 2

genius] Creative power; intellectual autonomy; mind/spirit. 7

harmonia præstabilita] A philosophical term coined by the German philosopher and natural scientist, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who proposed the doctrine of preestablished harmony in § 59 of the first part of "Des Versuchs Von der Güte Gottes, von der Freyheit des Menschen, und vom Ursprunge des Bösen" [Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Human Beings, and the Origin of Evil] in *Theodicee* [Theodicy] (Amsterdam, 1710); see *Theodicee*, ed. J. C. Gottscheden, 5 ed. (Hannover and Leipzig, 1763; ASKB 619), pp. 212–215. Leibniz employs the expression "*l'Harmonie préétablie*" in § 80 in *La monadologie* [Monadology] (written in 1714, published posthumously); see *God. Guil. Leibnitii Opera philosophica, quae exstant* [Extant Philosophical Works of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz], ed. J. E. Erdmann, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1839–1840; ASKB 620), vol. 2, p. 711. 8

div. metaphysics, the Trinity] The doctrine of God's inner being as a trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 34 117

36 **validity of the concept of revelation**] See, for example, Mynster's treatise "Rationalisme. Supranaturalisme" (→ 117,22), vol. 1, pp. 249–268, where he asserts the actuality and validity of divine revelation, for example, on p. 266; here he criticizes rationalism and naturalism for "rejecting the necessity and the actuality of a revelation as a supernaturally instituted communication by God to human beings" and advocates supernaturalism, which "has its basis in precisely such a revelation."

120 4 **Everything is new in Xt . . . world-historical, speculative viewpoint**] → 117,22, and see Mynster's critique of C. H. Weiße (→ 117,13): "According to him, God's incarnation in Christ is as much an act of humanity as of God, and it belongs in the chain of all other prominent occurrences which reveal themselves in humanity's world-historical process of development" (→ 117,22), p. 260.

120 9 **upon arrival at Elysium, everyone had to drink of the waters of Lethe**] Refers to the Greek myth alluded to in Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, according to which immortal souls must drink from the waters of the River Lethe, which flowed from Elysium, in order to forget everything from their earlier lives on earth and in the underworld before again taking up residence in a body. In Plato's *Republic*, bk. 10, 621a–b, it is said that immortal souls must journey to the Plain of Oblivion and drink from the River of Forgetfulness to forget everything. — **Lethe**: From the Greek Λήθη (Lēthē), "oblivion, forgetfulness"; occurs most frequently as ὁ τής Λήθης ποταμός (hó tēs Lēthēs potamós), "River of Forgetfulness."

11 **must account for every careless word**] See Mt 12:36.

13 **presence**] Implying perhaps that "the past" is present in the sense that it is fully recalled.

121 1 **God tested Abr. . . . Abraham answered: Here I am**] See Gen 22:1: "After these things God tested Abraham. He said to him, 'Abraham!' And he said, 'Here I am.' " — **Abr.**: Abraham, who was, according to the Bible, father of the people of Israel through his son Isaac and grandson Jacob and thus the first of the three biblical patriarchs. God's covenant with Abraham included the promise that through Isaac his descendants would be as numerous as the stars and would have the land of Canaan as their homeland. See Gen 15 and 17; the Abraham narrative is found in Gen 12–25.

the mountains would conceal us] See Lk 23:30. 8

shift the burden from ourselves to others] Alludes presumably to Gal 6:2: "Bear one another's burdens." 9

Sarah] Wife of Abraham. 12

Isaac] Abraham's and Sarah's only child, second of the three biblical patriarchs (→ 121,1). 13

Eliezer, the faithful servant] In Gen 15:2–3 Eliezer is mentioned as the house servant who would inherit Abraham's goods if the latter were not to have a child. 14

We read: He rose early in the morning . . . he drew the knife] See Gen 22:3–10. 15

a child of promise in the same sense as Isaac was] → 121,1; alludes to Gal 4:28, where Paul writes: "Now you, my friends, are children of the promise, like Isaac." See also Rom 9:8. 22

God's almighty and unsearchable governance] See N. E. Balle and C. B. Bastholm, *Lærebog i den Evangelisk-christelige Religion, indrettet til Brug i de danske Skoler* [A Primer for the Evangelical Christian Religion, Prepared for Use in Danish Schools] (often referred to as *Balles Lærebog* [Balle's Primer]) (Copenhagen, 1824 [1791]; ASKB 183), chap. 1, "On God and His Properties," paragraph 3, § 3: "God is *almighty*, and he can do everything that he wants without effort. But he does only that which is wise and good, because that is what he wills, and that alone" (p. 13). See also chap. 2, "On God's Works," paragraph 2, § 5: "*What we encounter in life*, whether it be sorrowful or joyful, *is sent to us by God with the best intentions*, so we always have reason to be well pleased with his governance and direction" (p. 25). — **unsearchable**: Alludes to Rom 11:33, where Paul writes: "How unsearchable are his [God's] judgments and how inscrutable his ways." 24

the Lord gave, the Lord took away] See Job 1:21. 26

Isaac's fate was placed, together with the knife, in Abr.'s hand] → 121,15. 28

on the mountain, early in the morning] → 121,15. 29

his only hope] Alludes presumably to Rom 4:18, where Paul writes of Abraham: "Hoping against hope, he believed that he would become 'the father of many nations,' according to what was said, 'So numerous shall your descendants be.' " See Gen 17:15–21. 30

30 **he did not doubt**] According to Rom 4:20 "no distrust made him [Abraham] waver concerning the promise of God."

34 **the outcome of the story**] According to Gen 22:12, God's angel interceded when Abraham was about to slay Isaac, saying: "Do not lay your hand on the boy or do anything to him," and again in v. 13: "And Abraham looked up and saw a ram, caught in a thicket by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering instead of his son."

38 **He headed home**] See Gen 22:19.

42 **the ram that would save his son**] → 121,34.

122 3 **the divine voice from heaven**] See Gen 22:15–18.

122 5 **Nor did Abraham say: Now I have become an old man**] Presumably refers to Rom 4:19–21, where Paul writes of Abraham: "He did not weaken in faith when he considered his own body, which was already as good as dead (for he was about a hundred years old), or when he considered the barrenness of Sarah's womb. No distrust made him waver concerning the promise of God, but he grew strong in his faith as he gave glory to God, being fully convinced that God was able to do what he had promised."

10 **the consolation of my old age**] i.e., Isaac.

122 17 **I . . . cried . . . no one answered . . . no . . . reassurance**] Alludes perhaps to Ps 22:2: "O my God, I cry by day, but you do not answer; and by night, but find no rest." See also Job 30:20.

28 **sophism**] Captious argumentation, hairsplitting.

123 32 **God's tests are grounded in love**] → 124,3.

38 **he indeed is always with us**] Refers perhaps to Mt 28:20, where Jesus says: "And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age."

39 **the almighty God**] → 121,24.

124 3 **educate and shape**] The Danish term used by Kierkegaard is *opdragende*, lit. "drawing upwards"; colloquially, the process of bringing up or raising, e.g., a child. Kierkegaard is perhaps referring to Heb 12:5–6: "My child, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord, or lose heart when you are punished by him; for the Lord disciplines those whom he loves, and chastises every child whom he accepts." See also Prov 3:11–12. The Danish equivalent of "discipline" in this biblical passage is *Opdragelse*, which has connotations of positive guidance, rather than mere restraint.

There is no ground . . . every promise a mere shadow] Quotation from Thomas Kingo's hymn "Ak, Herre, see Min Hjerte-Vee" [Oh, Lord, See My Heart's Woes], 8th stanza, see no. 221 in *Psalmer og aandelige Sange af Thomas Kingo* [Hymns and Spiritual Songs by Thomas Kingo], ed. P. A. Fenger (Copenhagen, 1827; ASKB 203), pp. 491f. The hymn appeared as "Dend IV. Sang. Sorrigfuld og dog Trøstefuld" [The 4th Song: Sorrowful and yet Consoling] in *Thomas Kingos Aandelige Siunge-koors Anden Part* [Thomas Kingo's Spiritual Songs, Second Part], first published in 1681. (The Danish contains orthographic variations.) 14 124

you are the one who raises up and who casts down] Refers to 1 Sam 2:7: "The Lord makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts." See also Ps 75:8. 29 124

hope in the world] Alludes to Eph 2:12, where Paul writes to the Ephesians: "remember that you were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world." 33

your eyes, which see in secret] Alludes to Mt 6:4 and 6:18, where the expression "your Father, who sees in secret" occurs. 2 125

our longing for you] Refers possibly to Rom 8:19, where Paul writes: "For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God." 4

find favor in your eyes] Expression occurring frequently in the Hebrew Bible, see Gen 6:8, 18:3, 19:19. 8

God's grace will overshadow you] Alludes to Lk 1:35, where the angel says to Mary: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you." 12 125

ventures forth from the paternal home] Variant: *added*. 14 125

the Almighty Creator of all things] Cf. *Balles Lærebog* (→ 121,24), chap. 2, "On God's Works," paragraph 1, § 1: "*In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth out of Nothing*, by his almighty power 16

alone, for the joy and benefit of all his living creatures," p. 17.

17 **common Father of all**] Cf. Luther's commentary on the opening words of the Lord's prayer: "Our Father in Heaven. That is: God invites us lovingly with this brief introduction, so that we might genuinely believe that he is our true Father, and we his true children," *Doct. Morten Luthers liden (eller mindre) Catechismus* [The Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther] (Copenhagen, n.d. [ca. 1820]).

29 **Him who provides for all**] Cf. *Balles Lærebog* (→ 121,*24*), chap. 2, "On God's Works," paragraph 2, § 2.a: "*God provides for all his creatures, the least as well as the greatest*, and gives them all they need in order to live, and watches over them and protects them" (p. 22).

29 **powerful in the powerless**] → 117*m,2*.

126 4 **the Scriptures say . . . all fatherhood on earth . . . is named**] See Eph 3:14–15.

126 11 **a shadow**] Refers presumably to the expression "only a shadow of what is to come," in Col 2:17; see also Heb 8:5, 10:1.

11 **a reflection, an image**] Refers presumably to 1 Cor 11:7, where Paul says that men are "the image and reflection of God."

11 **an obscure expression**] Alludes to 1 Cor 13:12, where Paul writes: "For now we see in a mirror, dimly [King James version: in a glass darkly], but then we will see face to face." The wording in NT 1819 is: "*Thi nu see vi ved et Speil, i en mørk Tale* [in obscure discourse], *men da skulle vi see Ansigt til Ansigt*."

126 19 **the Gosp. reading . . . Nicodemus**] Jn 3:1–15, the gospel text for Trinity Sunday, see *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [The Authorized Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381; abbreviated hereafter as *Forordnet Alter-Bog*), pp. 104–106. — **Nicodemus**: A Pharisee and, according to John's Gospel, a member of the Jewish Council, or Sanhedrin; he defended Jesus from the accusations of the Pharisees (Jn 7:50–52) and together with Joseph of Arimathea is reported to have assumed responsibility for the burial of Jesus; see Jn 19:38–42.

26 **time of visitation**] Refers to Lk 19:44, where Jesus foresees the destruction of Jerusalem because it did not know its "time of visitation."

You will not leave us without witness] See Acts 14:17. 30

a spring] Alludes presumably to Jn 4:14, where Jesus says to the Samaritan woman: "But those who drink of the water that I will give them will never be thirsty. The water that I will give will become in them a spring of water gushing up to eternal life." 31

It is not for us to decide the time or the place] Alludes presumably to Acts 1:7, where Jesus says to the disciples: "It is not for you to know the times or periods that the Father has set by his own authority." See also Mt 24:36, 25:13 and 1 Thess 5:1. 33

the opportune moment] Refers to Eph 5:16, where Paul writes to the Ephesians: "making the most of the time, because the days are evil." 34

an inexhaustible spiritual treasure] Alludes to Lk 12:33, where Jesus says to the disciples: "Make purses for yourselves that do not wear out, an unfailing treasure in heaven, where no thief comes near and no moth destroys." 38

try his strength at all pursuits] Possibly an allusion to 1 Thess 5:21: "test everything; hold fast to what is good." 4 127

knew the hour and the minute] → 126,*33*. 21

the workings of the Spirit . . . where it goes] See Jn 3:8 (→ 126,*19*). 35 127

the house of the Lord] An expression referring to the the temple in the Hebrew Bible, or to the church in the New Testament; see 1 Tim 3:15, where mention is made of "how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the church of the living God." 38

his Temple] An expression for God's church (see previous note). 38

we are capable of nothing without God, but, when God is with us, we are capable of everything] Alludes presumably to Phil 4:13, where Paul writes: "I can do all things through him who strengthens me." 11 128

governance] → 121,*24*. 15

be awake . . . not dozing off] Refers to Mt 26:36–46 (the story of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane), in which it is related that on each of three occasions when Jesus left them in order to pray, the disciples fell asleep. — **fellow workers**: Kierkegaard's term, *Medarbeidere* ("co-workers"), is probably an allu- 18

sion to 1 Cor 3:9, which in NT 1819 refers to *Guds Medarbeidere* ("God's co-workers").

128 27 **God will make the temptation . . . such that we can bear it**] See 1 Cor 10:13: "No testing has overtaken you that is not common to everyone. God is faithful, and he will not let you be tested beyond your strength, but with the testing he will also provide the way out so that you may be able to endure it."

29 **fought the good fight**] See 2 Tim 4:7.

129 3 **sober and awake**] See 1 Thess 5:6.

129 4 **The Relationship of the Congregation to Xt . . . Bride's . . . to the Groom**.] A similar image appears in the book of Revelation; see Rev 21:2: "And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." The image has since appeared often in sermons, edifying literature (not least that of mysticism and pietism), and hymns.

13 **all of life is a time of engagement**] Refers to the belief, common to mysticism and pietism, that the believer, whose earthly life constitutes a time of engagement to Christ, will at death be received as a bride by the bridegroom Christ and enter into eternal life in heaven.

13 **the grave is the bridal chamber**] Refers to the belief, common to strains of mysticism and pietism, that the grave is the bridal chamber where the believer meets Christ the groom, in order that they may be united in heaven.

130 3 **God . . . has in Xt reconciled himself to the world**] Cf., for example, 2 Cor 5:18–19: "All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ, God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us."

130 14 **the left hand . . . what the right hand is doing**] See Mt 6:3, where Jesus says: "But when you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing."

130 27 **ineffable words**] Refers perhaps to 2 Cor 12:4, where Paul says of a person, presumably himself, "that such a person . . . was caught up into Paradise and heard things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat."

29 130 **teach us to pray rightly**] Refers to Lk 11:1, where one of the disciples, prior to Jesus's teaching of the Lord's Prayer, asks him: "Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples."

33 **promote our peace**] Alludes to Lk 19:42, where Jesus addresses these words to Jerusalem: "If you, even you, had only recognized on this day the things which make for peace!"

1 131 **overcome the world**] Alludes to 1 Jn 5:4–5: "for whatever is born of God conquers the world. And this is the victory that conquers the world, our faith. Who is it that conquers the world but the one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God?"

3 131 **and of course Xt does not always sit at the right hand of the Father**] On Christ's place at the right hand of God, see, for example, Mk 16:19, Lk 22:69, Eph 1:20, Col 3:1, and Heb 10:12, as well as the second article in the Apostle's Creed: "sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

5 **Stephen saw him standing at the right hand of the Father**] Refers to the story of the stoning of Stephen; Acts 7:54–60. — **Stephen**: One of the seven deacons who were charged with "waiting on the tables" (the distribution of food to members of the early Christian community); see Acts 6:1–6. He is honored in the church as the first Christian martyr; see Acts 7:2–53.

7 131 **Gosp. reading . . . Nicodemus**] Jn 3:1–15 (→ 126,*19*).

8 **On wanting to have experience**] See HH:19. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," p. 441 in this volume.

12 **This hour of devotion, too . . . your sorrow**] See HH:19. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," p. 441 in this volume. — **who knows the workings of the Spirit . . . where it goes**: See Jn 3:8 (→ 126,*19* and → 127,*35*). — **house of the Lord**: → 127,*38*. — **Temple**: → 127,*38*.

24 131 **And when temptations draw near, . . . with God we are capable of everything**] See HH:19. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," p. 441 in this volume. — **we know that we are capable of nothing without God . . . with God we are capable of everything**: → 128,*11*.

132*m* 1 **that we do not doze off . . . trust in God**] See HH:19. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," p. 441 in this volume.

132 7 **communion with Xt**] The expression occurs several times in the New Testament; see 1 Cor 1:9 and 1 Jn 1:6.

8 **Homily**] Greek, "fellowship, discourse"; in early church practice, a speech of admonition which followed a discussion among the members of the congregation of a scriptural passage read aloud at the conclusion of the service; later, the term came to refer to a more polished talk held in the congregation by those entrusted with delivering sermons; and finally, in its present usage, it designates the sermon delivered by the minister of the church (as opposed to evangelizing communication for nonbelievers).

9 **Romans: "neither angels, nor devils**] Refers to Rom 8:38–39, where Paul writes: "For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."

10 **Angels (Gal 1:8[)]**] See Gal 1:8: "But even if we or an angel from heaven should proclaim to you a gospel contrary to what we proclaimed to you, let that one be accursed!"

Devils (Eph)] See Eph 6:11: "Put on the whole armor of God, so that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." 11

Paul] Of Tarsus, who wrote of himself: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures" (Rom 1:1–2); he is traditionally regarded as the author of the first thirteen letters in the NT. 16

Apostle of the Lord] See previous note. 18

The Congregation as the Bride of Xt] → 129,*4*. 20 132

the Gospel story of the king . . . his son's wedding feast] See Mt 22:1–14, which is the gospel text for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity Sunday; see *Forordnet Alter-Bog* (→ 126,*19*), pp. 160f. 21

He learned from what he suffered] Refers to Heb 5:8, where it is said of Christ: "Although he was a Son, he learned obedience through what he suffered." 28 132

if anyone should have been exempted from it . . . surely he] Refers possibly to Mt 26:39, where Jesus prays: "My father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not what I want but what you want." 29

knew all things] See, for example, Jn 18:4: "Then Jesus, knowing all that was to happen to him, came forward and asked them, 'Whom are you looking for?' " 30

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL JJ

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

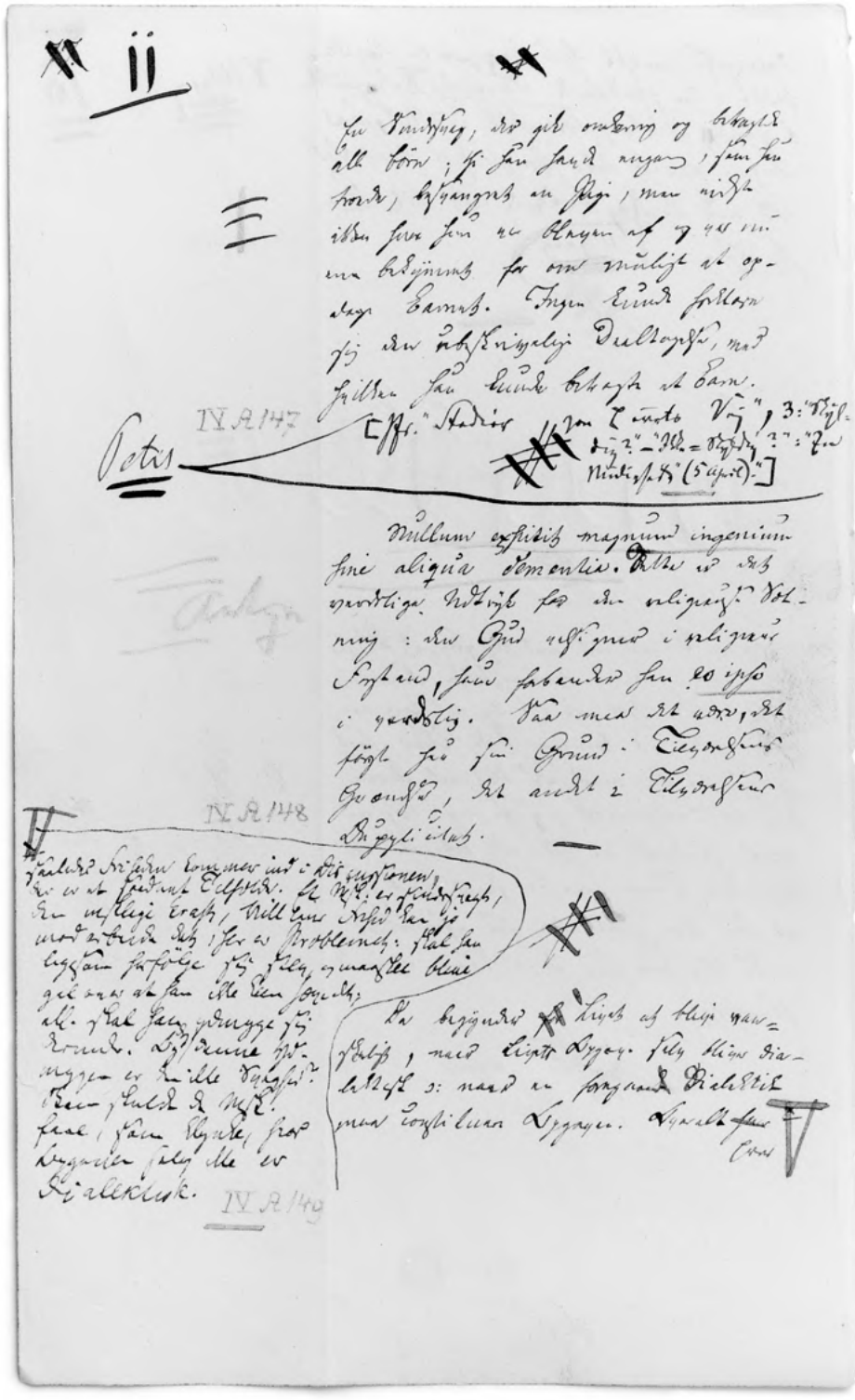
Journal JJ is a bound book in octavo format, written in both from the front and from the back. Remnants of the mark "JJ" can be seen on the verso side of the flyleaf at the front of the book. The journal originally consisted of more than 180 leaves (360 pages), but at present thirty leaves from the first half of the journal are missing. In most cases the wording of the journal entries from these thirty leaves has been transmitted indirectly, via H. P. Barfod's edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*). The full wording of six entries is unknown, however, and their contents is only attested to by *B-cat.*, where the first several words of an entry or a brief description of its contents is provided.[1] On five leaves of the journal, the entries have neither been transmitted indirectly nor catalogued because, according to *B-cat.*, these leaves were already missing at the time the catalogue was compiled.[2] The preserved portions of the journal are in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library.

The manuscript consists of a half-bound volume in brown leather with greenish marbled cover papers. The inside covers, the recto side of the front flyleaf, and the verso side of the rear flyleaf are covered with blue marbled paper. The spine has both blind embossing and a gilt design featuring golden lyres at the top and bottom. Kierkegaard wrote "JJ" on the upper left-hand corner of the verso side of the front flyleaf, but this corner of the cover, of the front flyleaf, and of the first four (unwritten) leaves was subsequently cut off, so that almost all of Kierkegaard's mark is missing. All the

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1) The entries that exist only in this fragmentary form are JJ:51, JJ:52, JJ:94, JJ:134, JJ:177, and JJ:178.

2) Kierkegaard himself appears to have removed the leaves in question. See illustration 5, which depicts manuscript page 77. On the margin of the page Kierkegaard copied out the concluding portion of the last entry on this page—the entry now designated as JJ:152—before tearing out the next leaf.



5. Journal JJ:150–152 with the concluding portion of JJ:152, copied onto the lower left-hand corner of the page by Kierkegaard; see pp. 175 and 465 in this volume.

leaves in the journal are loose, excepting the first four and the last four.

II. Dating and Chronology

Only ten of the journal's 517 entries are dated.[1] The portion of the journal written from the back of the volume consists of thirteen entries, JJ:505–517, which are introduced with the date "1842. May"; see illustration 6. The rest of these entries are undated, but since *Notebook 13*, marked "Philosophica," contains an entry from December 1842 that refers to the entry now designated as JJ:511, all the entries written from the back of *Journal JJ* must have been written before that date.

The first entry written from the front of the book is dated May 1842, while the last dated entry, JJ:419, is from February 1846. The next entries, JJ:420–504, are undated, though internal references to newspapers, journals, and books make it possible to assign approximate dates. Entry JJ:435 contains a reference to *Corsaren* [The Corsair], no. 285, which was published March 6, 1846, and in JJ:444 there is a reference to *Adresseavisen* (abbreviated form of *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office]), no. 72, which was published March 26, 1846. Entry JJ:462 refers to *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [Copenhagen Post], no. 122, which appeared May 30, 1846. Entry JJ:499 alludes to a passage in Adolph Peter Adler's *Skrivelser min Suspension og Entledigelse vedkommende* [Papers Related to My Suspension and Dismissal] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB U 10), which, according to a receipt from Reitzel's Bookshop, Kierkegaard purchased on August 25, 1846. Entry JJ:502 discusses the gospel reading for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, which in 1846 fell on September 6. The penultimate journal entry of this group, JJ:503, is presumably from the end of September 1846. In this entry Kierkegaard discusses "a panorama out beyond Vesterport" which featured "an exhibit of the new lucky star." The panorama's latest attractions, including "the lucky star," were advertised in *Flyveposten* [The Flying Post], no. 224, published on September 26, 1846, and Kierkegaard's discussion of it appears to indi-

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1) The dated entries are JJ:1, JJ:11, JJ:12, JJ:109, JJ:115, JJ:327, JJ:354, JJ:415, JJ:419, and JJ:505.

cate that he himself had been out there and had heard the barker for the attraction.

Thus all indications are that Kierkegaard wrote in *Journal JJ* until sometime around the end of September 1846, even though he had already begun *Journal NB* on March 9, 1846. Furthermore, during the period in which Kierkegaard was writing in *Journal JJ* he also made use of *Notebook 13*, which was in use from December 2, 1842, until March 1846.

In many cases the undated journal entries can be dated with varying degrees of precision; several of these entries will be discussed here.

Kierkegaard made only twelve journal entries in the period from May 1842 until November 20, 1842, presumably because he was writing *Either/Or* at this time. In entries JJ:53 and JJ:54 Kierkegaard speaks of *Either/Or* as a finished work, and since the book was published on February 20, 1843, these entries must have been written after that date. In entry JJ:88 Kierkegaard mentions "today's" *Adresseavisen* in which there was an advertisement for "ten and one-half yards of heavy black silk fabric." This advertisement appeared in *Adresseavisen*, no. 85, published on April 10, 1843.

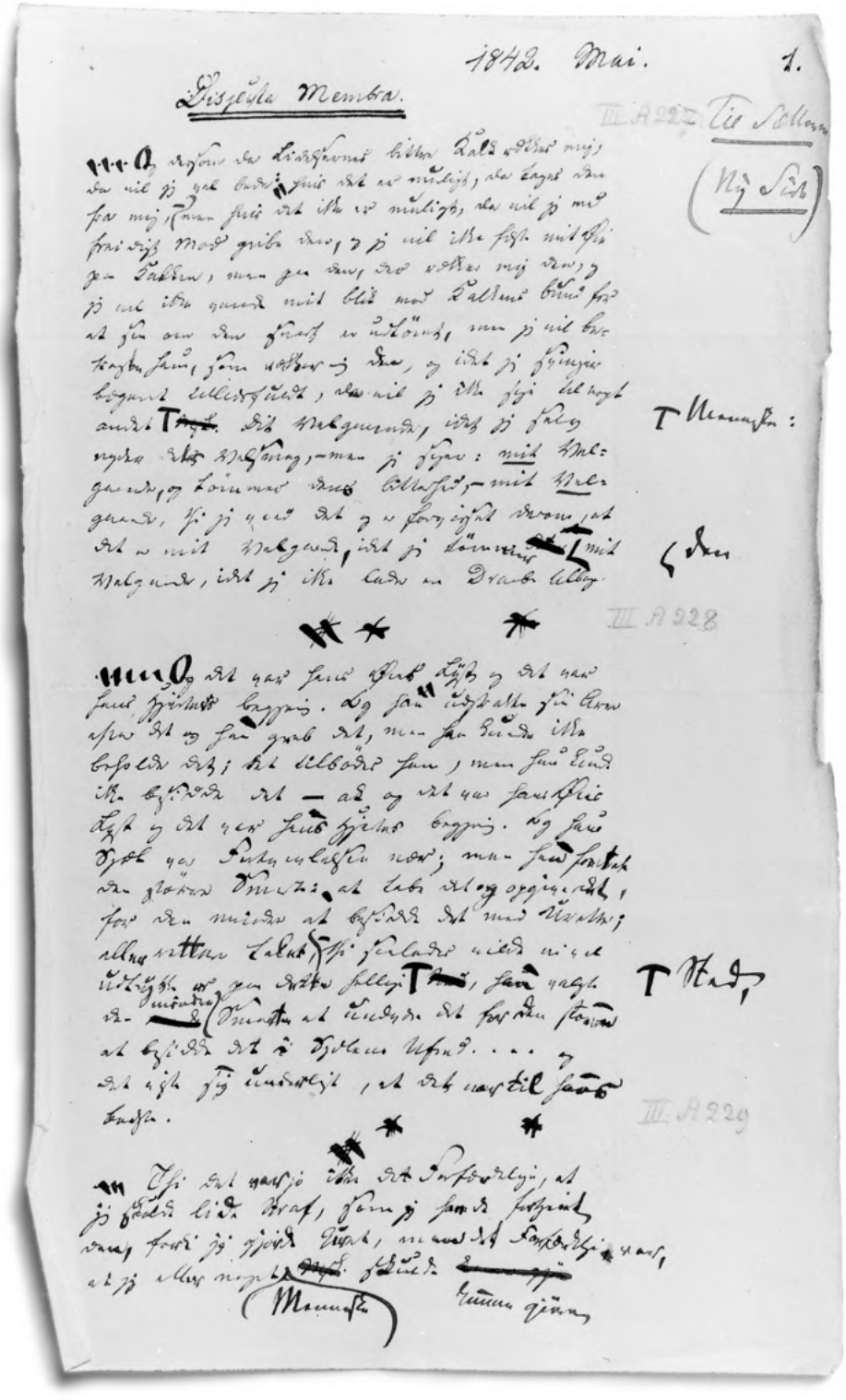
Entry JJ:93 mentions Kierkegaard's attempt to alter "that little preface to the 'Two Sermons,' " which was then at the compositor. Kierkegaard was referring to the preface to *Two Edifying Discourses*, published May 6, 1843; he had presumably given the manuscript of that work to the compositor in the first part of April of that year.[1]

In entry JJ:107 Kierkegaard mentions his encounter with Regine at the evensong service in the Church of Our Lady on Easter Sunday; in 1843 Easter Sunday fell on April 16. Entry JJ:144 is probably from August 1843. After this entry there is apparently a slight drop in the frequency of entries, since only twelve entries were made between August and October. This tempo apparently continued for the rest of the year, since entry JJ:171, in which Kierkegaard grumbles about "New Year's congratulations," was most likely written close to New Year's Day 1844.

Entry JJ:195 consists of Kierkegaard's reaction to a review of *Fear and Trembling* that appeared in an issue of *Theologisk Tidsskrift* [Theological Journal] that was mentioned in *Berlingske Tidende* [Berling's Times], no. 58, March 1, 1844, as having been published "recently."

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[1]) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *To opbyggelige Taler* (1843), *SKS* K5, 15.



6. Journal JJ:505–507 and part of JJ:508. Although written as early as May 1842 (see top of ms. page), these entries were written starting from the back of the book; see pp. 284 and 455 in this volume.

Two entries can be assigned to the first half of June 1844. Entry JJ:215 consists of a short reflection on Nicodemus, who is mentioned in the gospel for Trinity Sunday, which fell on June 2, 1844. JJ:227 appears to have been written around the time that *The Concept of Anxiety* was published; the manuscript of that work was delivered to the compositor on May 18, 1844; the printing was finished on June 11; and it was published on June 17.[1] In entry JJ:254.a Kierkegaard refers to *Politivennen* [The Policeman's Friend], no. 1494, which appeared on August 16, 1844. Entry JJ:288 is presumably from the end of 1844 or the beginning of 1845. In this entry Kierkegaard mentions his reading of F. A. Trendelenburg's edition of Aristotle's *De anima* (Jena, 1833; ASKB 1079); an extant receipt from a book dealer shows that Kierkegaard purchased the book on December 18, 1844.

Entry JJ:301 is probably from the end of January 1845; it consists of a "counter-parable to the one about the different sorts of seed" and thus alludes to the gospel text for Sexagesima Sunday, which fell on January 26, 1845. Entry JJ:311 has the heading "From a possible preface to my Occasional Discourses," which is a reference to *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions*, which was finished at the printer's on April 25, 1845, and was published on April 29.[2] Entries JJ:325 and 326 are thoughts Kierkegaard presumably wrote down after the publication of *Stages on Life's Way* on April 30, 1845; this dating is also supported by the circumstance that entry JJ:327 is dated May 14, 1845, the day of Kierkegaard's arrival in Berlin. Entry JJ:354 is dated June 10, 1845, but the subsequent entries provide only few and vague details from which to infer dates. Entry JJ:368, which mentions a dissertation by "Mag. Hagen," can be mentioned in this connection. In *Adresseavisen*, no. 161, July 12, 1845, Hagen's dissertation was advertised as having been published.

Finally, there is a group of entries made in connection with the completion and publication of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, which was finished at the printer's on February 20, 1846, and was published on February 26. Entry JJ:411 has the heading *Concluding Simple Postscript*, a title that was only changed to "Unscientific" on

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1) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest*, *SKS* 4, 307 and 322.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Tre Taler ved tænkte Leiligheder*, *SKS* K5, 381.

the fair copy, so this and subsequent journal entries must have been written during the proofreading phase, which also accords with the circumstance that entry JJ:415, which mentions "proofreading," is dated February 7, 1846.

In sum, it can be said that the portion of *Journal JJ* written from the front was written between May 1842 and September 1846, and the portion written from the back was begun in May 1842 and appears to have been finished no later than December of that year. The journal does not have any chronological discontinuities, but as mentioned above, the frequency of the entries varies inversely in proportion to the extent of Kierkegaard's work on his published writings.

III. Contents

It is probable that shortly after he started using *Journal JJ*, Kierkegaard began a reference system by marking his journals with the letters AA, BB, CC, and so on. *Journal DD* and *Journal EE* contain references that make it clear that this system of notation had not yet been adopted when those journals were in use. In entry DD:61, dated September 29, 1837, Kierkegaard refers to entry AA:26 as follows: "cf. book two, no. 2." And in entry EE:151.a, which was written sometime after July 29, 1839, there is a reference to the entry now designated as DD:176.a as being located "in one of my other books." But one of the first pages of *Notebook 13*—the notebook containing the "Philosophica," which according to a date on its cover was first used on December 2, 1842—contains the following reference to *Journal JJ*: "This is important to me for my theory of anxiety; cf. JJ, p. 3 from the back." This reference can scarcely have been written many days after December 2, 1842, and it demonstrates that Kierkegaard was using this reference system at that point. (Assuming that this is correct, and that Kierkegaard designated the journal under discussion as "JJ" in the latter half of 1842, this would appear to mean that he began using his entire alphabetical reference system at that time, when all the other journals in the *AA–KK* group were already finished, and that he affixed double letters to all ten journals at the same time.)

As noted, *Journal JJ* comprises 517 entries in all, of which 504 were written from the front of the book and thirteen from the back. The many entries deal with a broadly varied mass of materials that

cannot be summarized under any single heading. The journal is nonetheless noteworthy for the manner in which Kierkegaard made use of it.

The journal includes approximately one hundred entries containing material that Kierkegaard used in connection with the books he published during the period covered by the journal, i.e., from May 1842 until September 1846. These include the pseudonymous works *Either/Or* (1843), *Repetition* (1843), *Fear and Trembling* (1843), *Philosophical Fragments* (1843), *Prefaces* (1844), *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844), *Stages on Life's Way* (1845), and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (1846). There are also references to a number of works Kierkegaard published under his own name: *Two Edifying Discourses* (1843), *Three Edifying Discourses* (1843), *Two Edifying Discourses* (1844), *Three Edifying Discourses* (1844), *Four Edifying Discourses* (1844), *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* (1845), and *A Literary Review* (1846). Not only did Kierkegaard use entries from this journal in his published writings, there are also many instances in which material originally intended for published works—passages from drafts and fair copies—was edited out of the published versions but was preserved by being copied into the journal.

Entry JJ:506 (which is the penultimate entry written from the back of the book and is the fragmentary draft of a prayer) and JJ:6 (which speaks of savages who put their parents to death), were used in the essay "The Equilibrium between the Aesthetic and the Ethical in the Development of the Personality" in the second part of *Either/Or*.[1]

Entry JJ:125 includes two verses from Schack Staffeldt's poem "Elskovsbaalet" [The Fire of Love], which were included in the Young Man's first letter to Constantin Constantius in the second part of *Repetition*.[2]

In the lengthy entry JJ:87, which has the heading "Plot," Kierkegaard wrote a revised version of the idea that Abraham made himself appear to be an idolater and a cannibal in order not to deprive Isaac of his faith in God. With a few variations, this entry was incorporated into *Fear and Trembling* as the first "exordium" or "attunement."[3] And the motto at the beginning of *Fear and Trembling* was taken from Hamann's retelling of the story of Tarquinius Su-

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1) See *EO* 2, 265 and 287; *SKS* 3, 252 and 272.

2) See *R*, 195; *SKS* 4, 64.

3) See *FT*, 10–11; *SKS* 4, 107–108.

perbus's wordless communication with his son, to which Kierkegaard referred in entry JJ:129.

Philosophical Fragments is linked to four or five entries in *Journal JJ*, which in various ways serves as the source for portions of *Fragments*. Entry JJ:185 treats the difficulty of understanding the incarnation, and the entry found its way, in greatly elaborated form, into the second chapter of *Fragments*, titled "The God as Teacher and Savior (A Poetical Venture)."[1] In entry JJ:201 Kierkegaard compared the presuppositions underlying consciousness in the world of classical antiquity with those underlying consciousness in the Christian world, and entry JJ:202 discusses the ridiculousness of wanting to prove the existence of God. Both of these topics are treated in *Philosophical Fragments*.

In entry JJ:511 Kierkegaard touches on the concepts of anxiety and original sin; these later came to constitute the central axis of *The Concept of Anxiety*. Furthermore, entry JJ:511 is accompanied by two marginal annotations, one of which treats the anxiety characteristic of woman, and the other of which is a quotation from Hamann. Both of these marginal notes were incorporated in *The Concept of Anxiety*.[2]

Kierkegaard used two entries from *Journal JJ* in *Prefaces*. In the published work, "Preface VIII" is cast in the form of a philosophical journal; journal entry JJ:14, which treats Descartes' *Meditations*, had mentioned the idea of using the material in this manner.[3] And the motto that accompanies this preface in *Prefaces* was taken from entry JJ:40.[4]

Journal JJ contains more than fifty entries that can be linked, directly or indirectly, with the genesis of *Stages on Life's Way*: directly, because a number of themes and motifs that appeared in the journal were employed in *Stages*; and indirectly, by the way in which the journal reveals information about the gestational chronology of that work. Entry JJ:259, which is about a young mother who does not let herself be distracted by her little son while they are in church, was

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1) See *PF*, 26–27; *SKS* 4, 233–234.

2) See *CA*, 163; *SKS* 4, 460.

3) See *P*, 47; *SKS* 4, 508.

4) See *P*, 47; *SKS* 4, 508.

worked into "Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections."[1] In the first draft of "'In Vino Veritas,'" the Fashion Designer had not been included in the gallery of characters. Kierkegaard set forth his first ideas in connection with this figure as early as 1843 in entry JJ:142 along with its four related marginal entries, JJ:142.a–d, and it was on the basis of these entries that the Fashion Designer was later worked into "'In Vino Veritas'." In this case, the journal served as a sort of draft in which Kierkegaard worked out a character for subsequent use in a published work. Entry JJ:245 was at first used in "Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections," but it was subsequently edited out and used in "'Guilty?'/ 'Not Guilty?'"[2] a section of *Stages* consisting of a series of "midnight" and "morning" pieces that are interrupted by six inserted passages. The models for all six of these inserted passages are to be found in *Journal JJ*: JJ:226, JJ:118 and 118.a, JJ:121, JJ:76, JJ:56, and JJ:126 form the bases for inserted passages one through six, respectively.

Toward the end of the journal there are six entries—JJ:411, JJ:412, JJ:414, JJ:430, JJ:435, and JJ:439—which relate to *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* from 1846. The first two of the above-mentioned entries were probably written before Kierkegaard delivered the manuscript to the printer. Entry JJ:411, bearing the heading "Concluding Simple Postscript," was a part of the pseudonymous author Johannes Climacus's declaration to the reader titled "Appendix: An Understanding with the Reader"; it indicates that Kierkegaard made use of *Journal JJ* while he was working on *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Other entries in the journal postdate the publication of the *Postscript*: entries JJ:414 and JJ:435 contain Kierkegaard's thoughts on the book's impact and its reception, while in JJ:430 and JJ:439 he refers to other subjects which interest him and which he connects with the *Postscript*.

Material from *Journal JJ* not only inspired Kierkegaard's pseudonymous writings, it also served as an inspiration for books he published in his own name while he was using the journal.

Entry JJ:509, which is among the entries written in the journal from the back, was used in the discourse "The Expectancy of Faith,"

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1) See *SLW*, 138–140; *SKS* 6, 130–131.

2) See *SLW*, 388–389; *SKS* 6, 360.

in *Two Edifying Discourses* from 1843.[1] In *Three Edifying Discourses* from 1843, the theme from entry JJ:15 was used at the beginning of the first discourse.[2] In *Two Upbuilding Discourses* from 1844, Kierkegaard used three entries from the journal: entries JJ:189–190 were worked into the first discourse, "To Preserve One's Soul in Patience,"[3] while entry JJ:174 appeared in the concluding portion of the second discourse, "Patience in Expectancy."[4] In entry JJ:192 Kierkegaard discusses Spinoza's objections regarding miracles; this was used in "Think about Your Creator in the Days of Your Youth," the first discourse of the *Three Edifying Discourses* from 1844.[5]

In June 1844 Kierkegaard used *Journal JJ* to set forth his first ideas about writing occasional discourses; see entry JJ:220. In entries JJ:232 and JJ:255 he again touched upon the notion of writing occasional discourses. And although, as late as entry JJ:220, he had still only been considering the possibility of writing such discourses, by the time he wrote entry JJ:255 he appears to have decided to do so:

> "I am now going to write discourses for occasions instead of edifying discourses. Wedding speeches, communion discourses, or funeral addresses."

When working on *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions*, Kierkegaard made use of two entries from *Journal JJ*. One of these was entry JJ:291, which contains his thoughts on a line from Lessing's comedy *Minna von Barnhelm, oder das Soldatenglück* [Minna von Barnhelm, or the Soldier's Fortune]; it was used at the beginning of the discourse "On the Occasion of a Confession."[6] The other was entry JJ:218, which develops the idea that "the natural point of departure

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1) See *EUD*, 12–13; *SKS* 5, 22.

2) See *EUD*, 56; *SKS* 5, 66.

3) See *EUD*, 195–195; *SKS* 5, 198.

4) See *EUD*, 223; *SKS* 5, 222.

5) See *EUD*, 243; *SKS* 5, 242.

6) See *TDIO*, 16; *SKS* 5, 397.

for piety is *wonder*"; it forms the background for another passage in this same discourse.[1]

In entry JJ:383 Kierkegaard relates a story about two English lords who make a wager of £ 100 as to whether and when a helpless rider will fall off his wild horse. This story was subsequently used in *A Literary Review* at the conclusion of the chapter titled "The Present Age," where it provides an image of the conflict between action and reflection, and thus serves as Kierkegaard's description of his times.

Another essential aspect of the journal which ought to be mentioned consists of the records of Kierkegaard's readings of various philosophical texts, which he summarized and commented upon. He had wide-ranging interests and read quite broadly, but he particularly focused his attention on Aristotle, Leibniz, Spinoza, Tennemann, Jacobi, and, to a certain extent, Descartes and Hamann.[2]

In addition to the features already mentioned, *Journal JJ* contains a multitude of reflections, comments, and observations on many topics, including Kierkegaard's own published writings, politics, current events, legal cases, public figures (e.g., Mynster, Heiberg, Grundtvig, and Martensen), literary and philosophical figures (e.g., Goethe and Hegel), as well as allusions to theatrical pieces and to never-completed projects of his own. Also worthy of mention is Kierkegaard's use of contemporary newspapers and periodicals, including *Corsaren*, and of the language of the street—all of which seem to have occupied a place in Kierkegaard's mental universe on an equal footing with his comprehensive philosophical and literary studies. In addition, the relatively modest physical dimensions of the volume containing the journal made it possible for Kierkegaard to carry it with him on his journeys. Thus he had it with him when he visited Berlin in 1843 and again in 1845, and apparently he also took it along on outings in the woods; see entry JJ:91.

Finally, one additional aspect of the journal must be mentioned,

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1) See *TDIO*, 19; *SKS* 5, 399–400.

2) At the same time that he was busy with *Journal JJ*, Kierkegaard was also busy at work in *Notebook 13*, where he wrote excerpts from (and his comments on) various philosophers, particularly Descartes, Aristotle, Leibniz, and Tennemann.

namely the entries that concern Kierkegaard's relationship with his onetime fiancée, Regine Olsen. There are not many of these, but they stand out from the journal's other entries, in part because of their length and in part because of the pains he took to delete them. The entries involved are JJ:107, JJ:115, JJ:140, and JJ:145, each of which takes up—or took up—between one and one-half and five pages of the journal. At a later point Kierkegaard returned to these entries and deleted them, either by tearing out pages or, when there were other entries he wanted to preserve, by using elegant loops of ink to obliterate what he had written.[1] With the use of a microscope it has been possible to read the entries deleted in the latter manner, but of course we do not know what was on the pages that were torn out.

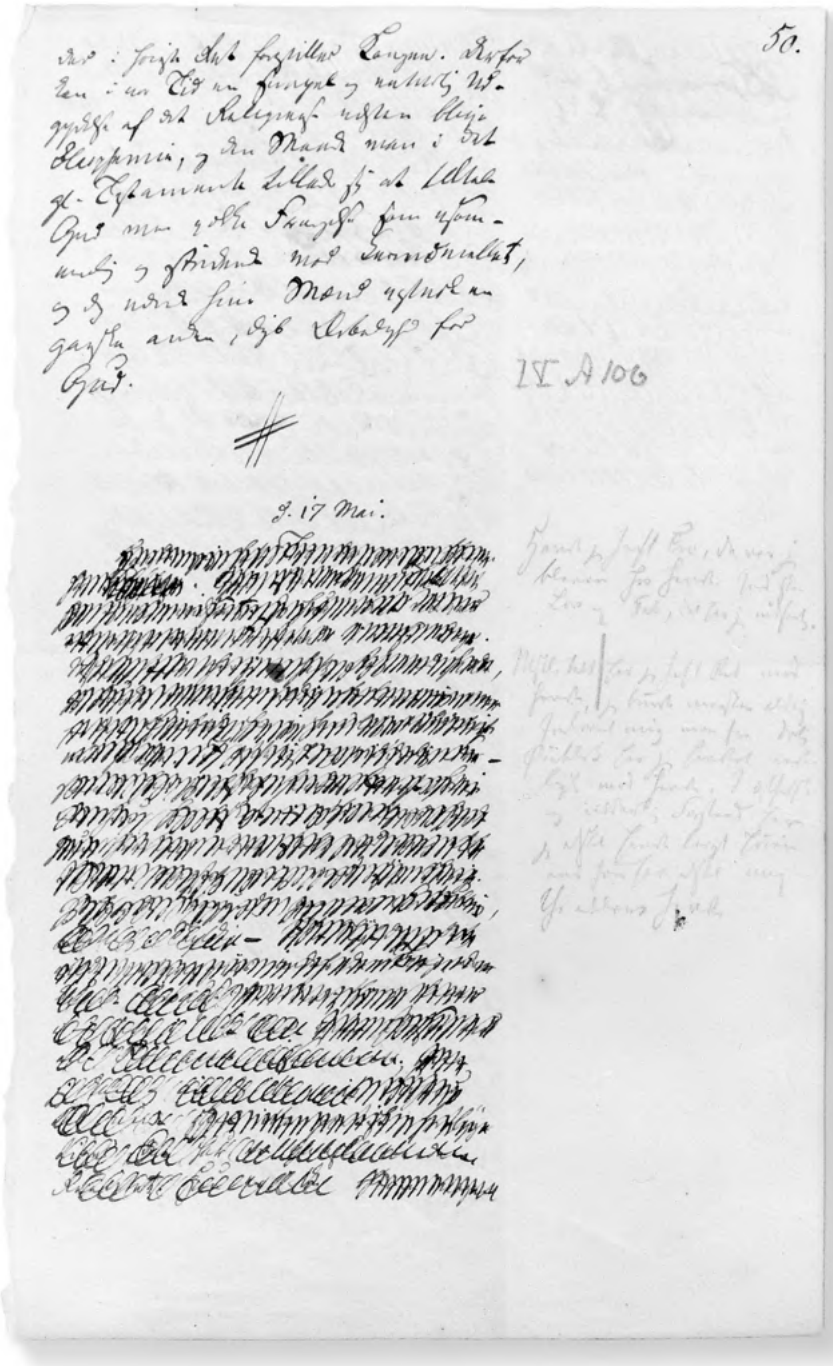
The journal contains other entries, e.g., JJ:120, JJ:155, JJ:279, and JJ:370, in which Kierkegaard also refers—directly or indirectly—to Regine Olsen, but these entries were much shorter and were not deleted.

To summarize: Kierkegaard used *Journal JJ* with varying degrees of intensity for a period of just under four and one-half years, from May 1842 until September 1846, and the journal accompanied him on his longer journeys as well as on his more local travel. The frequency with which Kierkegaard wrote in his journal varied inversely in proportion to the extent of his work on the writings he published during these years. The many entries in the journal have a broad scope and a heterogeneity of content that defies any single, unifying description: brief notes from newspaper reading appear side by side with comprehensive studies of philosophical literature. On the other hand, the journal can be characterized as a catalogue of ideas or a sketchbook in which Kierkegaard jotted down observations, ideas, and situations of every sort, material that he could later draw upon when writing his books. As already mentioned, Kierkegaard first affixed the labels "AA," "BB," and so on to his journals shortly after he had started using the journal he labeled "JJ," and this, too, emphasizes the journal's character as a sketchbook: Kierkegaard seems to have needed a reference system when using his

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1) Chemical analysis under an electron microscope of the ink used for deleting these entries shows that they were deleted by Kierkegaard and not subsequently by H. P. Barfod, the first editor of Kierkegaard's papers. See illustration 7.

journals in connection with writing for publication, and he facilitated that with this labeling system.



7. The last portion of journal entry JJ:114 and the first portion of JJ:115, which Kierkegaard obliterated with loops of ink, but has been diciphered; see pp 164 and 465 in this volume.

Explanatory Notes

135 *1* **1842. May**] On March 6 Kierkegaard returned to Copenhagen from a four-and-a-half month stay in Berlin, and on April 14 he had completed the manuscript of "The Seducer's Diary" for *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*); see "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 55. On May 5 Kierkegaard had his 29th birthday.

5 **Judith . . . through the valley**] Jdt 10:11 (GT 1740).

135 *10* **Ladegaard inmate**] Ladegaard (originally the name of a farm). Situated on Ladegaardsvej (now Åboulevard) just past the dam separating St. Jørgen's Lake and Peblinge Lake (*see map 5, B2–3)*, it had in time become a hospital and then a poorhouse. In 1833 it became a workhouse for vagabonds and petty criminals.

11 **Esplanade**] (*see map 2, F2–G2*). In the summer the Esplanade's shaded avenues were popular for strolling, especially among the finer citizenry.

135 *23* **Queen Elizabeth . . . had the strength of mind to allow Essex to be executed**] For political reasons Elizabeth I (1558–1603) was forced in 1601 to have the young Duke of Essex executed in spite of being quite captivated by him. Following Essex's catastrophic campaign in Ireland, the queen wished to make an example of him by relieving him of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland (1599) and temporarily expelling him from court. Essex then instigated a plot against the queen but it was uncovered and he himself was taken to the Tower of London. The queen expected him to beg for pardon, but on his failing to do so, she defied her own feelings and let him be beheaded. It is also said that the queen, as a sign of her undying favor, had once given Essex a ring that he was to send to her as a reminder if ever he should fall into disfavor. The queen later found out that Essex had tried to send her the ring from the tower but his enemies had prevented it from reaching her. Such was her despair that she died ten days later. Kierkegaard could have gleaned this from *Karl Friedrich Beckers Verdenshistorie, omarbeidet af Johan Gottfried Woltmann* [Karl Friedrich Becker's History of the World, revised by Johan Gottfried Woltmann], trans. J. Riise, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1822–1829; ASKB 1972–1983; abbreviated hereafter as *Beckers Verdenshistorie*), vol. 7 (1824), pp. 435–441. See also G. E. Lessing's (→ 135,*29*) *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* [Hamburg Dramaturgy] (1767), nos. 22–23, in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämmtliche Schriften* [Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Complete Works], 32 vols. (Berlin, 1825–1828; ASKB 1747–1762; abbreviated hereafter as *Lessings sämmtliche Schriften*).

Brutus . . . having let his son be executed] Lucius *26* Junius Brutus, who was mainly responsible for expelling Rome's last king, Tarquinius Superbus (→ 169,*21*), and one of the two first consuls of the republic founded in 510 B.C., was compelled, in accordance with the laws he had himself recommended, to let his sons Titus and Tiberius be executed for taking part in a conspiracy against the republic. Before the execution the two tearfully regretted their actions and those assembled interceded for them. But Brutus remained firm in his judgment and with unaverted gaze watched as they were whipped and then beheaded. See, e.g., *Beckers Verdenshistorie*, vol. 2 (1822), pp. 727–729.

A Spanish song . . . Gern an gestern] Quotation *29* 135 from Lessing's "Lied aus dem Spanischen," in *Lessings sämmtliche Schriften* (→ 135,*23*) vol. 17 (1827), p. 281. — **Lessing**: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), German author, dramatist, literary critic, and philosopher.

absence of rain] April and May 1842 were hot and *2* 136 dry, but in June it became chilly, and this was followed by violent storms.

savages putting their parents to death] Source un- *11* 136 known.

"Schreibe" sprach jene Stimme . . . vol. 16, p. 114] *20* From *Johan Gottfried von Herders sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Litteratur und Kunst* [Johan Gottfried

von Herder's Complete Works: On Literature and Art], 20 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827–1830; ASKB 1685–1694; abbreviated hereafter as *Herders Werke*), vol. 16 (1829), p. 114.

136*m* 1 **same volume ... Bishop Synesius**] See *Herders Werke*, vol. 16, pp. 9–11. — **Synesius**: See Herder's note to the poem, p. 9: "Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in 410, made it quite clear that he would not forsake his wife and that he was unable to believe in the resurrection of the body. His hymns and other writings, in which Hypatia was his instructor, are a blend of Christianity and Alexandrian philosophy."

28 **Ilithyía**] A name in Roman mythology for the goddess Diana (→ 221,25) denoting her special function as midwife. See, e.g., the article "Ilithyia" in *Paul F. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul F. A. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], ed. F. G. Klopfer, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig and Sorau, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945; abbreviated hereafter as *Neues mythologisches Wörterbuch*), vol. 2, pp. 23–28. Ilythía is also represented as an independent goddess and daughter of Diana.

29 **When she sat ... unable to give birth**] Refers to the tale of Ilithyía's attempt to delay Hercules' birth in order to aggravate Alcmene's birth pangs. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9th ode, vv. 299f., in *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae supersunt* [Ovid's Extant Works], ed. A. Richter, stereotype ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig 1828; ASKB 1265), vol. 2, p. 199.

137 10 **my Antigone**] Refers to Kierkegaard's own treatment of Antigone in the manuscript "The Tragic in Ancient Drama Reflected in the Tragic in Modern Drama," completed at this time and later included in the first part of *Either/Or* (→ 145,26); see *EO* 1, 137–164; *SKS* 2, 137–162, and "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 38–58. — **Antigone**: Daughter of the legendary Theban king, Oedipus, and eponymous heroine of the tragedy by Sophocles (ca. 496–406 B.C.). Kierkegaard had a Greek edition of Sophocles' works, *Sophoclis Tragoediae* [Sophocles' Tragedies], ed. C. H. Weise, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1841; ASKB 1201), and a German translation, *Sophokles* [Sophocles], trans. J. J. Donner (Heidelberg, 1839; ASKB 1202). — **a brother**: When Kierkegaard broke off his engagement to Regine Olsen, just over a year earlier, in 1841, her elder brother Jonas Olsen (d. 1902) sent Kierkegaard a note saying "what had happened had taught him to hate as no one had hated before" (Not8:39 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 237).

novella ... fictitious names] From the end of the 1820s novellas became a popular genre in Danish literature, especially those of authors such as Carl Bernhard (pseudonym for Andreas de Saint-Aubain), Steen Steensen Blicher, and "the author of *A Story of Everyday Life*" (pseudonym for Thomasine Gyllembourg). Carl Bernhard's novellas and "The Stories of Everyday Life," set in Copenhagen, referred to recognizable events and characters. Thomasine Gyllembourg consciously invited the curiosity of her readers by giving the "fictitious names" an appearance of reality, as when, as part of a feuilleton, she has "Christian" have a letter printed in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post. Interimsblade* [Copenhagen's Flying Post: Occasional Pages] (edited by her son J. L. Heiberg), in which he gives an unfavorable portrayal of an ambitious and calculating girl called "Mathilde F." (nos. 25 and 26 from September 21 and 26, 1834; ASKB 1607). 21

Aeschylus] Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.), Greek tragic poet; seven of his ca. seventy to ninety tragedies are extant. Kierkegaard owned a German translation, *Des Aischylos Werke* [Aeschylus' Works], trans. J. G. Droysen, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1842 [1832]; ASKB 1046). 1 137*m*

the mysteries] The Eleusinian mysteries, secret cults practiced at Eleusis by initiates. 3

Arist. Ethics 3, 2] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 2 (1111a 8–10). "But of what he is doing a man might be ignorant ... as Aeschylus said of the mysteries" (translation from Jonathan Barnes, ed., *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; hereafter abbreviated as *The Complete Works of Aristotle*], p. 1754). See "Die Sittenlehre des Aristoteles" [The Moral Doctrines of Aristotle] in *Die Ethik des Aristoteles*, [Aristotle's Ethics], trans. with commentary by C. Garve, 2 vols. (Breslau, 1798–1801; ASKB 1082–1083). See vol. 2, p. 12, where Garve comments on Aeschylus's supposed betrayal of the mysteries. — **Arist.**: Aristotle of Stagira (384–322 B.C.), Greek philosopher, logician, and natural scientist; wrote pioneering works in philosophy and science; studied at the Academy as a 4

student of Plato (→ 151,*21*) but distanced himself from Plato and in 335 B.C. founded the Peripatetic school at the Lyceum; in 324 B.C. Aristotle had to leave Athens to avoid becoming subject to accusations similar to those that had been directed at Socrates. Kierkegaard had several editions of Aristotle's collected works in his private library: *Aristotelis Opera cum Averrois commentariis* [Aristotle's Works with the Commentaries of Averroës], 9 vols. (Venice, 1562–1574; ASKB 1056–1068); *Aristotelis Opera omnia graece* [Aristotle's Complete Works in Greek], ed. J. T. Buhle, 5 vols. (Zweibrücken, 1791–1797; ASKB 1069–1073); *Aristoteles Graece* [Aristotle in Greek], ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (in *Aristoteles edidit Academia Regia Borussica* [Aristotle, Published by the Royal Prussian Academy] or *Aristotelis Opera* [Aristotle's Works], 2 vols. with continuous pagination), (Berlin, 1831; ASKB 1074–1075); and *Aristotelis Latine* [Aristotle in Latin], ed. I. Bekker (in *Aristoteles edidit Academia Regia Borussica* or *Aristotelis Opera*, vol. 3), (Berlin, 1831; ASKB 1076).

137 *29* **Inter accidentia sola . . . Cartesius de methodo, p. 1**] From *Dissertatio de methodo* [Discourse on Method], 1637 (French), 1644 (Latin), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* [The Philosophical Works of René Descartes], 4 vols., 6th Elzevier ed. (Amsterdam, 1677–1678 [1644]; ASKB 473), vol. 3 (1677), p. 1. See *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), vol. 1, p. 112. — **Cartesius**: Latin name for René Descartes (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician, and natural scientist.

138 *2* **Descartes has . . . meditationes**] Refers to Descartes's *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Meditations on First Philosophy] 1641 (Latin), 1647 (French); see *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 137,*29*), vol.1.

3 **write systems**] The ideal of philosophy as a system is widely found in post-Cartesian philosophy. However, Kierkegaard may be thinking esp. of Spinoza (→ 186,*14*), Leibniz (→ 139,*27*), Kant (→ 182,*25*), Schelling (→ 178,*4*), and, not least, Hegel and his pupils (→ 179,*7*), who claimed that philosophy in a scientific sense could only take the form of a systematic body of thought (→ 185,*17*).

Solon's proposition . . . count himself happy] Refers to the story of the rich and powerful king of Lydia, Croesus, of whom Herodotus (→ 141,*28*) recounts that he once asked the wise Solon from Athens whether he didn't consider him a happy man. To this Solon replied: "But until he is dead, you had better refrain from calling him happy, and just call him fortunate." *Die Geschichten des Herodotos* [Herodotus' Histories], trans. F. Lange, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1811–1812; ASKB 1117); vol. 1, p. 19. See Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Robin Waterfield, intro. and notes by Carolyn Dewald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 16. *8* 138

Heraclitus] Greek philosopher (ca. 580–540 B.C.), known for expressing his thoughts in paired opposites; his writings have only survived in fragmentary form. *21* 138

Empedocles] Greek philosopher (ca. 490–430 B.C.) who explained his cosmology in the didactic poem *On Nature*, which survives in fragmentary form. *23*

Arist. Ethics 8, 2] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (→ 137*m,4*), bk. 8, chap. 2 (1155a 32–1156a 5): "Heraclitus [says] that 'it is what opposes that helps' and 'from different tones comes the fairest tune' and 'all things are produced through strife'; while Empedocles, as well as others, expresses the opposite view that like aims at like" (translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 1826). See "Die Sittenlehre des Aristoteles," in *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* (→ 137*m,4*), vol. 2, p. 431 (1155b 4–6). *24*

the world of the sciences] In Kierkegaard's context, this refers to all forms of scholarly work, not simply the natural sciences. *26* 138

Philostratus, Leben des Apollonius v. Tyana p. 185] *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana* [The Life of Apollonius of Tyana], bk. 1, chap. 15, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke* [The Works of Flavius Philostratus the Elder], trans. H. F. Jacobs, 5 vols., in *Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Uebersetzungen* [Greek Prose Writers in a New Translation], ed. G. L. F. Tafel, C. N. von Osiander, and G. Schwab, vols. 25, 48, 66, 106, and 111 (Stuttgart, 1828–1832; ASKB 1143), vol. 2 (1829), p. 185. The full German text is provided in *SKS* 18, 234. — **Philostratus**: Flavius Philostratus or Philostratus the Elder (ca. 170–245 A.D.), Greek sophist and rhetorician who in *2* 139

the reign of Septimus Severus resided in the court at Rome, where he wrote, among other things, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and *Heroicus*, both of which Kierkegaard possessed in German translation. — **Apollonius v. Tyana**: Apollonius from Tyana in Cappadocia (1st century A.D.); Greek philosopher who belonged to the neo-Pythagorean school which claimed the preexistence of the soul.

3 **Suetonius, vita, Tiberii 58**] Suetonius's biography of the Roman emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero, § 58. The Roman historian Caius Tranquillus Suetonius (70 B.C.) wrote (in *De vita Caesarum* [*Lives of the Caesars*]) the biographies of twelve Roman emperors from Cæsar to Domitian, describing their excesses in detail. See, e.g., *Caji Svetonii Tranqvilli Tolv første Romerske Keisers Levnetsbeskrivelse* [Suetonius's Biographies of the Twelve First Roman Emperors], trans. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1802–1803; ASKB 1281. For an English translation, see *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves (New York: Penguin, 1957), p. 137; referred to hereafter as *The Twelve Caesars*.

139 7 **Aristotle's Politics, 5, 4**] Aristotle, *Politics*, bk. 5, chap. 4 (1303b 37–1304a 4). *Die Politik des Aristoteles* [Aristotle's Politics], trans. C. Garve, ed. G. G. Fülleborn, 2 vols. (Breslau, 1799–1802; ASKB 1088–1089), vol. 1, pp. 407f.

7 **political disturbances**] Variant: *first written* "family dispu."

9 **auguries**] Warnings given by religious officials known as augurs, who were called upon to determine the will of the gods and the course of important events in the future. Phenomena such as the cry and flight of birds as well as their manner of eating were interpreted as signs and omens.

139 16 **Aristotle's Ethics book 5, chap. 10**] Error for Aristotle's (→ 137*m,4*) *Politics*, bk. 5, chap. 10 (1311a 28–1312a 11). *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 139,7), vol. 1, pp. 460–466.

139 20 **One should be ... Garve, p. 468**] Aristotle (→ 137*m,4*) *Politics* (1312a 33–39), bk. 5, chap. 10, in *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 139,7), vol. 1, p. 468. — **Dion**: Syracusan statesman (b. 409 B.C.), famed for having attempted to put Plato's ideas of the state into practice. In 366 B.C. Dion was banished by Dionysius the Younger, but in 357 B.C. he landed at Syracuse with a mercenary army and expelled Dionysius by force. — **Dionysius**: Dionysius the Younger, tyrant in Syracuse 367–356 B.C., driven out by Dion, who himself became tyrant 356–353 B.C. — **Garve**: Christian Garve (1742–1798), German philosopher, essayist, and translator.

Leibnitz] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), 27 139
German philosopher and mathematician.

at the very beginning of the Theodicy] See *Essais* 27
de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme et l'Origine du Mal [Essays in Theodicy, concerning the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil] in *God. Guil. Leibnitii opera philosophica, quae exstant* [The Surviving Philosophical Works of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz], ed. J. E. Erdmann, 2 vols. (Berlin 1839–1840; ASKB 620; abbreviated hereafter as *Opera philosophica*); Kierkegaard paraphrases a passage from vol. 2, p. 470, where Leibniz writes: "There are two labyrinths where our reason very often goes astray: one concerns the great question of the Free and Necessary, above all in the production and the origin of Evil; the other consists in the discussion of continuity and of the indivisibles which appear to be the elements thereof, and where the consideration of the infinite must enter in. The first perplexes almost all the human race, the other exercises the philosophers only" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952], p. 53). See also *Herrn Gottfried Wilhelms, Freyherrn von Leibnitz, Theodicee, das ist, Versuch von der Güte Gottes, Freyheit des Menschen, und vom Ursprunge des Bösen* [Mr. Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von Leibniz's "Theodicy," That Is, an Essay on the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil], ed. J. C. Gottsched, 5th ed. (Hannover and Leipzig, 1763 [1710]; ASKB 619; abbreviated hereafter as *Theodicée*), p. 72.

Erdmann's edition p. 470, second column] Leib- 2 140
niz, *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,27) vol. 2, p. 470, Leibniz writes: "Men have been perplexed in well-nigh every age by a sophism which the ancients called 'the lazy reason,' because it tended toward doing nothing, or at least toward being careful for nothing and only following inclination for the pleasure of the moment" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 54).

3 **Chrysippus ... vol. 4, p. 300**] W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), vol. 4 (1803), p. 300. — **Chrysippus**: Chrysippus of Soli (ca. 280–207 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Stoic, and one of the great logicians of antiquity.

140*m* 1 **p. 518 § 55 ... sophisma pigrum**] Leibniz, *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,27), vol. 2, p. 518, col. 1: "This consideration gave rise at the same time to what the ancients called *le sophisme paresseux* (λογος αργος) which ended in doing nothing: For, they said, if the future is necessary, that which must happen will happen, whatever I may do." — **sophisma pigrum**: In the German translation of *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), § 55, p. 166, this Latin term is used as a rendering of Leibniz's French *le sophisme paresseux* (French, "the lazy sophism").

140 6 **Vindex raised a revolt under Nero**] In 68 A.D. the Roman governor of Gaul, Julius Vindex, was proclaimed emperor by his troops in the first and unsuccessful revolt against Nero.

11 **Philostratus ... p. 430 in translation ... Vit. Ner., 41**] *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana*, bk. 5, chap. 10, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke* (→ 139,2), vol. 3 (1830), p. 430. — **Dio Cassius LXIII, 22–24**: Book 63, chaps. 22–24, in *Roman History* by the Greek historian and Roman consul Cassius Dio (ca. 150–235 A.D.); See *Cassius Dio's Römische Geschichte* [Cassio Dio's Roman History], trans. L. Tafel, 13 vols., in *Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Uebersetzungen*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel, C. N. von Osiander, and G. Schwab (Stuttgart, 1831–1839; ASKB 1098–1100), vol. 12 (1839), pp. 1486–1488. — **Sueton. Vit. Ner., 41**: Suetonius's biography of Nero (also called "Nero Claudius Caesar"), § 41, in his *De vita Caesarum* (→ 139,3). For an English translation, see *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves, p. 233.

140 16 **general of the Augustinian order ... tortor infantum**] Gregory of Rimini (ca. 1300–1358), General (i.e., head) of the Augustinian order, taught in Paris, and beginning in 1351, in Rimini. He stated that unbaptized children are consigned to hell, whereas common Catholic doctrine holds that they are assigned to limbo, where there is neither torment nor blessedness. — **tortor infantum**: Latin, "executioner (or torturer) of infants."

Leibnitz, Theodicee, 1, § 92] In *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), pt. 1, § 92, p. 210, Leibniz (→ 139,27) writes: "Gregory of Rimini, General of the Augustians, with a few others followed St. Augustine in opposition to the accepted opinion of the Schools of his time, and for that reason he was called the torturer of children, *tortor infantum*" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 172). 18

Johan Davidius ... Veridicus Christianus] J. David, *Veridicus Christianus, seu de fidei christianæ capitibus* [The Veracious Christian, or concerning the Christian Faith's Essential Questions] (Antwerp, 1601). Johannes David (1546–1613) was a Belgian theologian who entered the Jesuit order in 1581. 21 140

Leibnitz, Theod. 1, 101] Leibniz, *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), pt. 1, § 101, p. 220. Leibniz writes: "Father John Davidius, the Jesuit, wrote a book entitled Veridicus Christianus, which is like a kind of Bibliomancy, where one takes passages at random, after the pattern of the *Tolle Lege* (Latin, "take up and read") of St. Augustine, and it is like a devotional game" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 179). 25

Gomarists] Followers of Frans Gomarus (1563–1641), Reformed theologian who upheld a strict orthodoxy on the doctrine of God's grace as solely decisive for the individual's salvation. The Gomarists brought about the expulsion of their less dogmatic counterpart, the Remonstrants or Arminians, from the Reformed Church. 27 140

fur praedestinatus] *Fur praedestinatus* [Predestined Thief] (London, 1651), reputedly written by William Sancroft (1616–1693), archbishop of Canterbury (1677–1691). 28

Leibniz Theodic. § 167] In *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), pt. 2, § 167, p. 330, Leibniz writes: "At the same time an ingenious satire was composed against the Gomarists, entitled *Fur praedestinatus, de gepredestineerde dief* [Fur praedestinatus, The Predestined Thief], wherein there is introduced a thief condemned to be hanged, who attributes to God all the evil he has done; who believes himself predestined to salvation notwithstanding his wicked actions; who imagines that this belief is sufficient for him, and who defeats by arguments *ad hominem* a Counter-remonstrant minister called to prepare him for 28

death: but this thief is finally converted by an old pastor who had been dismissed for his Arminianism, whom the gaoler, in pity for the criminal and for the weakness of the minister, had brought to him secretly. Replies were made to this lampoon, but replies to satires never please as much as the satires themselves" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 227).

140 30 **novel . . . Mademoiselle de Scudéry**] In *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,27), vol. 2, p. 557, Leibniz writes about Spinoza's determinism: "I do not think that a Spinozist will say that all the romances one can imagine exist actually now, or have existed, or will still exist in some place in the universe. Yet one cannot deny that romances such as those of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, or of Octavia, are possible" (*Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 235). Here it is not a matter of a novel with the title "Mademoiselle de Scudéry" but of an author of that name. See Gottsched's German translation of *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), p. 344. — **Mademoiselle de Scudéry**: Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), a French author, wrote a large number of novels, which though popular were also notorious for their exaggerated sensitivity and caricatures of sentimentality.

141 1 **Hoffmann's well-known story**] "Das Fräulein von Scuderi. Erzählung aus dem Zeitalter Ludwig des Vierzehnten" [Mlle von Scudéry: Tales from the Time of Louis XIV] forms part of the larger narrative, *Die Serapionsbrüder* [The Serapion Brothers] (1819–1821), published in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [Selected Writings by E. T. A. Hoffmann], 10 vols. (Berlin, 1827–1828; ASKB 1712–1716), vol. 3, pp. 177–259. In Hoffmann's tale, Mlle de Scudéry (→ 140,30) solves a fantastic crime. An English translation of Hoffmann's tale is available in *Selected Writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann*, trans. Leonard J. Kent and Elizabeth C. Knight, 2 vols. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

141 4 **Augustus**] Emperor of Rome (23 B.C.–14 A.D.).

6 **Suetonius quotes it**] Kierkegaard refers to the following: "On the day he died, Augustus frequently inquired whether rumors of his illness were causing any popular disturbance. He called for a mirror, and had his hair combed and his lower jaw, which had fallen from weakness, propped up. Presently he summoned a group of friends and asked: 'Have I played my part in the farce of life creditably enough?' adding the theatrical tag: 'If I have pleased you, kindly signify appreciation with a warm goodbye' " (*The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves, pp. 105–106).

Δοτε κροτον . . . Leibnitz, Theod. § 261] Kierkegaard omits accents but otherwise quotes verbatim from Leibniz (→ 139,27), *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), pt. 3, § 261, p. 400. Leibniz here cites the Greek with reference to Suetonius. See *Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 287. 7

Apollonius of Tyana] → 139,2. 12 141

the saying "Know yourself"] Refers to the inscription on Greece's foremost Temple of Apollo (the most famous of the oracles) at Delphi: γνωθι σεαυτόν (Greek [gnōthi seautón], "know yourself!"). The words have been ascribed to the Ionic philosopher Thales from Miletus (ca. 626–546 B.C.) and the Spartan lawgiver Chilon (d. 580 B.C.). Kierkegaard was referring to the following passage in Diogenes Laertius: "To him [Thales] belongs the proverb 'Know Thyself,' which Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers* attributes to Phemonoë, though admitting that it was appropriated by Chilon" (*Diogenes Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn* [Diogenes Laertius' Philosophical History, or the Lives, Opinions, and Clever Sayings of Eminent Philosophers], trans. Børge Riisbrigh, ed. Børge Thorlacius, 2 vols. [Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111; abbreviated hereafter as *Diogenes Laërtses filosofiske Historie*]; English translation from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R. A. Hicks, 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970–1972 (1923)], vol. 1, p. 107). 12

Pythagoras] (ca. 570–497 B.C.), Greek mathematician and philosopher. 14

Book 6, 11, p. 500] Book 6, chap. 11, in *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana*, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke* (→ 139,2), vol. 3 (1830), p. 500. 1 141m

Heraclitus] → 138,21. 3

Heraclitus had said . . . even once] See, e.g., W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 1, p. 220. 4

an Eleatic principle] The Eleatic school has its name from Elea, an Ionian settlement on the west 10

coast of southern Italy (today's Velia). The school was one of the oldest in the Greek world and was founded in ca. 540 B.C. by the philosopher Xenophanes from Colophon, often considered the first skeptic because he doubted the validity of all human knowledge. Eleatic skepticism was carried further by Parmenides and his disciples Zeno and Melissus, who followed their master by expressing themselves in paradoxical statements concerning the indivisibility of being and the impossibility of any form of movement. See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, pp. 150–153.

141 *26* **Hyperborean Abaris**] A mythical priest of Apollo, said to have received from Apollo a golden arrow that cured diseases and enabled Abaris to ride through the sky. Among other journeys, he flew from Scythia to Greece to avoid the plague; see, e.g., O. Wolff, *Historisk Ordbog* [Historical Dictionary], 11 vols. (Copenhagen, 1807–1819), vol. 1, p. 6. — **Hyperboreans**: According to ancient legend, a people who lived in the North in a land of perpetual sunshine "beyond Borea," i.e., beyond the North Wind, personified as a god.

28 **Herodotus, IV, 36**] i.e., Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.) *The Histories*, bk. 4, chap. 36, in *Die Geschichten des Herodotos* (→ 138,*8*), vol. 1, p. 326. The quotation Kierkegaard refers to is the following: "That is enough about the Hyperboreans. I am not going to repeat the story about Abaris, who is supposed to be a Hyperborean, and how he carried an arrow all the way around the world without eating anything" (*The Histories*, trans. Robin Waterfield, p. 247).

141 *30* **Cantantur hæc . . . lecta negliguntur**] Cited verbatim from Leibniz (→ 139,*27*), *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain, par l'Autuer du Système de l'Harmonie Préétablie* [New Essays on the Human Understanding by the Author of the System of Pre-established Harmony] (1703), in *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,*27*), vol. 1, p. 216, col. 2. See *New Essays on Human Understanding*, trans. Peter Remnant and Jonathon Bennett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 95.

142 *14* **Queen Elizabeth . . . with the ring**] → 135,*23*.

142 *24* **In Erasmus Montanus . . . the earth is round**] Refers to Ludwig Holberg's comedy *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg* [Erasmus Montanus, or Rasmus Berg] (1731). The bailiff Jesper tells Jeronimus that his future son-in-law Erasmus Montanus holds to "strange doctrines" such as the notion that the world is round and he suggests that such doctrines amount to nothing less than "confounding religion and leading people away from faith." Jeronimus later questions Erasmus: "I hear that you have some very peculiar ideas. People will think you've either become mad or crazy in the head. How can a rational man fall into the foolishness of saying that the earth is round?" (act 3, scene 5). Once Jeronimus is persuaded of Erasmus's ungodly belief that the earth is round, he says to his daughter Lisbed: "You should know, my child, that when you became engaged he was a decent man and a good Christian. But now he is a heretic and a fanatic who should rather be named in a litany than in our family" (act 3, scene 6). Jeronimus then adds "you'll never have my daughter as long as you hold to these delusions" (act 3, scene 6) (*Jeppe of the Hill and Other Comedies by Ludvig Holberg*, trans. Gerald Argetsinger and Sven Rossel [Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990]). See *Den Danske Skue-Plads* [The Danish Stage], 7 vols. (Copenhagen, 1758 or 1788 [1731–1754]; ASKB 1566–1567), vol. 5. These volumes lack date and pagination. *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg* was staged at the Royal Theater on Monday, December 19, 1842.

King's de origine mundi . . . 4th section] A reference to Guilielmo [William] King, *De Origine Mali* (*Om det ondes oprindelse*) [On the Origin of Evil] (Bremen, 1704), chap. 5, sec. 4, pp. 193–197. Kierkegaard found the reference in Leibniz (→ 139,*27*), *Remarques sur le Livre de l'Origine du Mali, publié depuis peu en Angleterre* [Remarks on *De origine Mali*, Recently Published in England], a discussion of King's *De Origine Mali*, § 26, printed in *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,*27*), vol. 2, p. 651, where "unseemly choice" is referred to. *29* 142

Erdmann's edition of Leibniz, p. 652, column 2] See Leibniz (→ 139,*27*) *Remarques sur le Livre de l'Origine du Mal, publié depuis peu en Angleterre*, a critique of King's *De Origine Mali* (→ 142,*29*), § 27, printed in *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,*27*), vol. 2, p. 652, col. 2. *3* 143

143 5 **Philostratus ... on cultivated trees, the fruit**] Translated from *Heldengeschichten*, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke* (→ 139,2) vol. 1, p. 20. — **Philostratus the Elder**: Or Flavius Philostratus (→ 139,2).

143 9 **When Amor ... betray the secret**] Refers to the Latin verse version of the legend of Cupid and Psyche by Lucius Apuleius (124 B.C.), who included it in his satirical novel *Metamorphoses* (known as the *Golden Ass*), 5,11,6. It tells among other things how Cupid fell in love with the divinely beautiful Psyche, but visited her only at night and forbade her to see him. One night when leaving he once more enjoins silence and adds: "For before long we shall have an increase to our family ... you are pregnant with another infant, which, if you preserve my secret in silence, will be born divine, but if you profane it, will be mortal" (*The Works of Apuleius* [London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914], p. 98).

143 17 **What I predict ... the gift of prophecy**] From Horace's *Satires*, bk. 2, no. 5, vv. 59f. The Latin original is as follows: "*quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non: / Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo*," *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* [The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace)], stereotype ed. (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 1248), p. 211. The English translation is: "O son of Laertes, whatever I say will or will not be; for prophecy is great Apollo's gift to me" (*Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough [Cambridge: Loeb, 1926], p. 203).

19 **Tiresias**] Theban soothsayer, blind from his seventh year but lived to a legendary old age. Plays a prominent part in Greek myth, originally in Homer's *Odyssey*, Ode 11, where Odysseus calls up his soul from the lower world in order to extract a "soothsaying" from him. Horace's satire fictionalizes a continuation of this conversation but directs it topically at the inheritance chasers playing havoc at that time in Rome by "fish[ing] craftily in all waters for old men's wills."

20 **these words ... from Bayle**] See Leibniz (→ 139,27), *Theodicée* (→ 139,27), pt. 2, § 169, p. 335; *Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard, p. 230. Leibniz cites "Epicurus" in P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* [Historical and Critical Dictionary]. See also Leibniz, *Opera philosophica* (→ 139,27) vol. 2, p. 555, col. 1. — **Bayle**: Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), French philosopher and critic, champion of spiritual and religious freedom; in 1695–1697 published his main work, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, which appeared in five successively enlarged editions until 1740 (Amsterdam); Kierkegaard owned a German translation of the final edition, *Herrn Peter Baylens Historisches und Kritisches Wörterbuch* [Mr. Peter Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary], trans. J. C. Gottscheden, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1741–1744; ASKB 1961–1964).

παντως ... και οφθαλμοι βλεπωσιν] English language translation quoted from *The Pastoral Amours of Daphnis and Chloe: A Novel*, trans. James Craggs (London, 1764). 23 143

the last words of the preface to Longi Pastoralia] Longus's "Daphnis and Chloë," introduction § 4, in *Pastoralia*; see *Longi Pastoralia graece et latine* [Longus's Pastoralia in Greek and Latin], ed. E. E. Seiler, (Leipzig,1843; ASKB 1128), p. 4. — **Longi**: Longus, a Greek sophist from ca. the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries A.D. and author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, an extant erotic work. 25

Abelard ... Heloise] Refers to the love affair between the French philosopher and theologian Pierre Abélard (1079–1142) and the young, gifted Héloïse (ca. 1101–1164). 27 143

Bossuet's Geschichte, vol. 6 pp. 315 ff.] J. B. Bossuet, *Einleitung in die allgemeine Geschichte der Welt, bis auf Kaiser Carl den Grossen für den ehemaligen Dauphin von Frankreich abgefasst, uebersetzt und mit einem Anhange historisch-critischer Abhandlungen vermehrt von Johann Andreas Cramer* [Introduction to the General History of the World up to Emperor Charlemagne, Written for the Former Dauphin of France, Translated and Expanded with a Historical and Critical Appendix by Johann Andreas Cramer], 7 vols. Vols. 2–7 contain Cramer's continuation of Bossuet's original work and bear, in contrast to vol. 1, the title *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Welt und der Religion, fortgesetzet von D. Johann Andreas Cramer* [Introduction to the History of the World and of Religion, Continued by Dr. Andreas Cramer] (Leipzig, 1748–1786; ASKB 1984–1990; abbreviated hereafter as *Einleitung in die Geschichte*); vol. 6, 1785, pp. 315–317. Citation from the chapter "Ueber Peter Abélards Versuche, den Lehrbegrif der Religion seiner Zeit dialektisch zu erklären und zu be- 27

weisen" [On Peter Abelard's attempt to explain and to demonstrate the theses of religion to his age in a dialectical fashion], pp. 309–411, where the biography takes up pp. 310–337. Kierkegaard's copy of *Einleitung in die Geschichte* has not been located, and thus there are no underlined passages to reveal what aspects of Abélard's life he found especially suited to dramatic treatment, but since the remainder of the biography itself is an account of Abélard's theological career, it seems certain that Kierkegaard's underlinings must be located on the pages cited. — **Bossuet**: Jacques Bénigne Bossuet or Jacob Benignus Bossuet (1627–1704), French theologian, rhetorician, historian, and legal scholar; gave up a bishopric when the king entrusted him with the education of the dauphin (crown prince). He wrote *Discours sur l'histoire universelle jusqu'à l'empire de Charlemagne* [Discourse on Universal History up to the Empire of Charlemagne] (1681) as a textbook for the dauphin where he writes that the cause of historical events must be sought in the will of God. This is the work J. A. Cramer translated, which makes up vol. 1, pt. 1 of *Einleitung in die Geschichte*.

30 **Heloise . . . envious of his philosophical distinction**] This is suggested in *Einleitung in die Geschichte* (→ 143,*27*), p. 316.

144 2 **Erasmus Rotterodamus**] (Desiderius) Erasmus of Rotterdam (originally Gerrit Gerritszoon) (1466, 1467, or 1469–1536), Dutch philologist and philosopher, leading figure in Northern European humanism.

144 3 **neque enim . . . Stultitiæ Laus**] English translation quoted from *Praise of Folly, Erasmus of Rotterdam*, trans. Betty Radice (New York: Penguin, 1971), p. 63. Kierkegaard quotes verbatim from *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ, *sive Declamatio in laudem stultitiæ* [Erasmus of Rotterdam's Eulogy on Folly, or Address in Praise of Folly] (Leipzig, 1702; ASKB 478), p. 1. In Erasmus's satire the personification of Stultitia (Latin, "folly") appears and gives a speech in praise of folly; see the stage instruction on the same page: "*Stultitia loquitur*" (Stultitia speaks).

144 15 **enter a petition to His Majesty**] Kierkegaard here inverts the usual manner of seeking the royal prerogative (i.e., as the prerogative of pardon).

16 **severest penalty . . . executed**] According to Christian V's Danish Law (1683, cited here in the orthographically updated version, *Kong Christian den Femtes Danske Lov af det Iuridiske Fakultet giennemset* [King Christian the Fifth's Danish Law Revised by the Faculty of Law], ed. Bærens [Copenhagen, 1797; abbreviated hereafter as *Danske Lov*]), the most severe penalty, for lèse-majesté, is to "have forfeited honor, life, and goods, his right hand cut off alive, the body quartered and placed on the stake and wheel, and the head with the hand placed on a stake" (bk. 6, chap. 4, § 1). Plain capital punishment, i.e., without the wheel, stake, and the like, was typically the sentence for manslaughter (bk. 6, chap. 6). But according to an edict of December 18, 1767, if it was discovered that someone had committed murder with the intention of losing his own life through the punishment, the person in question was sentenced not to death, but to other, more suitable penalties.

22 **have oneself executed without due process**] According to *Danske Lov* no person could be convicted without "law and sentence," but the king on occasion appointed courts in commission without the legally enforced possibility of appeal, just as he himself retained the right to intercede (if infrequently) in the court's enforcement of the law.

23 **3 courts**] Refers to the three levels into which the courts were arranged; the second court had greater authority than the first, while the third had greatest authority. After 1771 there were only two courts in Copenhagen.

30 144 **Quod vero . . . varietate p. 375**] Kierkegaard inserts *perdix* (Latin, "partridge") from the preceding sentence, but otherwise quotes verbatim from Hieronymus Cardanus, *De Rerum Varietate, libri XVII* [On the Multiplicity of Nature, 17 Books] (Basel, 1581 [1557]; ASKB 137), p. 375. — **Hieronymi Cardani**: Girolamo Cardano or Hieronymus Cardanus (1501–1576), Italian mathematician, physician, and philosopher.

4 145 **Inter terræ miracula . . . Micematichus . . . Hieronymus Cardanus . . . p. 57**] Almost verbatim from Hieronymus Cardanus, *De Rerum Varietate, libri XVII* (→ 144,*30*), p. 57, where the different types of earthquake are explained as follows: "The earthquake is called chasmatic if the earth cracks and

opens; then a lake or cavity forms. The earthquake is called brasmatic when the earth's crust rises in the air, in this way mountains rise and in this way islands are formed in the sea. They are called clitimachic when buildings fall over. In the time of Trajan there was a very powerful one of this kind, and the city was lain in ruins; the emperor himself is said to have been saved by a miracle. The earthquake is called mikematic when one only hears a very loud sound."

145 11 **the Pythagoreans took it that εν is both περιττον and αρτιον**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 1, p. 105: "The elements of number are the odd (περιττον) and the even αρτιον, for all numbers can be classified as odd or even. One (εν) contains both elements, which for this reason is also the root from which all numbers (presumably through addition) derive. One is not itself a number, for every number is a plurality of unity." — **Pythagoreans**: A philosophical school and religious brotherhood founded by Pythagoras (→ 149,9) in Crotona in southern Italy and which later had chapters established in other cities. The school was dissolved in the fifth century B.C. after an uprising in Crotona. See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, pp. 75–150.

145 12 **the Being that is both Being and Nonbeing, i.e., movement**] This is most likely a reference to Poul Martin Møller's discussion of the "efficient cause," introduced by Aristotle in bk. 2, chap. 3, of *Physics* (194b 29f.). See *Efterladte Skrifter af Poul M. Møller* [Posthumous Writings of Poul M. Møller], vol. 1, ed. Christian Winther; vols. 2–3, ed. F. C. Olsen (Copenhagen, 1839–1843; ASKB 1574–1576; abbreviated hereafter as *Efterladte Skrifter*), vol. 2 (1842), p. 481: "All beings consist of matter and form, but how are these two elements united; how does that which exists by design become actual? Aristotle calls this transition from possibility to actuality *movement* (κινησις [→ 266,32]), and thinks he has hereby disposed of the difficulties that occur in the determination of this concept: movement is both real and not real, since it is the transition from possibility to actuality." Poul Martin Møller: Danish author and philosopher (1794–1838), teacher of Latin and Greek at the Metropolitan School in Copenhagen (1822), lecturer (1826) and professor (1828) of philosophy at the King Frederick University in Christiania (Oslo), and professor of philosophy (1831 until his death) at the University of Copenhagen, where he was one of Kierkegaard's teachers. — **movement**: → 148,20.

Hamann vol 8. p. 307 bottom of page] *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings] ed. F. Roth and G. A. Wiener, vols. 1–7 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1821–1825), vol. 8, 1–2 (Berlin 1842–1843; ASKB 536–544), vol. 8, 1 (1842), pp. 307f., note (i.e., Hamann's notes to Hesychius, *Apologie des Ordens der Frey-Mäurer. Von dem Bruder **** Mitgliede der ** schottischen Loge zu P*. Neue ganz umgearbeitete und einzige authentische Ausgabe, Philadelphia, im Jahr 3882. d.i. 1778* [Apologia for the Order of Freemasons, by the Brothers **** Members of the ** Scottish Lodge in P*: New, Entirely Revised, and Only Authentic Edition, Philadelphia, in the year 3882, i.e., 1778], pp. 321, 323). The passage in Hamann's text immediately following Kierkegaard's half-completed sentence continues: "in no case could he permit himself to be initiated into the mysteries, because he was unable to fulfill the condition under which the mysteries were communicated: the mysteries must either be useful or harmful. If they were in fact useful, then he would broadcast them in order to encourage everyone to be initiated because of their excellence. Nor, if he found them to be harmful, could he keep silent regarding them, in order that everyone might avoid them." — **Hamann**: Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788), German scholar and philosophical author, born and raised in Königsberg, where German philosopher Immanuel Kant (→ 182,25) was the most famous of his numerous friends in the literary and philosophical world. His difficult, allusive works became an important philosophical source for the 19th century's criticism of the Enlightenment's one-sided ideal of reason. 15 145

Lucian] Lucian (Lucianus) from Samosata (ca. 125–180 A.D.), Greek writer and the greatest of the second-century Sophists, esp. known for his many satirical dialogues. He acquired the name "The Mocker of God" or "The Mocker" for ridiculing the political, philosophical, and (not least) religious endeavors of his contemporaries. 16

Demonax] Greek second-century philosopher who attempted a revival of the Cynic School, though focusing less on its ascetic teaching than on its moral aspects. He was charged with neglecting the 17

Eleusinian mysteries (→ 137*m*,*3*) but replied that if they were bad, no one should attend them, but if they were good, they should be available to all. Lucian speaks highly of the philosopher.

17 **Eleusinian mysteries**] → 137*m*,*3*.

145*m* 1 **Lucian in vol. 2**] See "Demonax" in *Lucians Schriften* [Lucian's Writings], trans. H. Waser, 4 vols. (Zürich, 1769–1773; ASKB 1135–1138), vol. 2 (1769), pp. 254–281, esp. 260f.

145 24 **Trendlenburg**] Friedrich Adolph Trendelenburg (1802–1872), German philosopher and philologist. A receipt dated February 13, 1843, from the bookseller P. G. Philipsen records Kierkegaard's purchase of two of Trendelenburg's works: *Elementa logices Aristotelicae. Editio altera recognita et aucta* [Elements of Aristotelian Logic, Second Edition Revised and Enlarged] (Berlin, 1842 [1837]; ASKB 844), and *Erläuterungen zu den Elementen der aristotelischen Logik* [Explanation of the Elements of Aristotelian Logic], (Berlin, 1842; ASKB 845).

145 26 **Either/Or**] *Either/Or: A Fragment of Life*, *Edited by Victor Eremita*, was ready from the printer on February 15, 1843, and appeared on February 20.

27 **Only the . . . truth for you**] A rough quotation from the "Ultimatum," which is the concluding part of *Either/Or* and which purports to be a sermon by a pastor in Jutland. It was sent by Judge William to the aesthete "A." The sermon dwells on what is "edifying" in the thought that before God we are always in the wrong, and it ends with the words "only the truth that builds up is truth for you" (*EO* 2, 354; *SKS* 3, 332).

29 **Tennemann Gesch. d. Philos. V. C. p. 301**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 5 (1805), p. 301, where the author notes that there is "great disagreement reigning within dogmatic philosophy over the criterion of truth." He mentions Xenophanes, Xeniades, Anarcharsis, Protagoras, Dionysidorus, Gorgias, Metrodorus, and Anaxarchus the Eudaimonist among those asserting there is no criterion at all; others claim there is indeed such a criterion, but differ on what it is: sensation, reason, state of mind (both of the latter in the case of Plato and Aristotle but the latter alone in the case of Epicureans), while "for the Stoic it is a mental representation with which the ultimate ground for determining truth is grasped."

young man . . . lost his way in the world] Alcibiades (ca. 450–404 B.C.), Greek politician, the enthusiastic young man and suitor of Socrates in Plato's *Symposium*, renowned for his eloquence, gifts, and beauty, and notorious for his moodiness and dissipated lifestyle; see Plutarch's biography of Alcibiades, 16, in *Vitae parallelae* [The Parallel Lives], in *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* [Plutarch's Lives], trans. S. Tetens, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1800–1811; ASKB 1197–1200), vol. 2 (1803), pp. 341f. — **happily gifted . . . lost his way**: Could be an allusion to Proverbs 21:16: "Whoever wanders from the way of understanding will rest in the assembly of the dead." 7 146

Socrates] One of the most famous Greek philosophers (ca. 470–399 B.C.). He developed his philosophy in dialogue with his contemporaries and left no writings, but his character and his teachings were transmitted in the writings of three of his contemporaries: Aristophanes, in his comedy, *The Clouds*; Xenophon, in his four so-called Socratic writings, especially his *Memorabilia*; and the dialogues of Plato (→ 151,*21*). A popular tribunal in Athens condemned Socrates to death for having acknowledged gods other than those recognized by the state and for corrupting the youth; Socrates was executed with poison, which he calmly drank. 8

the Stoic . . . p. 129 n.] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 4 (1803), p. 129, n. 98, where the reference is to the Stoic, Chrysippus (→ 140,*3*). 15 146

experience makes a pers. wise] See the saying "Experience is the best teacher," no. 1739 in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* [Danish Sayings and Adages] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 1549), p. 66. Also entered as no. 1778 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [Treasury of Danish Sayings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1879), vol. 1, p. 180. 29 146

poem by Evald, "Warning against Suicide"] "A spiritual song in which the redeemer Jesus Christ's loving warning is introduced to those who are tempted by the evil and unhallowed thoughts of wanting to shorten their own life." See *Johannes Ewalds samtlige Skrifter* [Johannes Ewald's Complete Writings], 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1780–1791; ASKB 1533–1536), vol. 1 (1779), pp. 291–302. — **Evald**: Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), Danish poet. 16 147

21 **1st vol., p. 299**] See *Johannes Ewalds samtlige Skrifter*, vol. 1, p. 299, from which Kierkegaard quotes the first three of the stanza's six lines. It continues: "Can spirits die? Can Man / Fly from his soul, himself, as easily / As dust of which he complains?"

147 24 **What came first, the tree or the seed**] The origin of this variation on the familiar "What came first, the chicken or the egg?" cannot be identified.

147 29 **in Machbet, Schakspeare . . . nagging conscience**] See Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, act 5, scene 1, in *Macbeth. Tragedie i fem Acter. Efter Shakspeare og Schiller bearbeidet til Opførelse paa den danske Skueplads ved P. Foersom* [Macbeth: Tragedy in Five Acts, from Shakespeare and Schiller; adapted for the Danish Stage by P. Foersom] (Copenhagen, 1816), pp. 101–106: Lady Macbeth has influenced her husband to murder King Duncan so that he himself can become king, but in the sleepwalking scene she is said to suffer from a "bad conscience" (p. 105). Her chambermaid and physician witness her sleepwalking while she vainly attempts to wash Duncan's blood from her hands: "It always stinks of blood here—always of blood! / All the myrrh of the Orient can not take away / The stink of a corpse from this little hand!" (p. 104). *Macbeth* was performed fourteen times at the Royal Theater between 1817 and 1843; in 1843 the tragedy was performed on the 5th, 9th, and 25th of March.

148 20 **ancient philosophy . . . elements to one another**] Refers to the pre-Socratic discussion of motion; see the section "Geschichte der Philosophie in der ersten Periode bis auf Sokrates" [History of Philosophy in the First Period up to Socrates] in Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, pp. 29–53 (esp. pp. 36–43): "*The question of how and whence the world arose* was thus the first problem which speculative reason produced and the means whereby it stepped beyond the world of experience" (p. 37). It was assumed as an axiom that the world arose out of "a primal material, a *basic matter*, from which all organic and inorganic matter and beings subsequently developed, or rather an *elemental condition* in which all matter was mixed together, out of which it was divided and formed into bodies" (p. 39). Since, however, the other elements of the world of experience did not admit of explanation by recourse to a single basic element (water, air, fire), "an original mixture of all elements was assumed to be the basis" (p. 41). Thus the world had come into being by means of a *movement* within this "original mixture": "In a chaotic state, more *heterogeneous elementary parts* were dissolved and mixed with one another; then, through *separation* and *combination*, they developed into the material world of the present day" (p. 42).

most recent philosophy . . . logical movement] Unlike classical philosophy, Hegel (→ 179,*7*), employs in his speculative logic (→ 206,*1*) a mediation or reconciliation of opposite concepts: A logical concept (a category) posits its opposite, which thereby forms a new concept that contains both the original concept and its opposite; thus, for example, the abstract and empty concept "being" posits its opposite "nothingness" and is united with it in the concept "becoming." This movement from "being" via "nothingness" to "becoming" is a logical movement (→ 148,*30*). — **the most recent philosophy**: i.e., Hegelian philosophy (→ 179,*7*). 24

draw a parallel between these two spheres] i.e., to compare the Greek concept of movement as a transition from possibility to actuality with the Hegelian concept of movement as a mediation of logically opposed concepts (categories). 26

table of categories] i.e., an outline of the categories, which in Aristotle's philosophy are understood both as logical concepts (the fundamental predicates of thought) and as ontological concepts (the fundamental properties of actuality). Aristotle names ten categories—substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, having, acting, and being acted upon (*Categories*, 1b 25ff.; *Topics*, 103b 22ff.)—but he does not claim that this list of categories is necessarily exhaustive; prior to Aristotle, the Pythagoreans had maintained that there must be precisely ten categories, which they then arranged in a table in which these ten categories, as perfect, were contrasted with their opposites, as imperfect; see the table of categories provided by Tennemann (*Geschichte der Philosophie* [→ 140,*3*] vol. 1, p. 115), which Kierkegaard excerpted in a notebook in 1842: the finite/the infinite, the one/the many, the odd/the even, the right/the left, the masculine/the feminine, the stationary/the moved, the straight/the crooked, the light/the dark, the good/ 29

the evil, the square/the irregular quadrilateral (see Not14:1 and Not14:1.1 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 425–427; *Pap*. IV C 3, pp. 374f.). A similar table of categories is found in Møller, *Efterladte Skrifter* (→ 145,*12*), vol. 2 (1842), pp. 322f. Kant (→ 182,*25*) views the categories as pure forms of the understanding, that is, as logical and not as ontological concepts; see his "table of categories" in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of Pure Reason], 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), p. 106. Kierkegaard has a notebook entry on K. Werder's lectures in Berlin from the winter semester of 1841–1842 on "Logic and Metaphysics, with Special Attention Given to the Major Systems of Ancient and Modern Philosophy," in which he has drawn up a table of Hegel's categories (see Not13:23 and Not13:23.a in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 390–394; *Pap*. III C 29 in vol. XIII, pp. 332f.).

30 **no category . . . the most essential of all**] The expression "mediation," which does not occur in Hegel (→ 179,*7*), is used by the Hegelians to render the Hegelian concept *Vermittlung*. Thus, for example, the Danish theologian and Hegelian A. P. Adler writes in his *Populaire Foredrag over Hegels objective Logik* [Popular Lectures on Hegel's Objective Logic] (Copenhagen, 1842; ASKB 383), § 9: "The dialectical movement characteristic of the Hegelian system does not consist merely in negation. In Hegel, dialectic expresses both the objective necessity with which immediacy passes over into its opposite, and that by which both immediacy and thought pass over into a common, higher unity; thus it comprises both negation and mediation. We have said that negation is the transition of immediacy into its opposite; mediation is the reconciliation of opposites in a higher unity" (p. 19).

149 2 **Pythagoras**] → 149,*9*.

5 **Tennemann 1st vol., p. 101**] Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, p. 101: "There Pythagoras could rightly say: the wisest man appeared to him to be the person who gave things their names and who invented numbers."

149 7 "**always to be in the wrong"**] → 145,*27*.

9 **Thus Pythagoras also taught . . . the odd perfect**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, p. 105: "The *even* numbers are *imperfect, incomplete*, the *odd* perfect and *complete.*" See the Pythagorean table of categories (→ 148,*29*). Kierkegaard excerpted this same passage in a notebook (→ 148,*29*): "The *even* numbers are imperfect and incomplete; the *odd* are perfect and complete" (see Not14:1 and Not14:1.1 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 425–427; *Pap*. IV C 3, p. 374). — **Pythagoras**: → 141,*14*.

the Pythagoreans] → 145,*11*. 13

Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 115] Immediately after having put forward the Pythagorean table of categories (→ 148,*29*), Tennemann writes (in *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, pp. 115f.): "The idea which guided the inventor of this table is that every concept through which *perfection* was attributed to something was juxtaposed with another which, according to its type, was conceived of as *lacking perfection*. Thus the concepts of finitude or limitation, on the one hand, and that of infinitude, on the other, were positioned highest. They did this because they related everything *determinate* and *regular* to *finitude* or *unity*, whereas they related everything *indeterminate* or *chaotic* or *unknowable* in the world to *infinity* or *similarity*." 15

Tennemann, 1st vol., p. 119] Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, p. 119; Tennemann writes: "that the Pythagoreans held that the most perfect principle was not that from which something arose, but rather, as with plants and animals, *that which arose from something*." 5 149*m*

the principle of unity . . . the principle of contradiction] → 204,*18*. 16 149

Pythagoras taught . . . a number] → 145,*11*. 18

Zeno the Eleatic] Zeno of Elea (5th cent. B.C.), Greek philosopher of the Eleatic school, → 141*m*,*10*. 6 149*m*

μηδεν των οντων . . . p. 202 and note] Greek (mēden tōn óntōn estí to hen) "the one is nothing of the being." Direct quote from Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, p. 202, n. 75, where the Greek philosopher Simplicius (d. 547 B.C.) is given as the source. The note is appended to this passage, p. 202: "Ancient and later authors have maintained that *Zeno not only doubted, but indeed denied the existence of the one substance*, and said, *it is not among existing things*; and from this he concluded: *it does not exist at all*." 7

Heraclitus withdrew . . . to the initiated] Excerpt from Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, p. 210. — **Heraclitus**: → 138,*21*. — **Diana**: → 221,*25*. 23 149

149 28 **One of the 7 sages . . . were judges**] According to ancient Greek tradition, the Seven Sages were seven statesmen of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., especially known for a series of short maxims; the sources do not agree about the sages' names. The sage referred to here is the Scythian-born philosopher Anacharsis, who is mentioned in Diogenes Laertius's history of philosophy, bk. 1, chap. 8, 10, where these words are attributed to him: "he wondered why in Greece experts contend in the games and non-experts award the prizes" (*Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie* [→ 141,12] vol. 1, p. 47; English translation from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosphers*, trans. Hicks. [→ 141,12], vol. 1, p. 107).

150 11 **a child . . . mother's pain**] In difficult births, e.g., when the mother's life was threatened by hemorrhaging or cramps, the baby would be extracted with forceps, which caused a deformation of the baby's head; the infant would thus receive a temporary (and not permanent) reminder of the mother's pain; see M. Saxtorph, *Nyeste Udtog af Fødsels-Videnskaben, til Brug for Jordemødrene* [Latest Digest of Obstretics, for the Use of Midwives] (Copenhagen, 1828 [1802]), § 290, p. 229: "The forceps is an instrument with which one can grasp certain parts of the child, as it were with iron hands, and without injuring the child, extract it safely."

18 **Stoicism**] The Stoics were a philosophical school founded in Greece by Zeno ca. 300 B.C. and continued in Rome in the first two centuries A.D. by Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and others; the reference here is to the Stoics' doctrine that all human beings are identical by nature and are in principle capable of transcending chance sufferings in order to realize an ideal peace of mind.

20 **In his Explanation Pontoppidan . . . their souls**] Refers to Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764), *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed udi en eenfoldig og efter Mulighed kort dog tilstrekkelig Forklaring over Sal. Doct. Mort. Luthers Liden Catechismo* [Truth to Promote the Fear of God: A Simple and Briefest Possible, though Adequate, Explanation of the Late Dr. Mart. Luther's Small Catechism] (Copenhagen, 1738) (generally called "Pontoppidan's Explanation"), pp. 168f.: "Are not unbelief and thoughts or notions that mock God dangerous temptations by the Devil and the human heart? Yes, but a believer who has great contempt for such things and who struggles as much as possible against them can be consoled by the fact that God sees that there has been no voluntary act on his part, but rather painful suffering which, in the end, has its benefits for blessedness." And pp. 136ff.: "Which, then, are the gifts of the grace of the gospels? They are indeed the result of the bitterest sufferings for the benefit of the believer; a living hope of salvation, finally followed by the inexpressible eternal joy and glory in heaven, etc."

Leucippus] Leucippus of Miletus (5th cent. B.C.); 26 150
Greek philosopher; believed to have written *Megas Diakosmos* [The Great World System], of which a fragment is known.

a tragedy . . . p. 264] Translated passage from Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 1, p. 264, bottom of the page. 26

He . . . had no place to lay his head] Refers to Mt 8:20: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head." See also Lk 9:58. 34 150

carefree as the bird of the air and the flower of the field . . . Must not a hum. being . . . the morrow] Refers to Mt 6:24–34: "Look at the birds of the air; they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not of more value than they?" (v. 26); "And why do you worry about your clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin" (v. 28); and "So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today's trouble is enough for today" (v. 34). 3 151

yet we do in fact teach . . . to subordinate oneself] The textbooks used in teaching Christianity admonished people to work diligently at their jobs, both in order that they subordinate themselves to the worldly order sanctioned by God and to provide a living for themselves and their families. 12

the silent letter] A letter which is written but not pronounced. 15

call my little bit of wisdom sophistry] Perhaps a reference to J. L. Heiberg's and M. A. Goldschmidt's reviews of *Either/Or* (→ 145,26): In "Litterær Vintersæd" [Literary Winterseed], published in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,5), Heiberg praises "the 20 151

author's unusual brilliance, learning, and stylistic skill" (vol. 2, p. 290), but he "has no doubt that if the author would permit himself to be viewed for money he would earn just as much as by permitting himself to be read for money" (vol. 2, p. 288). In the March 10, 1843, issue of *Corsaren* [The Corsair], Goldschmidt writes of the author that he is "a mighty spirit; he is an intellectual aristocrat; he mocks the entire human race, demonstrating its wretchedness" (col. 1), and therefore the author has made it a point of honor to underwrite the cost of publishing the book, without regard to whether or not anyone wants to buy it (cols. 2f.).

21 **it lacks . . . earns money by it**] *Either/Or* was published on commission by C. A. Reitzel, and Kierkegaard was thus his own publisher, a business arrangement which required that he himself sign a contract with the printer. He paid 640 rixdollars and 46 shillings (→ 163,*11*) for paper and printing, and on May 7, 1843, he received 395 rixdollars and 80 shillings from Reitzel for the first 100 copies sold. Thus in the beginning he did not earn any money on the book. See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 58–62. — **Plato**: Greek philosopher (427–347 B.C.) and a pupil of Socrates (→ 146,*8*), who was the recurring principal figure in Plato's dialogues, which contain frequent polemics against the Sophists; in 387 B.C. Plato founded the Academy in Athens, and among his pupils was Aristotle. Among the works of Plato that Kierkegaard owned were a Greek and Latin edition, *Platonis opera, quae exstant* [The Surviving Works of Plato], ed. F. Ast, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1819–1832; ASKB 1144–1154, abbreviated hereafter as *Platonis opera*); a German translation, *Platons Werke* [The Works of Plato], trans. F. Schleiermacher, 3 parts in 6 vols. (Berlin, 1804–1828; ASKB 1158–1163); and a Danish translation, *Udvalgte Dialoger af Platon* [Selected Dialogues of Plato], trans. C. J. Heise, 8 vols. (Copenhagen, 1830–1859; ASKB 1164–1166); in the Explanatory Notes to *Journal JJ*, references will primarily be to these editions; the English translations used will be those in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues, Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989; abbreviated hereafter as *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*). — **Aristotle**: → 137*m,4*

Tennemann . . . note 6] Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,*3*), vol. 1, p. 355, note 6b: "These are the characters whom Plato indicates as Sophists in a number of places, particularly in his dialogue *Sophist* [231 d–e]. See, for example, p. 230: 'νεων και πλουσιων εμμισθος θηρευτης, 2) εμπορος τις περι τα της ψυχης μαθηματα, 3) περι ταυτα καπηλος, 4) αυτοπωλης περι τα μαθηματα, 5) της αγωνιστικης περι λογους αθλητης την εριστικην τεχνην αφωρισμενος, 6) δοξων εμποδιων μαθημασι περι ψυχην καθαρτης' [First, I think, he was found as the hired hunter of rich young men . . . And secondly as a sort of merchant of learning as nourishment for the soul . . . Thirdly, he showed himself as a retail dealer in the same wares . . . and fourthly as selling the products of his own manufacture . . . His fifth appearance . . . was an athlete in debate, appropriating that subdivision of contention which consists in the art of eristic . . . His sixth appearance was . . . as a purifier of the soul from the conceits that block the way to understanding (translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 974)]. Though he says the Sophists could dispute the latter description, Aristotle states the following in *Sophistical Refutations* [165a 21–23]: 'εστι γαρ ἡ σοφιστικη φαινομενη σοφια, ουσα δε μη· και ὁ σοπιστης χρηματιστης απο, φαινομενης σοφιας, αλλ ουκ ουσης' [For the art of the sophist is the semblance of wisdom without the reality, and the sophist is the one who makes money from an apparent but unreal wisdom (*The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 279)]." 24

Socrates says to Theaetetus] See Socrates' (→ 146,*8*) line in Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus*, 148e. — **Theaetetus**: (415 or 413–369 B.C.), Greek geometer. 26 151

prostitute] According to *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*), prostitution was illegal, but since it was impossible to get rid of it in practice, it was tolerated; in an attempt to control widespread venereal disease, prostitutes were promised anonymity and free treatment if they reported cases of the disease to the police. See A. F. Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* [Danish State Statistics], 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1844–1853), vol. 3 (1848), p. 6: "In connection with this matter it ought not be ignored that during the last decade ca. 300 prostitutes have been registered 32 151

with the police in Copenhagen, sometimes a bit over, sometimes a bit under, and that there are probably a very few others than those registered who make their principal income through loose living, since the police are very attentive and strict in this respect; but on the other hand, the number of those who work part-time at this occupation cannot be calculated at fewer than 1,000."

34 **he might be a father . . . owed its life to him**] Even though they tried to avoid becoming pregnant, it was not unusual for prostitutes to give birth to illegitimate children; but "it must be borne in mind that each year only between one-third and one-quarter of all fallen women may be assumed to become pregnant, even if one assumes that their fertility is equal to that of married women, which, however, it surely is not" (Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik*, vol. 3 [1848], p. 32). A proclamation of December 6, 1839, required that the father (if he could be identified) was obligated "to support his illegitimate children." — **somewhere in the world . . . owed its life to him**: When a prostitute (or other unmarried woman) was to give birth, she could be anonymously admitted to the Royal Childbirth and Child Care Institution on Amaliegade *(see map 2, F3)*. By paying a stipend for food, she could leave the child in the care of the institution or a foster family. Very few prostitutes were in a position to pay the annual contribution of 50 rixdollars (→ 163,*11*), and in practice if they were unwilling give up their anonymity they were compelled to take their newborn children with them when they left the childbirth clinic.

152 11 **It is better to give than to receive**] Refers to Jesus' words, recounted by Paul in Acts 20:35: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

14 **willing to give away everything out of love**] Perhaps an allusion to Titus 3:1, "to be ready for every good work."

153 1 **Un sot trouve . . . Boileau**] Cited directly from F. C. Eilschov, *Philosophiske Breve Over adskillige nyttige vigtige Ting* [Philosophical Letters concerning Various Useful and Important Matters] (Copenhagen, 1748), p. 126, note y. See the text on that page, where Eilschov cites the translated passage as characteristic of freethinkers who employ fables and vague knowledge in order to deny the existence of Providence: "A fool a greater fool finds, / Who with his foolishness he easily blinds." The verses are from the French poet and critic Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) *L'art poétique* [The Poetic Art] (1674), canto 1, v. 232.

reus voti] Latin, "bound by an oath." The expression appears in Virgil's *Aeneid*, bk. 5, v. 237, where it is indicated that one is bound to fulfill one's promise to the gods because one has had one's wish fulfilled. 4 153

theology degree] Actually, a certified proof of having passed one's theological examination. Kierkegaard took his theological examination on July 3, 1840. 5

dissertation] Kierkegaard defended *On the Concept of Irony* for his magister degree in philosophy on September 29, 1841; he may already have started working on the dissertation in 1838–1839, but most of the work on it was probably done from ca. September 1840 until shortly before it was submitted on June 3, 1841, that is, during his engagement to Regine Olsen (→ 161,*8*); see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Om Begrebet Ironi*, *SKS* K1, 125–129. 6

I wrote the whole of Either/Or, from beginning to end, in 11 months] Kierkegaard presumably wrote the first drafts for *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*) in October 1841 and continued to work on it until September 1843, after which he spent the next four months making a fair copy and proofreading; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 54–58. 6

Mynster's sermons] See J. P. Mynster, *Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* [Sermons for Every Sunday and Holy Day of the Year], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1837 [1823]; ASKB 2191) and *Prædikener* [Sermons], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1810–1815; ASKB 2192); vol. 1 (1826) and vol. 2 (1832). — **Mynster**: Jacob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), Danish theologian; from 1834 bishop of the diocese of Zealand and as such the clerical leader of the Danish church. 19 153

He also gives consolation . . . happier days are coming, etc.] See, for example, J. P. Mynster, "Formaning til at holde fast ved Haabet" [Exhortation to Cling to Hope], in *Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* (→ 153,*19*) , vol. 2, p. 398: "It is of course true that even on fair days clouds often 20

gather over people's heads, shrouding their path in fog and darkness, but it is also true that after the rain the sun shines again, that spring comes after winter, that happier times come after sorrowful times."

153 31 **since Descartes, all of them have believed . . . the probable**] In the preface to *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Meditations on First Philosophy], in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 137,29), vol. 1, pp. 1–4, Descartes explains that the philosophical problems he believes that he can solve with the help of his methodical doubt are only those which concern speculative truth, not those concerning faith or practical actions in life; in his first Meditation (pp. 5–8), Descartes pithily states that as long as one is doubting it is not a matter of acting but of meditating and knowing. — **Descartes**: → 137,29.

154 8 **Xst concealed something . . . they could not bear it**] Refers to Jn 16:12: "I still have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now."

154*m* 2 **With respect to God I am always in the wrong**] → 145,27.

154 16 **the woman . . . "the goddess of Reason"**] See, e.g., *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 135,23), vol. 11 (1827), p. 532: "The destroyers of the Christian Church invented *the cult of Reason*, and they celebrated Reason for the first time on November 10, 1793, in the Church of Notre Dame. A notorious prostitute was carried to the altar half-naked in a triumphal chariot and was there lauded with hymns and incense." Becker does not recount the woman's subsequent fate.

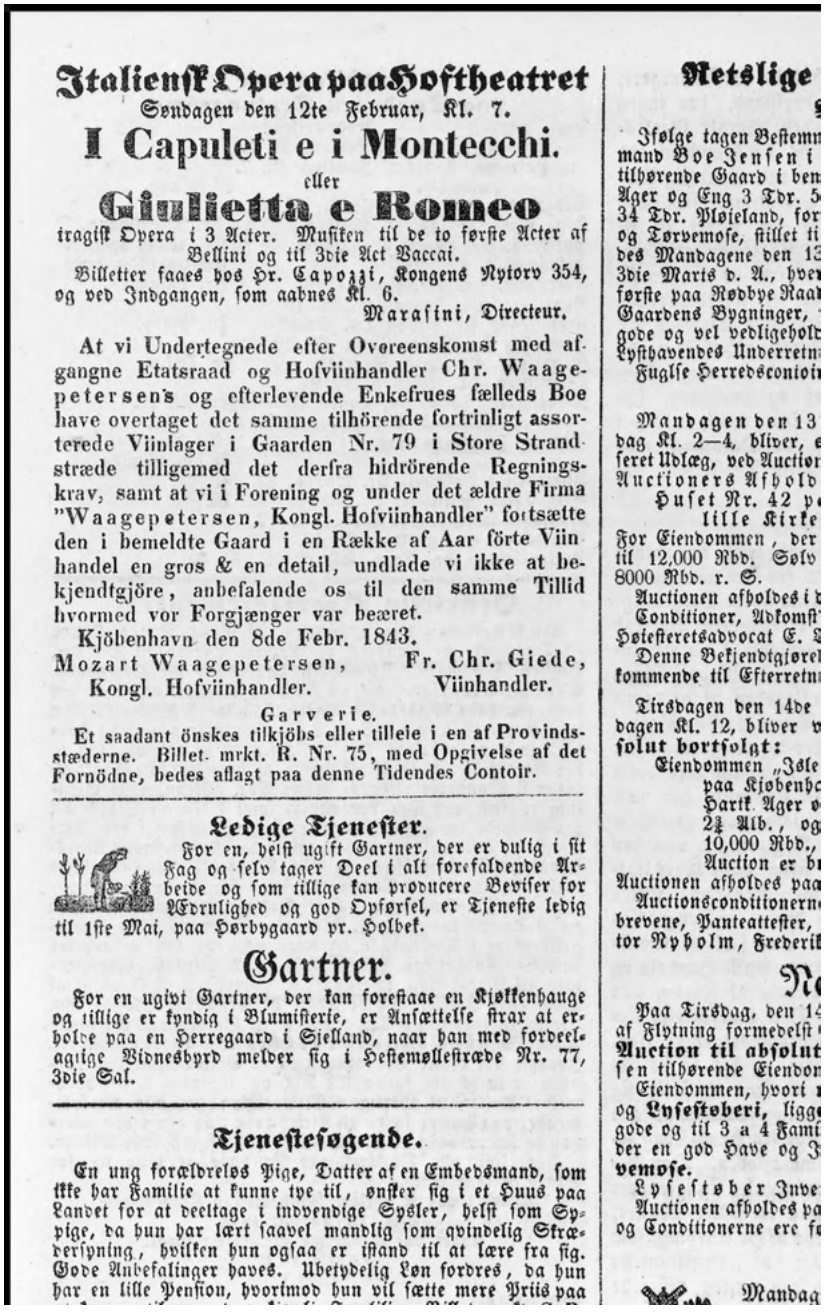
154 22 **Theodorus Atheos . . . p. 124, note 39**] Translated passage from Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 2 (1799), p. 124, n. 39, where Tennemann cites in Greek from Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi* [On Peace of Soul]. — **Theodorus Atheos**: Theodoros of Cyrene (4th cent. B.C.), Greek Cyrenian-Epicurean philosopher with the epithet *átheos* (Greek, "godless," "atheist").

154 28 **something unreported in both the Old Testament and the Koran**] According to Gen 22:1–19, God commands Moses to journey to Moriah in order to sacrifice his son there; he prepares the sacrifice, and on the third day they reach the appointed place, while Isaac remains ignorant of his fate; cf. vv. 7–8. When Abraham has built an altar, bound Isaac, and taken hold of the knife in order to slaughter him, he is stopped by the cry of an angel from heaven; now God knows that Abraham, out of fear of God, will not even spare his own son, and therefore he blesses Abraham and commands him to sacrifice instead a ram, which suddenly appears nearby. — **the Koran**: Kierkegaard owned a German translation, *Der Koran*, trans. L. Ullmann (Crefeld, 1840; ASKB 603). He presumably looked in vain in sura 14, which bears the title "Abraham" (pp. 206–211), but according to sura 37, "Those Arranged in Ranks" (pp. 383–389), v. 102, Ishmael (who in the Koran is the object of Abraham's test, and not his brother Isaac) in fact knew that Abraham would sacrifice him; see p. 386: " Now that he [Ishmael] had reached the age of reason, then Abraham said to him, 'O my son, in a dream I saw that I was to deliver you as a sacrifice; consider now, what you think of this.' But he replied, 'Do, my father, what you have been commanded to do, and, with God's will, you will find me very patient.' "

like furies above his head] Refers to the Furies, the zealous goddesses of vengeance in Greek mythology, who with their serpent hair, their daggers, and their torches, were a terrifying sight as they pursued criminals. 8 155

When the child . . . the mother blackens her breast] Presumably the mother blackened her breast with lampblack. 28

in today's Adresseavisen . . . heavy black silk fabric] See *Adresseavisen*, no. 85, April 10, 1843, 1st suppl., col. 10: "*Please Note*! Because of a change in plans, ten and one-half yards of heavy black silk fabric (purchased for my own use) is for sale; it is the same on both sides and 1-½ feet wide, plus a very beautiful French shawl, which will be sold for significantly less than the purchase prise, at 204 Borgergade, first floor, first door down from Gothersgade." In *Adresseavisen* the phrase "because of a change in plans" was an established and frequently used term. — **Adresseavisen**: Actually *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office], established in 1759 and the most important organ for advertising 4 156



Italiensk Opera paa Hoftheatret
Søndagen den 12te Februar, Kl. 7.

I Capuleti e i Montecchi.
eller
Giulietta e Romeo
tragisk Opera i 3 Acter. Musiken til de to første Acter af Bellini og til 3die Act Vaccai.

Billetter faaes hos Hr. Capozzi, Kongens Nytorv 354, og ved Indgangen, som aabnes Kl. 6.

Marasini, Directeur.

At vi Undertegnede efter Overeenskomst med afgangne Etatsraad og Hofviinhandler Chr. Waagepetersen's og efterlevende Enkefrues fælleds Boe have overtaget det samme tilhörende fortrinligt assorterede Viinlager i Gaarden Nr. 79 i Store Strandstræde tilligemed det derfra hidrörende Regningskrav, samt at vi i Forening og under det ældre Firma "Waagepetersen, Kongl. Hofviinhandler" fortsætte den i bemeldte Gaard i en Række af Aar förte Viinhandel en gros & en detail, undlade vi ikke at bekjendtgjöre, anbefalende os til den samme Tillid hvormed vor Forgjænger var beæret.

Kjöbenhavn den 8de Febr. 1843.

Mozart Waagepetersen, Kongl. Hofviinhandler. — Fr. Chr. Giede, Viinhandler.

Garverie.

Et saadant önskes tilkjöbs eller tilleie i en af Provindsstæderne. Billet. mrkt. R. Nr. 75, med Opgivelse af det Fornödne, bedes aflagt paa denne Tidendes Contoir.

Ledige Tjenester.

For en, helst ugift Gartner, der er dulig i sit Fag og selv tager Deel i alt forefaldende Arbeide og som tillige kan producere Beviser for Ædruelighed og god Opförsel, er Tjeneste ledig til 1ste Mai, paa Hørbygaard pr. Holbek.

Gartner.

For en ugift Gartner, der kan foresaae en Kjökkenhauge og tillige er kyndig i Blumisterie, er Ansættelse strax at erholde paa en Herregaard i Sjelland, naar han med fordeelagtige Vidnesbyrd melder sig i Hestemøllestræde Nr. 77, 3die Sal.

Tjenestesøgende.

En ung forældreløs Pige, Datter af en Embedsmand, som ikke har Familie at kunne tye til, önsker sig i et Huus paa Landet for at deeltage i indvendige Sysler, helst som Sypige, da hun har lært saavel mandlig som qvindelig Strædersyning, hvilken hun ogsaa er istand til at lære fra sig. Gode Anbefalinger haves. Ubetydelig Løn fordres, da hun har en lille Pension, hvorimod hun vil sætte mere Priis paa

Retslige

Ifølge tagen Bestemm
mand Boe Jensen i
tilhørende Gaard i ben
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og Tørvemose, stillet ti
des Mandagene den 13
3die Marts d. A., hver
første paa Rødbye Raa
Gaardens Bygninger,
gode og vel vedligehold
Lysthavendes Underretn
Fuglse Herredsconioi

Mandagen den 13
dag Kl. 2—4, bliver, e
feret Udlæg, ved Auctior
Auctioners Afhold
Huset Nr. 42 p
lille Kirke
For Eiendommen, der
til 12,000 Rbd. Sølv
8000 Rbd. r. S.
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Høiesteretsadvocat E.
Denne Bekjendtgjørel
kommende til Efterretn

Tirsdagen den 14de
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brevene, Panteattester,
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Mandag

8. Classified advertisement from *Berlingske Tidende*, featuring a vignette of a gardener (→ 158,*18*).

in Copenhagen because, with the exception of *Berlingske Tidende* [Berling's Times], it was the only newspaper in Copenhagen that had the right to accept paid advertising; starting in 1800, it was published six days a week, and in the 1840s the average press run was ca. 7,000 copies; see Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* (→ 151,*32*), vol. 3 (1848), pp. 261f.

7 **had been deceived**] Variant: *added*.

156 *13* **theol. graduates . . . begin as tutors**] In Kierkegaard's time, it was still common for a number of theology graduates, after they had taken their final degree examinations, to be engaged as private tutors to the children of the well-to-do bourgeoisie or government officials; see "Om de theologiske Candidaters Huslærerliv" [On the Lives of Theology Graduates as Private Tutors] in *Archiv for den praktiske Theologie* [Archives of Practical Theology], ed. J. S. B. Suhr, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1839–1840), vol. 1, pp. 273–289.

15 **I began . . . by being a spiritual adviser**] Kierkegaard received his theology degree on July 3, 1840, and became engaged to Regine Olsen (→ 161,*8*) on September 8 the same year; that he "ended by being a spiritual adviser" is perhaps a reference to the circumstance that after he had definitively broken off their engagement on October 11, 1841, he came to her, at her father's urging, that same evening and again the following day, and attempted to console her (see the notebook "My Relationship to 'Her,'" entry dated August 24, 1849, Not15:4 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 435–436; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,12, p. 164). But the phrase could also refer to *Two Edifying Discourses* (→ 157,*5*) which were particularly addressed to Regine Olsen as "that single individual" (→ 157,*11*); see the explanatory note to *SKS* 5, 13, in *SKS* K5, 35.

156 *21* **The edifying**] In part a homiletic genre which attempts to build up and strengthen the congregation's receptivity to the divine, and in part an individual practice in which the believer makes use of prayer and reading in private, seeking God in his or her heart; see, for example, the article "*Erbauung*" [Edification] in F. A. Brockhaus, *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände. (Conversations-Lexikon.)* [Universal German Encyclopedia for the Educated Classes (Encyclopedia)], 8th ed., 12 vols. (Leipzig, 1833–1837; ASKB 1299–1310, abbreviated hereafter as *Conversations-Lexikon*), vol. 3 (1833), pp. 664f.

a jest . . . "thou"] See journal entry FF:91 in this volume, where in 1837 Kierkegaard asks: "To what extent might there be something humorous in prayer, in the setting aside of all worldly relativity implicit in prayer, in being on familiar terms with [saying 'thou' to] God." *22*

uses the intimate "thou" in addressing earthly majesty] Every subject was obligated to address the absolute king as "Your Majesty," just as both the Royal Law (1665; published 1709) and the *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*) order people to "acknowledge and respect the king as the most excellent and highest head here on earth, above all human laws, and who acknowledges no other head or judge over himself excepting God alone" (here cited in accordance with the *Danske Lov*, bk. 1, chap. 1, § 1, which except for insignificant differences in orthography is identical with the Royal Law). *27*

a place out here in Grib's Forest called the Nook of the Eight Paths] Grib's Forest in northern Zealand, a bit less than twenty-five miles north-northwest of Copenhagen, was then (as now) Zealand's largest forest, comprising 10,400 acres (ca. 16 sq. miles) of fenced woodlands in which grazing by livestock was forbidden; with other adjacent forests, the total area was 13,600 acres (ca. 21 sq. miles). See Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* (→ 151,*32*), vol. 2 (1847), p. 213. In the 17th century a system of roads was laid out in a star-shaped pattern in order to accommodate riding to hounds, and the Nook of the Eight Paths is the point at which these paths meet. The Nook of the Eight Paths also served as the name for the adjacent portion of Grib's Forest, which can be seen on a forest map from ca. 1850, but the name is not to be found on J. H. Mansa's *Kort over den nordøstlige Deel af Sjælland* [Map of the Northeastern Portion of Zealand] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 2051) *(see map 3, D3)*. *30* 156

preface to the "Two Sermons"] That is, the preface to *Two Edifying Discourses*, published in *KW* as part of *Eighteen Edifying* [or "Upbuilding"] *Discourses* (Copenhagen, 1843); *EUD*, 5; *SKS* 5, 13. The preface is dated "Copenhagen, May 5th, 1843," Kierke- *5* 157

gaard's thirtieth birthday, but this dating must have been moved forward, since the book was ready from the press on Saturday May 6 (and published on Tuesday May 16). Kierkegaard presumably delivered his manuscript to the typesetter in the middle of April. — **Two Sermons**: The preface to *Two Edifying Discourses* says that the book was called "'discourses' not 'sermons,' because its author does not have authority to *preach*" (*EUD*, 5; *SKS* 5, 13).

9 **I rush up to the printer**'s] Kierkegaard lived in Nørregade, the present no. 38 *(see map 2, B1)*; Bianco Luno's press lay on the west corner of Østergade and Pedermadsensgang, the present Ny Østergade *(see map 2, D2)*. The typesetter has not been identified. See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *To opbyggelige Taler*, *SKS* K5, 15f.

11 **the "single individual"**] Or, as Kierkegaard writes in the preface to *Two Edifying Discourses*: "that single individual, whom I with joy and gratitude call my reader, that single individual it is seeking, it stretches out its arms, that single individual who is favorably enough disposed to allow himself to be found, favorably enough disposed to receive it" (*EUD*, 5; *SKS* 5, 13).

12 **first made me decide to have only 2 copies printed**] *Two Edifying Discourses* is thought to have been published in an edition of 500 copies. See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *To opbyggelige Taler*, *SKS* K5, 20.

157 23 **I take away the secret note**] Whether Kierkegaard is referring to a factual action or a fictive one is impossible to tell.

157 26 **sin . . . what one should grieve over**] → 221,*12*.

29 **Christ's words . . . face**] Mt 6:17.

33 **community and . . . the congregational idea**] Refers presumably to N. F. S. Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*) and his doctrine of congregational fellowship as the foundation of Christianity.

158 9 **authority**] Especially the authority of an ordained pastor in the Danish Church, which Kierkegaard did not possess.

14 **Balaam's ass talking**] See Num 22:21–30.

158 18 **that gardener's apprentice . . . good references**] Refers to a vignette used not in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*) but often, under the heading "vacant positions," in *Berlingske Tidende* in connection with advertisements for gardening work. The vignette depicts a man bending down watering some bushes with a can. See, e.g., February 6, 11, and 16, 1843 (nos. 34, 39, and 44). The following advertisement is beneath the vignette on February 11: "For a preferably unmarried gardener, capable in his profession and willing to make himself generally useful and who can also produce evidence of sobriety and good conduct, there is work available until May 1st at Hørbygaard nr. Holbek." See illustration 8.

smart pettifogger] Kierkegaard's Danish term uses a legal title, but in a pejorative sense. 23

That I won't . . . it all] Partially translated quotation from *Fra Diavolo eller Værtshuset i Terracina. Syngespil i 3 Akter af E. Scribe; oversat til Aubers Musik af Th. Overskou* [Fra Diavolo or the Inn in Terracina: Opera Libretto in 3 Acts by E. Scribe, Translated to the Music of Auber by T. Overskou], act 1, scene 3 (*Det kongelige Theaters Repertoire* [The Royal Theater's Repertoire], no. 37 [Copenhagen, 1831], pp. 3f.): "I'd rather see, I'd rather see, / That you were always in fashion, / That *diamonds and silk* you wore, / And let my money go to that! / I'd be happy to see it, happy to see it! / But if, milady! you will make me into a man of fashion— / *You are in fault*—I answer No! / That I won't, that I won't!— / *No, no, no, no, no, Goddamn*! / That I won't—that I won't!" The lines are sung by Lord Rokborough, an Englishman traveling in Italy, to his wife, Pamela, whom he has just accused of coquetry. The italicized lines were in English. The piece was performed fifty-three times at the Royal Theater from May 9, 1831, until February 21, 1842. 24

the others can . . . refrain from buying, reading, reviewing, etc.] Presumably alludes to J. L. Heiberg's review of *Either/Or* in "Litterær Vintersæd" in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,*5*), pp. 288f.: "One thinks, 'Have I time to read such a book, and what guarantee have I that the sacrifice will be rewarded?' One feels strangely gripped by the very title, in that one applies it to one's own relationship to the book and asks oneself, 'Am I either to read it or to refrain?'" 26

put down in the dark pit . . . see nothing, no way out] Allusion to Ps 88:2–9; see esp. vv. 6–9: "You have put me in the depths of the pit, in the regions 30 158

dark and deep. Your wrath lies heavy upon me, and you overwhelm me with all your waves, *Selah*. You have caused my companions to shun me; you have made me a thing of horror to them. I am shut in so that I cannot escape."

34 **wedded . . . with the left hand**] Entered into a relationship to another than the one to whom one is lawfully wedded.

159 1 **shriveled up like a grasshopper**] A presumed allusion to Tithonus, in ancient mythology married to Aurora (Greek, *Eos*), goddess of the dawn. Aurora obtained immortality for Tithonus but forgot to include eternal youth. He became old and lost his beauty as well as Aurora's love and asked therefore to be made mortal once more, but in vain. Instead, Aurora transformed him into a cricket or grasshopper. See *Neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 136,*28*), vol. 1, p. 365.

159 7 **tender calf**] The young (tender) calf that had to be sacrificed to God (see Lev 9:3 and 22:27). In the context Kierkegaard appears to refer also to Ephraim's prayer to God in Jer 31:18: "You disciplined me, and I took the discipline; I was like a calf untrained; / Bring me back, let me come back, for you are the Lord my God."

159 20 **Daub says . . . that others do not have**] A reference to an utterance of the German theologian Karl Daub (1765–1836) in a conversation with the German philosopher Karl Rosenkranz (1805–1879), cited in the latter's *Erinnerungen an Karl Daub* [Reminiscences of Karl Daub] (Berlin, 1837; ASKB 743). On Rosenkranz's complaint at having to return to Prussia and do military service, Daub remarks (pp. 24f) that any form of practice has a concrete, fulfilling aspect, and that on sentry duty at night at a lonely post, a powder magazine perhaps nearby, one has thoughts that are otherwise quite impossible, and tells him not to worry about them. A Danish translation, *Erindringer om Karl Daub*, appeared in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* [Journal of Foreign Theological Literature], vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1837), pp. 534–462, 551. Kierkegaard is listed as a subscriber.

25 **that ascetic . . . fell to drinking**] Unidentified.

29 **anxiety and trembling**] Presumably refers in particular to Job 4:13–14: "Amid thoughts from visions of the night, when deep sleep falls on mortals, dread came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones shake."

mediate] → 148,*30*. 2 160

Bournonville's portrayal of Mephistopheles] Beginning in 1830, the Danish solo dancer, choreographer, and ballet master Antoine August Bournonville (1805–1879) belonged to the permanent ensemble at the Royal Theater, Copenhagen. His own ballet, *Faust. Original romantisk Ballet i tre Akter* [Faust: Original Romantic Ballet in Three Acts], (Copenhagen, 1832), was performed thirty-two times from April 25, 1832, until March 13, 1843. Having previously danced the part of Faust, Bournonville himself danced the part of Mephistopheles beginning June 10, 1842. — **plastic**: i.e., sculptural or (here) carefully poised. 5 160

Winsløv . . . said: "Patience," . . . The Inseparables] Carl Winsløw (1796–1834), Danish actor at the Royal Theater from 1819 until his death. In the five performances of Adam Oehlenschläger's tragedy *Karl den Store* [Charlemagne] in the 1829–1830 season, Winsløw played the part of the king's illegitimate son, Pipin. He does not say "Patience," but Kierkegaard may be thinking of his monologue in the first act, where he declares that he wants to curb his elemental impatience in order to deceive his father. See *Oehlenschlägers Tragødier* [Oehlenschläger's Tragedies], 9 vols. (Copenhagen, 1841–1844; ASKB 1601–1605), vol. 7 (1842), pp. 17f. According to a bill from Reitzel's bookshop, Kierkegaard did not purchase these until November 12, 1844, but he presumably saw the tragedy at the Royal Theater and is quoting from memory. In J. L. Heiberg's vaudeville *De Uadskillelige* [The Inseparables] (1827), Winsløw played the part of Klister, who is constantly grumbling and bickering with his sweetheart Amalie, and the two are inseparable "in twaddle and tediousness" (scene 2). *J. L. Heibergs Samlede Skrifter. Skuespil* [J. L. Heiberg's Collected Works: Plays], 7 vols. (Copenhagen, 1833–1841; ASKB 1553–1559; abbreviated hereafter as *Skuespil*), vol. 4 (1835), p. 230. 9

Petrarch's poem "Amor's Triumph"] Refers to "Trionfo dell'Amore." See the German translation, "Triumph Amors," in *Francesco Petrarca's sämmtliche italienische Gedichte* [Francesco Petrarca's Com- 14 160

plete Italian Poems], 6 vols., trans. Bruckbräu, (München, 1827; ASKB, 1932–1933), vol. 5, pp. 51–78. In the poem the love-struck narrator tells of how he has taken himself to a deserted spot where, however, he is disturbed by the winged god of love, Amor, who shows him some of the most famous victims of his arrows: Caesar and Cleopatra, Theseus and Ariadne, Jason and Medea, Jacob and Rachel, along with many others whose fates are bewailed. — **Petrarch**: Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), Italian poet, philologist, and philosopher.

160 23 **Heiberg**] Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860), Danish writer, journal editor, literary and theater critic, and (starting in 1824) well-known Hegelian philosopher. In 1829 he was named titular professor and from 1830 until 1836 was reader in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the newly established Royal Military College. In 1829 he was also appointed playwright and permanent translator at the Royal Theater, for which he also worked as censor. In 1831 he married the actress Johanne Luise Pätges (1812–1890); their home was a much sought-after salon for the cultivated bourgeoisie.

24 **The Danes in Paris, act 1, scene 12**] J. L. Heiberg, *De Danske i Paris. Vaudeville i to Acter* [The Danes in Paris: Vaudeville in Two Acts], act 1, scene 12. The main character in the play, Johannes Bruun, had traveled abroad and married a French girl of the lower class, with whom he had a daughter named Juliette. Out of fear of being disinherited by a rich uncle, however, Johannes keeps the whole thing a secret. Meanwhile, having lost his own fortune, he settles on a military career in Denmark and so is unable to see either his wife or daughter for several years. He eventually earns the rank of major and is sent back to France with a Danish regiment, which at that time (1816) was taking part in the allied occupation. Finally the rich uncle dies and leaves Johannes a large fortune, thereby enabling him to be reunited with his wife and child. In act 2, scene 12, Johannes recounts this whole story. He concludes by imagining what his homecoming will be like: "And in Copenhagen people will look wide-eyed when they see him, whom they have always called a confirmed bachelor, return with a wife and a seventeen-year-old daughter" (Heiberg, *Skuespil* [→ 160,*9*]; vol. 5 [1835], p. 48). *De Danske i Paris* was performed forty-one times at the Royal Theater from January 29, 1833, through May 19, 1842.

Holberg's Ulysses . . . a man for the times] In his comedy *Ulysses von Ithacia eller En tydsk Comoedie* [Ulysses von Ithaca, or a German Comedy] (1725), Holberg follows in broad outline the events in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but continually directs a satiric barb at the fantastic passage of time in Homer's tragic tales. See *Den Danske Skue-Plads* (→ 142,*24*), vol. 3, no page numbering. *Ulysses von Ithacia* had not been performed at the Royal Theater since 1835. — **Holberg**: Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Danish-Norwegian author and scientist; appointed professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1717, where he became rector; he was bursar from 1737 to 1751. In connection with the establishment of a Danish Theater in Lille Grønnegade (now Ny Adelgade), Holberg wrote his first comedies, published in three volumes, 1723–1725. The first twenty-five comedies appeared under the title *Den Danske Skue-Plads*, 5 vols. 5 161

Easter Sunday at evensong in the Church of Our Lady (during Mynster's sermon)] In 1843 Easter Sunday fell on April 16. See the caption "Preachers on Easter Sunday" in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*) no. 89, April 15, 1843: "Evensong . . . Frue Kirke, . . . Bishop Mynster (→ 153,*19*)." — **Church of Our Lady**: *(see map 2, B1)*. 7 161

she nodded to me] Regine Olsen (1822–1904), to whom Kierkegaard was engaged from September 8, 1840, until October 11, 1841. In 1843 Regine became engaged to Johan Frederik Schlegel (→ 165,*1*), to whom she was married on November 3, 1847. 8

a year and a half of suffering] Presumably refers to the fact that, after the break with Regine Olsen on October 11, 1841, Kierkegaard had attempted to free her by giving her the impression that the engagement had been a deception. 11

the way she . . . in any case] Variant: According to *B.-Cat.*, at the point of discontinuity indicated by the ellipsis, two pages had been torn out of the journal. 22

instead . . . by humbling myself] It is uncertain what is meant by Regine's purported pride. But see *Notebook 15*, "My Relationship to 'Her,' " dated August 24, 1849, where Kierkegaard refers to Regine as having said, while they were engaged, "that she had accepted me out of sympathy," and that " 'if 24

she believed it was just from habit that I came, she would break it off immediately'" (Not15:4 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 434; *Pap*. X 5 A 149, p. 161). What Kierkegaard's humbling himself refers to is also uncertain.

28 **Then she took up the cudgels against me**] Presumably refers to August 11, 1841, when Kierkegaard had attempted to break with Regine by returning her engagement ring. According to an entry from ca. September 1, 1849, in *Journal NB12* with the heading "My Relationship to 'Her,'" she responded with a letter in which she implored him "for the sake of Jesus Christ and the memory of my deceased father not to abandon her" (NB12:122 in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 216; *Pap*. X 1 A 667, p. 422).

31 **later**] A presumed reference to the two following months, until the final break on October 11. In "My Relationship to 'Her' " (→ 161,*24*) Kierkegaard talks of these as "two months of deception" (Not15:4.h in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 435; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,11), in which he had to be "so cruel" in order "to shake her off" (Not15:4 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 435; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,10).

34 **Then the bond broke**] i.e., on October 11, 1841, when it was all over with Regine.

161 35 **The second sermon**] "All Good and All Perfect Gifts Are from Above," in *Two Edifying Discourses* (→ 157,*5*) *EUD*, 31–48; *SKS* 5, 39–56. The second of the two sermons, which Kierkegaard in his preface insists on calling discourses rather than sermons, takes its title and theme from Jas 1:17–21; v. 17.

36 **If you who are evil . . . God know how to do it**] See Mt 7:11.

162*m* 4 **Gospel . . . it will be stormy**] Refers to Christ's words to the Pharisees and Sadducees when they demanded a sign, Mt 16:2–3.

162 12 **Berlin, 10 May 1843**] Kierkegaard left Copenhagen on Monday, May 8, 1843, by steamship to Stralsund. He spent the night in Stralsund and left the next day by stagecoach for Berlin, where he arrived on May 9. On Tuesday, May 30, 1843, Kierkegaard was back in Copenhagen. Part of the return journey, from Berlin to Angermünde (in the direction of Stettin), was by train; he continued thence to Stralsund by stagecoach (a journey of almost 150 miles). The total time of the journey was about forty hours.

15 **Stralsund**] Former Hanseatic town on the channel opposite the island of Rügen; in 1815, it became part of the Prussian kingdom and the administrative center of the district bearing the same name.

16 **Weber**] Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), German composer, pianist, and conductor; considered the father of German musical romanticism, not least due to his opera *Der Freischütz* (1821), which was performed sixty times at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen from 1822–1841.

17 **The previous time I was in Berlin**] i.e., from the end of October 1841 until the beginning of March 1842.

18 **Thiergarten**] Park west of the Brandenburg Gate (*see map 4, Da–Ea*).

21 **My pharmacist . . . has married**] Presumably identical with Kierkegaard's landlord on his previous stay in Berlin; a letter dated May 15, 1843, to his friend Emil Boesen (1812–1881) relates that he had moved into his former lodging (→ 162,*29*): "My address is Jägerstrasse und Charlottenstrasse an der Ecke, my previous residence, except the landlord has married, and so I live like a hermit in one room, where my bed is also" (*LD*, 152; *B&A* 1, 119). In 1841–1842 Kierkegaard had rented the whole apartment on the second floor, but in 1843 he had to be content with renting a single room. His landlord, the pharmacist Lange, had run the König-Salomo-Apotheke on the first floor of the same address since 1840.

28 **In the Hotel de Saxe . . . the boats lie**] On his arrival in Berlin, Kierkegaard moved into Hôtel de Saxe, Burgstrasse 20 *(see map 4, Cf)*, described in a contemporary source as among the "Gasthoefe erster Klasse" ["first-class guesthouses"]. See also a letter to Emil Boesen, which appears to have been written on the same day as the entry in *Journal JJ*: "I am in Berlin, staying for the time being in the Hotel de Saxe, am extraordinarily taxed by the journey, somewhat weakened, but no doubt it will go over. Yesterday I arrived . . ." (*LD*, 150; *B&A* 1, 117f.). The letter was sent together with a letter dated May 15, 1843, mentioned in the previous explanatory note. — **the water where the boats lie**: That is, the River Spree, east of the island and just north of Friedrichsbrücke *(see map 4, Cf)*.

29 **it reminds . . . I have the church**] The church that Kierkegaard could see in the background from the Hôtel de Saxe was the Berliner Dom, south of Friedrichsbrücke *(see map 4, Cf)*. — **of the past**: i.e., Kierkegaard's previous stay in Berlin (→ 162,*21*)

when he lived at Mittelstraße no. 61 and then at Jägerstraße no. 57. Mittelstraße no. 61 does not, however, lie in the immediate vicinity of the water (i.e., the River Spree), nor do Jägerstraße and Charlottenstraße *(see map 4, Ed)*. Close by, however (i.e., north of the Gendarmen Market) lies the Französische Kirche (later named Französischer Dom) (*see map 4, Dd)*.

162 34 **that God . . . is always the same**] Perhaps an allusion to Jas 1:17.

163 2 **The absolute paradox . . . got married, etc**.] See *PF*, 45; *SKS* 4, 250. However, it is arguable that in *Philosophical Fragments*, such a Son of God would not yet be the absolute paradox, but only a product of the understanding. — **an individual human being . . . got married, etc.**: → 151,*12*.

11 **4 shillings**] Equal to one-fourth of a mark or one twenty-fourth of a rixdollar; idiomatic expression for a very small sum. A law passed in July 1818 decreed that the Danish monetary unit was the rixdollar (technically the *Rigsbanksdaler*, abbreviated "Rbd."), which was divided into six marks, each of which was further divided into sixteen shillings. Thus a rixdollar was equal to ninety-six shillings. In the 1840s, a judge in the municipal court earned ca. 1,200–1,800 rixdollars a year, and 400 rixdollars a year was considered enough to support a family. A housemaid was paid a maximum of thirty rixdollars a year, plus room and board. A pair of shoes cost three rixdollars and a pound of rye bread cost between two and four shillings. For two marks (thirty-two shillings) you could buy Kierkegaard's *Two Edifying Discourses* from 1843.

19 **foolish**] Presumably alludes to 1 Cor 1:21–24.

163 29 **the old China sea captain . . . 74 years old**] Unidentified. He could have been captain on board one of the many ships that carried on the lucrative transit trade in the East Indies and China, especially in the heyday years of 1793–1799, that was made possible by Danish neutrality during the Napoleonic wars. — **Mini's Café**: A coffeehouse on Kongens Nytorv, at which Kierkegaard was a frequent visitor in the mid-1830s, and which also took care of his private purchase of coffee beans *(see map 2, D2–3)*.

34 **London**] Only an infrequent port of call in the heyday of Danish trading, and barred entirely when Denmark was at war with Great Britain from 1801 to 1814; later England became one of the country's most important overseas trading partners, and thus London became one of the ports most frequented by the Danish mercantile marine.

empty veneration . . . the inkstand . . . in the supreme court and which represents the king] Customarily the king presided over the supreme court from the throne only at its annual opening on the first Thursday in March, but in their proceedings the supreme court advocates were always obliged to address their speeches in deferential terms to the king (→ 156,*27*). Beside the throne, an inkstand may have symbolized the king's name, since the supreme court's decisions formally represented the king's will and were therefore pronounced (written) in his name. 12 164

the way . . . to address God] It is characteristic of the OT that God is addressed in the second person in prayer; see JJ:90. 16

May 17] On Wednesday, May 17, 1843, Kierkegaard was still in Berlin (→ 162,*12*). 22 164

alarmed me later with her scream] When Kierkegaard finally broke off the engagement on October 11, 1841, Regine allegedly screamed that it would be her death, which Kierkegaard understood to mean that he had a murder on his conscience, whether or not she were actually to die. See NB:210 from May 1847 in *KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 122; *Pap*. VIII 1 A 100. 31

I have just begun . . . "Guilty / Not Guilty"] While working on the manuscript of *Either/Or*, Kierkegaard presumably had already started on a story he originally planned to call "Unhappy Love"; see a remark entered in Kierkegaard's own copy of *Enten-Eller* (*Pap*. IV A 215). During his stay in Berlin in May 1843 Kierkegaard returned to this motif and began writing a story entitled "Guilty-Not Guilty" (→ 220,*3*). Only two fragments from this manuscript survive, one passage of which seems to refer to the relationship to Regine Olsen: "If my honor had not been put at stake, if my pride had not been hurt, I would have wanted it but been unable to do it.—If she had abandoned me, what of it—then it was all nothing" (*Pap*. IV B 142). For more on this phase in the emergence of "'Guilty?'/ 'Not Guilty?'" which was later included in *Stages on* 32

Life's Way (→ 220,*3*), see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Stadier paa Livets Vei*, *SKS* K6, 53–60.

34 **in the last year and a half**] i.e., since Kierkegaard broke off the engagement (→ 161,*11*).

38 **theater princess**] Feted actress.

165 *1* **she should, if possible, become my wife**] Kierkegaard presumably heard of Regine's engagement to Johan Frederik Schlegel (1817–1896) after returning to Copenhagen on May 30.

9 **I could well have . . . since she herself asked me to do so**] In "My Relationship to 'Her' " (→ 161,*24*) Kierkegaard writes: "She did have a little suspicion of how things were for me. For she often let fall this remark: You'll never be happy, so it doesn't matter to you one way or the other if I'm allowed to be with you. She also said one time that she'd never ask me about anything if only she could just be with me" (Not15:4f in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 435; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,7). "She said that she would gladly thank me all my life for being allowed to live with me, even if she had to live in a little cupboard" (Not15:6 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 439; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,25).

12 **her father asked me to do so**] The same day that Kierkegaard had broken with Regine, her father, Counsellor Therkel Olsen (1784–1849), begged him to stay with her; see "My Relationship to 'Her' " (→ 161,*24*), where Kierkegaard writes: "After [visiting] her I went straight to the theater, because I wished to meet Emil Boesen . . . The act was over. Just as I am leaving the back stalls the counsellor comes along from the front stalls and says: May I speak with you. We accompanied each other to his home. She is in despair, he said, it will be the death of her, she is in utter despair. I said: I will try to calm her but the matter is settled. He said: I am a proud man; it is hard, but I beg you not to break with her. Truly he was magnanimous; he jolted me. But I kept to my word" (Not15:4 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 435; *Pap*. X 5 A 149,12, pp. 163f.).

23 **certainly a rather f . . . it would certainly have**] Variant: According to *B.-Cat*., at the point of discontinuity indicated by the ellipsis, two pages had been torn out of the journal.

35 **terrible things . . . desires and excesses**] There are no witnesses to Kierkegaard's "desires and excesses" and it is uncertain what he is referring to. — **Father**: Kierkegaard's father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard (1756–1838), grew up in Sædding in West Jutland, where he tended sheep. At about the age of twelve he left for Copenhagen, where he became apprenticed to his mother's brother, hosier Niels Andersen. In 1780 he was accorded his civic rights as hosier in Copenhagen and eight years later acquired a license to import and retail considerable foreign consignments of sugar, syrup, and coffee. Skillful trading made him exceptionally wealthy, so that at the age of forty he was able to retire with a substantial fortune, which in the course of time he further augmented, reputedly as a rentier and investor. In May 1794 he married Kirstine Røyen, who died childless on March 23, 1796. On April 26, 1797, he married Ane Sørensdatter Lund (1768–1834), with whom he had seven children: Maren Kirstine (1797–1822), Nicoline Christine (1799–1832), Petrea Severine (1801–1834), Peter Christian (1805–1888), Søren Michael (1807–1819), Niels Andreas (1809–1833) and Søren Aabye (1813–1855). At the time of Kierkegaard's father's death only Søren Aabye and Peter Christian survived. Except for the years 1803–1805 the family lived in Copenhagen, where in 1809 M. P. Kierkegaard bought a house at Nytorv 2 (*see map 2, B2*). He lived here until his death on August 9, 1838. Aside from two periods (1837–1838 and 1840–1844) Kierkegaard lived here until 1848.

what the Greeks called div. madness] Presumably an allusion to Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* (244a–245b, 256, 265b), where there is a lengthy exposition of this concept and its various forms: prophetic enthusiasm, religious ecstasy, poetic inspiration, and erotic madness. See *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (→ 151,*21*), pp. 491, 501–550, 511. *10* 166

A Leper's Self-Observation] Even in Kierkegaard's day, leprosy, an incurable skin disease, carried a moral stigma; see *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*), bk. 3, chap. 16, § 14, item 7 (→ 171,*21*). *17* 166

The highest expression . . . I must repent] In the Protestant Church, repentance is viewed as the necessary expression of the confession of sins and is thus a condition for belief in the forgiveness of sins; see *Augsburg Confession* § 12, which contains the following statement concerning absolution: "But it actually consists of these two parts. The first is true contrition and grief, so that the conscience is indeed terrified when it has confessed the sin. The *19* 166

second is faith, which is conceived by means of the gospel or through absolution, which believes that sins are forgiven through Christ, and which consoles the conscience and frees it of terror. This must be followed by the good works which are the fruits of true repentance and penitance" (*Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse* [The True, Unaltered Augsburg Confession], trans. A. G. Rudelbach [Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386], p. 54). In the second part of *Either/Or*, Judge William gives an account of repentance as an essential part of his ethical view of life; see especially *EO* 2, 215–218; *SKS* 3, 207–209. — **I must always repent**: See the article "Reue" [Repentance], § 1, in *M. Gottfried Büchner's biblische Real- und Verbal- Hand-Concordanz oder Exegetisch-homiletisches Lexicon* [M. Gottfried Büchner's Hand Bible Concordance of Topics and Words, or Exegetical-Homiletic Dictionary], 6th ed., ed. H. L. Heubner, 2 vols. (Halle, 1837–1840 [1740]; ASKB 79; abbreviated hereafter as *Büchner's biblische Hand-Concordanz*), vol. 2 (1837), p. 1055: "Our entire life should be one of constant repentance." — **that even the best that I do is but sin**: With the Church Father Augustine (354–430) the notion of hereditary sin was made a dogma, that is, an obligatory doctrine, which maintains that sin is active in the sexual act and thereby in the origin of every human being, and that every human being, because he is born into and by means of sin, has lost the ability to do the good. See Kierkegaard's notes on § 38 of H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics at the University of Copenhagen during the winter semester of 1833–1834 and the summer semester of 1834, where with reference to Augustine's doctrine, it is stated "that all hum. beings had sinned in and with Adam and as just punishment have at birth been given a corrupted nature which has the freedom to do only that which is evil" (Not1:6 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 35; *Pap*. I C 19 in vol. XII, p. 83). — **then I can never truly come to act . . . I must repent**: Possibly a reference to H. L. Martensen, who writes in *Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System* [Outlines of a System of Moral Philosophy] (Copenhagen, 1841; ASKB 650), p. 45, that the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) rejects repentance, "because a deed already done cannot be changed, and a person does not dare take the time to repent."

Agnete and the Merman] See the folk song "Agnete og Havmanden" [Agnete and the Merman] in *Udvalgte Danske Viser fra Middelalderen; efter A. S. Vedels og P. Syvs trykte Udgaver og efter haandskrevne Samlinger* [Selected Danish Songs from the Middle Ages, from the Printed Editions of A. S. Vedel and P. Syv as well as Manuscript Collections], ed. W. Abrahamson, R. Nyerup, and K. L. Rahbek, 5 vols. (Copenhagen, 1812–1814; ASKB 1477–1481), vol. 1, pp. 313–315. Jens Baggesen (→ 210,*20*) retold the song in "Agnete fra Holmegaard" [Agnete from Holmegaard] (1808); see *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesens Danish Works], ed. the author's sons and C. J. Boye, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1827–1832; ASKB 1509–1520), vol. 2 (1828), pp. 348–358; also printed in *Hundrede Romanzer af danske Digtere* [One Hundred Romances by Danish Writers], ed. Christian Winther (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB U 112), pp. 329–338, and in *Danske Romanzer, hundrede og fem* [Danish Romances, One Hundred and Five], ed. Christian Winther (Copenhagen, 1839; ASKB 2196), pp. 279–286. Hans Christian Andersen also retold the song, in this case in dramatic form, *Agnete og Havmanden* [Agnete and the Merman] (1834); the play was a fiasco and was only performed two times at the Royal Theater, April 20 and May 2, 1843; see the review in *Ny Portefeuille* [New Portfolio], vol. 2 (1843), cols. 120–122, which, endorsing Kierkegaard's critique (*From the Papers of One Still Living* [1838]) of Andersen as a dramatist, finds the work unsuited to dramatic performance, though it does praise its lyrical qualities. *28* 166

not occurred to any poet] An allusion to 1 Cor 2:9: "nor the human heart conceived." *29*

then he would have to initiate her into the whole of his sorrowful existence] See JJ:115, where Kierkegaard explains his unwillingness to marry Regine, saying that then "I would have had to initiate her into terrible things, my relationship to Father, his melancholy, the eternal night brooding deep inside me, my going astray, my desires and excesses." *32*

The church cannot give them its blessing] Alludes to a line in "Agnete from Holmegaard" in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* (→ 166,*27*), where Agnete, in the Holme Church, learns from her mother's spirit that her human husband has taken his life in despair over her leaving him and their two little daughters: "Agnete, she stared / Straight at altar- *35*

piece — / And the altarpiece turned and / The altar with it — / Everything / Turned with it, wherever her eye / Turned in the church" (vol. 2, p. 357). — **give them its blessing**: According to *Dannemarks og Norges Kirke-Ritual* [Church Ritual for Denmark and Norway] (Copenhagen, 1762 [1685]; abbreviated hereafter as *Kirke-Ritualet*), p. 325, the pastor was supposed to conclude the wedding of the couple with "The blessing: The Lord be with you, etc." See *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Prescribed Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381; abbreviated hereafter as *Alterbogen*), p. 242: "*The blessing*: The Lord be with you! The Lord bless thee and keep thee! The Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee! The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace! Amen!" See also the decree of April 30, 1824, which in § 3 lists the most important circumstances which could prevent the church from pronouncing its blessing on a marriage.

167 1 **in his despair dives to the bottom of the sea and remains there**] Alludes to a stanza from "Agnete from Holmegaard" in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker*: "He stopped her ears, / He stopped her mouth; / Then he rushed with the beauty / Deep to the bottom of the sea" (vol. 2, p. 352). In a letter to Regine Olsen dated Wednesday, December 9, 1840, Kierkegaard cites these lines of verse and comments on them as follows: "This is more or less what I have done; for since my real life is not in the external and visible world, but deep down in the secretiveness of the soul (and what metaphor for this is more beautiful and more fitting than the sea), so I know of nothing other than a merman to whom to compare myself; but then also it became necess. to stop 'her ears and stop her mouth,' as long, that is, as the downward journey lasts, for down there this is not necessary, as one indeed sees from the next verse: 'Mouth upon mouth'" (*LD*, 72; *B&A* 1, 56). See also a subsequent stanza about Agnete's calamitous doings in Holme Church: "He stopped her ears, / He stopped her mouth / Then he rushed up with her / To the land of Holmegaard— / Mouth from mouth / They separated, and he dove / Again to the bottom of the sea" (*Jens Baggesens danske Værker*, vol. 2, p. 353).

9 **the religious . . . unties all spells**] The Latin *religio* is associated with the verb *religo*, "to release."

10 **if the Merman could have faith . . . a human being**] See JJ:115: "Had I faith, I would have stayed with Regine."

13 167 **my Antigone . . . presentiment of guilt**] Refers to the ancient Greek tragedy *Antigone*, which Kierkegaard rewrites in *Either/Or* as a modern tragedy (→ 137,*10*): What was essential in Greek tragedy is substantial sorrow, while in modern tragedy it is reflected pain, in this case motivated by Antigone's presentiment of her father's guilt, i.e., King Oedipus's marriage to his own mother: "Now my Antigone is no ordinary girl, and thus her dowry is also out of the ordinary, her pain" (*EO* 1, 162; *SKS* 2, 161).

16 **Solomon and David**] Kings of Israel (10th cent. B. C.). Solomon was the son of David's marriage to Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, with whom David fell in love and impregnated while her husband was at war far from Jerusalem. David arranged Uriah's death, married Bathsheba, and had a son with her; as punishment for David's sin, God let this son die. Immediately thereafter David again impregnated Bathsheba, and she gave birth to Solomon, who became king of Israel and was renowned for his wisdom but was criticized for his debauchery; see 1 Kings 11:1–4. The authorship of the OT books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon as well as the apocryphal book, the Wisdom of Solomon, is ascribed to Solomon.

24 **if David had been a mystic**] See the second part of *Either/Or*, where Judge William in fact distinguishes between repentance and mysticism, *EO* 2, 248; *SKS* 3, 236f.

31 167 **Jesus Sirach . . . 41:19, "Better . . . their wisdom**] Quoted from Sir 41:19, based on the authorized (1740) version of the OT of Kierkegaard's time; Kierkegaard makes a slight change in the original wording. Although this passage was referred to as Sir 41:19 in Kierkegaard's time, modern translations, both English and Danish, now place the passage in Sir 41:15. The book of Sirach, one of the apocryphal writings of the OT, was written down ca. 180 A.D. by Jesus ben Sirach, a Jewish author and public official of the Jerusalem upper class.

35 167 **If by repenting, a person . . . deep enough**] In the Protestant Church's understanding of repentance

(→ 166,*18*) it was of decisive importance that the penitent be incapable of making himself deserving of the forgiveness of sins by means of his own repentance: "Indeed, with our repentance we deserve nothing from God, because the sin is such an abomination for him, so that even if a person grieved unto to death over it, his grieving would still be insufficient to satisfy God" (*Büchner's biblische Hand-Concordanz* [→ 166,*18*], vol. 2 [1837], p. 1055). See also the thirtieth of the German reformer Martin Luther's ninety-five theses, which he posted on the church in Wittenberg on October 30, 1517: "No one is certain that he has sufficient quantity of true penitance and suffering; much less can he be certain that he has received complete forgiveness of sins" (*Luthers Werke. Vollständige Auswahl seiner Hauptschriften. Mit historischen Einleitungen, Anmerkungen und Registern* [Luther's Works: Complete Selection of His Major Writings, with a Historical Introduction, Notes, and Index], ed. Otto von Gerlach, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1841; ASKB 312–316; abbreviated hereafter as *Luthers Werke*), vol. 1, p. 33). See JJ:119. — **by repenting . . . remain in a relationship of love to God**: See Judge William's account of repentance in the second part of *Either/Or*, where he explains that one must repent oneself back into one's history in such a way that one finds oneself in God: "there is also a love with which I love God, and language has only one name for it: it is repentance . . . As soon as I love freely and love God, then I repent" (*EO* 2, 216; *SKS* 3, 207). And: "thus it is a sign of a generous man, of a profound soul, that he is inclined to repent and that he does not argue with God, but repents and loves God in his penitence" (*EO* 2, 237; *SKS* 3, 227).

168 *18* **When Paul . . . for his temporal salvation as well**] Refers to Acts 27:33–34. Paul is in chains on a ship on its way to Rome, but when the ship encounters a storm and is foundering and supplies have run short, he says to the crew, "Today is the fourteenth day that you have been in suspense and remaining without food, having eaten nothing. Therefore I urge to to take some food, for it will help you survive; for none of you will lose a hair from your heads." — **Paul**: Paul (originally Saul) of Tarsus (died ca. 63 A.D.), a Jew who was the first Christian missionary, understood himself to be "a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures" (Rom 1:1–2); traditionally regarded as author of the first thirteen letters of the NT.

But what is . . . Schack Staffeldt] The last two verses in the first stanza of Schack Staffeldt's romance "The Fire of Love"; see *Hundrede Romanzer af danske Digtere* (→ 166,*27*), p. 415, and *Danske Romanzer, hundrede og fem* (→ 166,*27*), p. 354. The romance also appears in Schack Staffeldt, *Samlede Digte* [Collected Poems], ed. F. L. Liebenberg (Copenhagen, 1843; ASKB 1579–1580), which is advertised in the June 15, 1843, issue of *Berlingske Tidende* as having been published, but J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,*23*) had already discussed the volume in his article "Lyric Poetry," which appeared in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,*5*), nos. 26–27, April 15, 1843; see ASKB U 56 and the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Gjentagelsen*, *SKS* K4, 22. — **Schack Staffeldt**: Danish poet (1769–1826). *25* 168

Nebuchadnezzar, Formerly an Emperor, Subsequently an Ox] Actually Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 B.C.), king of Babylon, who recounted that he had had a dream, to which the prophet Daniel gave the following explanation: "You shall be driven away from human society, and your dwelling shall be with the animals of the field. You shall be made to eat grass like oxen, and seven times shall pass over you, until you have learned that the Most High has sovereignty over the kingdom of mortals and gives it to whom he will" (Dan 4:32). *32* 168

Nicolaus Notabene] Latin, the last name means a critical comment or an "NB." When the name is abbreviated to its initials it is also resembles the commonly used indication of an anonymous or unknown person, "N. N.," an abbreviation of *nomen nescio*, which is Latin for "I do not know the name," i.e., anyone whatever. *36*

a work recently published in Altona] P. S. Frandsen, *C. Cilnius Maecenas. Eine historische Untersuchung über dessen Leben und Wirken* [C. Cilnius Maecenas: A Historical Investigation of His Life and Work] (Altona, 1843). It has not been possible to establish the date of publication more precisely. — **C. Cilnius Maecenas**: Caius (or Gaius) Cilnius Mæcenas (died 8 B.C.), Roman aristocrat and close *2* 169

friend and adviser of Emperor Augustus; a connoisseur of art and literature whose support of Virgil and Horace, among others, earned him much respect; his name has come to designate a patron of the arts and learning.

4 **the top of p. 230**] The top of page 230 reads: "In vain did he seek sleep by using distant tones of soft music and with the plashing of waterfalls. He even tried in vain to use strong wine to make himself fall asleep."

6 **p. 229**] The relevant passage on p. 229 reads: "Only in the final three years of his life, according to *Plinius*, did he suffer from *continuous insomnia*, as it is stated in the locus cited: '*Eidem triennio supremo nullo horae momento contigit somnus* [Latin, "In the three final years of his life he was not able to fall asleep at any time"].' This suffering may have been bad enough, but Meibom knows of even more cases that he can cite, in which *three years* are nothing, namely the case of Nizolius, a epigone of Cicero, who did not experience sleep for *ten* years; and a certain noblewoman is supposed have endured insomnia for thirty-five years in good health and without ill effects."

169 12 **an art gallery of Greek sculpture**] Copenhagen did not have a real gallery of Greek sculpture, but there was a small collection of Greek antiquities at the Royal Museum of Art. In 1838 the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) returned home from Rome with a large collection of casts of Greek and Roman sculpture. These were not made accessible to the public until Thorvaldsen's Museum was completed in 1848, though some of his own neoclassical works could be seen at the annual exhibition at the Academy of Art *(see map 2, D3)* that was held in April 1843; see the article "Konstudstillingen" [The Art Exhibition] in *Journal for Literatur og Konst* [Journal for Literature and Art] (Copenhagen, 1843), vol. 1, pp. 224–233 and 279–325.

169 21 **Was Tarquinius Superbus . . . Hamann 3rd vol., p. 190, middle**] Cited directly from *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 145,*15*), vol. 3 (1822), p. 190. — **Tarquinius Superbus**: The last king of Rome (534–510 B.C.) before the founding of the republic. Tarquinius Superbus's son, Sextus Tarquinius, was attempting to bring the city of Gabii under his father's dominion, and it was said that after Sextus Tarquinius had by stealth put himself in a powerful position in the city, he sent a messenger to his father to learn what he should do next. Tarquinius Superbus did not trust the messenger and said nothing, but he led him out into a garden where he took his stick and struck off the heads of the tallest poppies. The messenger relied this message to the son, who then understood that he should rid the city of its most prominent men.

periissem nisi periissem] *Latin*, "I would have perished had I not already perished." The expression is used by J. G. Hamann in a letter of May 2, 1764, to Johannes G. Lindner: "Periissem, nisi periissem, I hope to be able to say one more time," *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 145,*15*), vol. 3 (1822), p. 224. In the same volume, p. 151, Hamann uses the saying in the form: "*Nisi periissemus, periissemus*," and ascribes it to the Athenian statesman Themistocles (d. ca. 460 B.C.), who according to Plutarch is supposed to have said something of this sort after having been driven out of Athens and having attained high rank as a servant of the king of Persia (29,7 in *Vitae parallelae* [Parallel Lives]; for an English translation see John Dryden's *Plutarch's Lives* [→ 185,*14*]). 26 169

Socrates says . . . Cratylus § 428] Kierkegaard's translation of Plato's dialogue Cratylus, 428d; see *Platonis opera* (→ 151,*21*), vol. 3 (1821), p. 228. (For a standard English translation, see *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 462.) 28 169

Schleiermacher trans., Part 2, Section 2, p. 104] *Platons Werke* (→ 151,*21*) vol. 2:2 (1807), p. 98 (not p. 104): "For there is nothing worse than self-deception—when the deceiver is always at home and always with you—it is quite terrible" (English translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 462). — **Schleiermacher**: Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian and philosopher; from 1830 professor of theology at the University of Berlin; published an almost complete edition of Plato under the title *Platons Werke*, which was the first edition of Plato in German. 32

motto for Fear and Trembling] *Fear and Trembling: Dialectical Lyric by Johannes de silentio* was finished at the book printer Bianco Luno's on October 7, 7 170

1843, and was published on October 16, 1843. As a motto Kierkegaard used the quotation from Hamann which constitutes entry JJ:129; see *FT*, 3; *SKS* 4, 100; and the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Frygt og Bæven*, *SKS* K4, 96.

8 **"Write" . . . "No!"**] Presumably Kierkegaard's own variation on (and translation of) the passage by Herder cited above, JJ:7.

170 11 **Shakspeare's All's Well**] Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*; Kierkegaard used *Ende gut, Alles gut*, a German translation in *Shakspeare's dramatische Werke* [Shakespeare's Dramatic Works], trans. A. W. von Schlegel and L. Tieck, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1839–1841; ASKB 1883–1888), vol. 11 (1840), pp. 265–373.

170 12 **The Seducer's Diary**] "The Seducer's Diary" in *Either/Or*, *EO* 1, 301–445; *SKS* 2, 291–432. Johannes the Seducer is motivated by "the interesting," one of the favorite terms of the time.

170 16 **the sequel to "The Seducer's Diary" . . . a young married woman**] In "The Seducer's Diary" (→ 170,12) Johannes writes, "that I always seek my prey among young girls, not among young wives. A wife has less naturalness in her, more coquetry; the relationship with her is not beautiful, not interesting—it is piquant, and the piquant is always the last thing" (*EO* 1, 324; *SKS* 2, 314).

170 19 **nursing home for cripples**] A hospital for invalided veterans and other military personnel.

20 **healthy, happy, thriving, . . . express image of its mother**] See Kierkegaard's third and final letter (→ 162,28) from Berlin to Emil Boesen, dated May 25, 1843, where he mentions a work he has completed, presumably the manuscript of *Repetition* (→ 176,27), and a work he has begun, presumably *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7): "In my indolence, I have pumped up a mighty shower during the past several months. Now I have pulled the chain, and ideas are pouring over me—healthy, happy, thriving, cheerful, blessed children, easily born, yet all bearing the birthmark of my personality" (*LD*, 82; *B&A* 1, 121).

23 **power of its father's loins**] Alludes to the notion that the loins encompass the most sexual parts of a man's (or woman's body); see, e.g., Gen 35:11, where God blesses Jacob: "And God said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins" (King James version).

one of those born late, amid postpartum pains] 24 The late-born, especially among domestic animals, are those born later in the year than normal and are often weaker and less developed than the others.

Pages from a Street Inspector's Diary] Alludes to 4 171 B. S. Ingemann, *Blade af Jerusalems Skomagers Lommebog* [Pages from the Diary of a Jerusalem Shoemaker] (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 1571). In this entry Kierkegaard seems to be elaborating on an earlier draft on a loose sheet of paper: "Pages from a Street Inspector's Diary / it was the 1st of April 1830 and I became district officer by the Stock Exchange. / a) Observations upon a fish tank with one of the skippers. / the immense horizon, a still life in reverse / b) a Lapland idyll. / Kultorvet old Market. / Halmtorvet— / A Story of a Gutter Plank / The deluge. / The editor has been unable to refrain from inserting several observations. / It is Sunday afternoon—everything so quiet—a man cries out selling shrimp—/ a man with plantains—the out-of-the-way place where they grow—a woman selling oranges—Springtime message—/ A little love story of the neighborhood— // The Tale of the Rat Who Became a Misanthrope.— " (*Pap*. III A 245f.). — **Street Inspector**: An officer who oversaw the cleanliness and maintenance of the streets in a particular neighborhood; also called sanitation officer, neighborhood commissioner, street constable, and street officer.

the various neighborhoods of the city] Copen- 5 hagen was divided into twelve districts for the purposes of registering land titles and tax collection. A detailed description of the neighborhoods can be found in Severin Sterm, *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Hoved- og Residentsstaden Kjøbenhavn* [Statistical and Topographical Description of the Capital City and Royal Residence, Copenhagen] (Copenhagen, 1841; abbreviated hereafter as *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn*), pp. 23–77.

Kultorvet . . . the most atmosphere] See *Statistisk-* 7 *Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn*, p. 83: "On Kultorvet, in the Klædebo and Rosenborg neigh-

borhood, outside Nørreport, from Frederiksborggade to Lille Købmagergade, the peasants, particularly those from northeastern Zealand, offer coal, peat, and firewood for sale" *(see map 2, C1)*.

8 **gutter plank**] A plank that was laid over the gutter in front of gates and doors, though on Østergade (→ 188,13) the gutters were entirely covered. Like the gutter planks, which were required by law, the stone-lined depressions and ditches in the streets, which served as conduits for rainwater and floating filth, were subject to the inspection by a street inspector; in a rainstorm, a gutter could be transformed into a foul-smelling stream which carried away the gutter planks, and this was thus a constant subject of public complaint.

8 **fishing smacks**] Vessels with a compartment with holes bored in it so that sea water could enter and keep alive the fish transported or stored in the vessel. Fishing smacks typically tied up at the pilings along Gammelstrand *(see map 2, B2)* so that fresh fish could be sold at the fish market there; see *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn*, pp. 79f.

10 **Knippelsbro**] A drawbridge which went across the harbor from the end of Nybørs to Christianshavn, and for this reason it was also referred to in everyday speech as Christianshavns Bro [Christianshavn's Bridge] *(see map 2, C3)*.

171 21 **At the wedding . . . I dare not conceal anything**] According to *Alterbogen* (→ 166,34) the pastor first asks the bridegroom, "if you have discussed with God in heaven, then with your own heart, and then also with your family and friends, that you will have this honorable girl (woman), N. N., who is standing with you, to be your wedded spouse?" (p. 256). When the bride and the groom have each answered affirmatively to the pastor's three questions, he proclaims them "to be proper married folk both before God and the people, in the name of the God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit!" (p. 258). *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 166,34) also stipulated that several days before the wedding the bride and groom are to appear before the pastor in order to "show him legal testimonials and proofs that there is nothing with respect to either party which by law could prevent them from marrying" (p. 308). The law, i.e., *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16), bk. 3, chap. 16, "On Marriage," lists the situations that can prevent a marriage; see especially § 14, "Causes for which those who are engaged may separate," but only point 7 mentions unlawful silence: "If anyone prior to an engagement has any concealed illness, such as leprosy, epilepsy, or any other such communicable disease, then he, or she, may be free of the other, if they so desire."

If I do not permit myself to wed her, I offend her] 24 If he nonetheless remained engaged to her, he would not injure her in the *legal* sense, because engagement had lost its legally binding significance with the ordinance of January 4, 1799, which stipulated that the engaged couple no longer had the obligation to get married prior to the sixth Sunday following the engagement, but were permitted to *postpone* the engagement as it suited them; but even as late as the 1840s the bourgeoisie looked askance at engagements that lasted a very long time. If, on the other hand, he wanted to *terminate* the engagement but could not obtain her approval, he had to apply to a reconciliation commission and, if possible, obtain its approval; see a letter from the chancellery to the bishop of Zealand, dated July 17, 1802.

She has asked me, and that is enough for me] 26 → 165,9.

dancing upon a volcano] Idiomatic expression: to 28 behave in an extremely reckless fashion; to make light of great danger.

fashion designer] In 1839 there were eighty-one 3 172 fashion designers in Copenhagen; see *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn* (→ 171,5), p. 100. It can be seen from extant bills that Kierkegaard had himself outfitted at various places, including "Agerskov, C. T., Fashion Designer and Textile Dealer, Skindergade 24."

women's outfit to wear to church] In Copenhagen, 2 172*m* bourgeois women seem to have placed such great emphasis on being well dressed when they went to church that a great many poorly dressed common people were intimidated from going to church; see "Hvem gaaer I Kirke?" [Who Goes to Church?] in *Den Frisindede* [The Free Spirit], nos. 119–120, October 14, 1845, pp. 475–477.

whalebone skirts] Voluminous petticoat or crino- 8 line. Its breadth and stiffness were the result of sewn-in, almost concentric rings, most often consisting of strips of whalebone; in Kierkegaard's time they had long since gone out of fashion, but

they were known from performances of Holberg's comedies at the Royal Theater.

9 **ring in the nose among the savages**] Nose rings are known as women's jewelry from the Bible (e.g., Isa 3:21 and Ezek 16:12) as well as from ethnography. Here the reference is also to the ring placed in the nose of a bull in order better to control it, or in the nose of a hog in order to prevent it from rooting in the earth.

12 **this sublime genius**] Presumably an allusion to Socrates (→ 146,*8*).

14 **animals, i.e., the human being**] Presumably an allusion to Aristotle's definition of man as "politikón zōon," Greek, political, civic being; social animal (*Politics*, bk. 1, chap. 2, 1253a), in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (→ 137*m*,*4*), pp. 1987–1988.

22 **Brussels lace**] Since the 16th century, Brussels had produced very high-quality lace which was in demand all over Europe and thus was very expensive

24 **tasteless**] In the cultivated world, great importance was attributed to good taste, particularly by J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,*23*); his wife, the actress Johanne Luise Heiberg (1812–1890), had published an anonymous piece "Mode-Artikel, meddeelt af en Dame" [Fashion Article, Reported by a Lady] in which she criticized the universal and tasteless pandering to fashion: "When a lady goes into a fashion shop in Paris and requests to see hats, shawls, dresses, sashes, etc., the first question asked of her is whether it is for her own use, and if not, whether it is for an older or a younger lady; and the answer determines what is shown to the customer. In our shops they only know of one sort of fashion, and that is the latest, with the result that all must subject themselves to it without regard to their age or other individual characteristics" (*Intelligensblade* [→ 179,*5*], nos. 39–40, November 1, 1843, vol. 4, p. 93).

31 **their outfits indicate the various political parties**] In 1843, political organizations, in the modern sense of the term, did not yet exist, but in the Advisory Assemblies of Estates (→ 273,*25*) and in the burgeoning daily press a divide had opened up between liberals and conservatives. It is not known whether these groups expressed their party allegiances in their dress; see, however, "Af en Forrykts Papirer. Forsigtighedsregler for Borgeren og Landmanden mod Indflydelsen af Oprørssmitte og Nutidens Oplysning, overeensstemmende med Tidens Trang" [From the Papers of a Madman: Precautionary Measures for the Townsman and the Countryman to Counter the Contagious Influence of Rebellion and Modern Enlightenment, in Keeping with the Needs of the Times] in *Corsaren* (→ 236,*11*), no. 141, June 2, 1843, where the recommendations include various "Precautionary Measures with Respect to Dress," e.g., that "all his clothing should fit very snugly, so that he has difficulty in moving [the liberal party was also called 'the party of movement'] in them. He must not wear an *over*coat, because the word is very suspect [in French '*ouver*' can connote open-mindedness]" (col. 10).

9 o'clock, little children go to school] From Monday to Saturday, 9:00 A M. was the usual beginning of the school day in Copenhagen. 29 172

10 o'clock, the servant girls] In the morning the maidservants went to market to make purchases, e.g., to Gammeltorv and Nytorv, Copenhagen's most important market for grain products, fats and oils, poultry, fruit, and the like, or to the fish market for fish (→ 171,*8*). 30

1 o'clock, the fashionable world] Around noon or a bit after, the menfolk of the better bourgeoisie would go to their clubs or would promenade with their wives on the ramparts, Langelinie *(see map 2, G2–H2)*, or in Grønningen (the everyday term for the Esplanade) (→ 135,*11*); the wives might also go shopping in Østergade (→ 188,*13*), where the better shops were located. 31

secretary Mr. Christensen] Peter Vilhelm Christensen (1819–1863), Danish theologian; enrolled in the University of Copenhagen in 1838 after having been privately tutored by Kierkegaard's elder brother Peter Christian; passed his theological examinations on July 6, 1842; for a time during 1842–1843 he served as Kierkegaard's secretary. See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 52–54. 6 173

is scribbling in the newspapers and in little pamphlets] Possibly a reference to an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Med hvad Ret kaldes Theologien Løgn? Nogle Modbemærkninger mod det Brøchnerske Skrift" [With What Right Is Theology Called a Lie? Some Rejoinders to the Piece by Brøchner], which was advertised in the August 12, 1843 issue 7

of *Adresseavisen*, no. 188, as having been published; see Hans Brøchner, "Nogle Bemærkninger om Daaben, foranledigede ved Prof. Martensens Skrift: 'Den christelige Daab'" [Some Remarks Occasioned by Prof. Martensen's Piece "Christian Baptism"] (Copenhagen, 1843; ASKB U 27). P. V. Christensen is not identified as the author of the pamphlet, but while he was Kierkegaard's secretary he published, under his own name, a "Foreløbig Anmeldelse" [Preliminary Review] of the "Catalogue raisonée des médailles antique Cyrénïque et de l'anciennes Afrique par M. M. Falbe et Lindberg," in *Journal for Literatur og Konst*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 15–34 (advertised as "in press" in *Adresseavisen* [→ 156,*4*], no. 150, June 29, 1843), plus the article mentioned below (→ 173,*18*).

12 **paid him so well**] The amount Kierkegaard paid Christensen is not known, but Kierkegaard later reports (see NB12:43 in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 166; *Pap*. X 1 A 584), that he paid 100 rixdollars (→ 163,*11*) for proofreading of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 255,*31*), which presumably was "well paid" work in comparison with the annual salary of 300–400 rixdollars received by a copyist at the Royal and City Courts.

18 **that little article . . . before Either/Or** came out] Refers to "Litterært Qvægsølv eller Forsøg i det høiere Vanvid, samt Lucida Intervalla" [Literary Quicksilver, or an Essay in the Higher Madness, plus Lucida Intervalla], an anonymous article in *Ny Portefeuille*, vol. 1, no. 7, February 12, 1843, cols. 198–216; eight days later, on February 20, Kierkegaard published *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*). The anonymous article is a collection of aphorisms whose ironic tone and point of view is recognizable in a number of the "Diapsalmata" and in certain of Johannes's observations in "The Seducer's Diary" in *Either/Or*.

173 30 **My journal entries regarding my relationship with Regine**] See JJ:89, JJ:107, JJ:115 and JJ:140. — **Regine**: → 161,*8*.

174 8 **Mynster's sermons**] → 153,*19*.

174 18 **a faith . . . go very well for it in the world**] See JJ:82 and JJ:116.

174 24 **the tragedy of my childhood . . . granted me**] See JJ:115 (near the end of the entry) and JJ:121; see also journal entry FF:35 from 1837, where Kierkegaard writes about a frightening presentiment concerning a family relationship, which he connects with hereditary sin, and a journal entry on a loose sheet from ca. 1838, where he appears to describe his own presentiment that, as a punishment from God, his father (→ 165,*35*) was to outlive all his children, with his life's sole purpose that of providing them with the consolation of religion (*Pap*. II A 805).

this human supposition . . . better times] See JJ:82. 2 175
hour of your deliverance] The final hour, death; 6
Christian salvation, release.

got a girl pregnant] See JJ:76. 12 175
to find the child] → 151,*34*. 13

Nullum exstitit . . . aliqua dementia] Latin, "There 17 175
is no genius which does not have a certain degree of madness." The saying is a paraphrase of a work by the Roman philosopher and writer Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.), *De tranquillitate animi* [On Tranquililty of Soul] 17, 10: "*nullum magnum ingenium fuit sine mixtura dementiae fuit*" [there is no great intelligence that does not have a dash of madness]. See *L. Annaei Senecae opera* [The Works of Annaeus Seneca], 5 vols. (Leipzig 1832; ASKB 1275–1279), vol. 4, p. 102. Seneca names Aristotle (→ 137*m*,*4*) as his source (*Problems*, bk. 30, chap. 1, 954a 34–37; see *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m*,*4*], p. 1501). Here (and in the previous and the subsequent entries on dementia) Kierkegaard appears to be elaborating on an idea in the already-completed manuscript of *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,*7*), where he also comments on this passage in Seneca; see *FT*, 106; *SKS* 4, 195.

freedom enters . . . dialectical] Variant: *added*. 25 175

The method . . . to philosophy] The philosophical 1 176
requirement to doubt everything [in Latin, *de omnibus dubitandum est*] stems from Descartes (→ 137,*29*), who writes in the heading of pt. 1, § 1, of *Principia philosophiae* [Principles of Philosophy] (1644): "*Veritatem inquirenti, semel in vita de omnibus, quantum fieri potest, esse dubitandum*" [He who seeks the truth ought once in his life doubt, so far as possible, everything], *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 137,*29*), vol. 2, p. 1. The proposition, which

Kierkegaard criticizes as early as *Johannes Climacus, or De omnibus dubitandum est* (→ 212,12), was frequently cited and discussed by Danish Hegelians, as, e.g., by H. L. Martensen and J. L. Heiberg.

2 **having a soldier lie down curled up . . . stand up straight**] Refers to the command: "Stand up straight!" which was addressed to soldiers who of course were already standing up and not lying down.

176 6 **a clock . . . finished with the 12**] The same story is told in an unused journal entry which Kierkegaard had originally thought of including in A's papers in *Either/Or*, presumably in the "Diapsalmata"; it was probably written in 1841 or 1842; see *Pap*. III B 180,18.

176 27 **the plot in Repetition**] *Repetition: An Essay in Experimental Psychology, by Constantin Constantius*, was ready from Bianco Luno's printing press on October 7, 1843, and appeared on October 16.

177 4 **"because he owed her too much"**] Presumably a fictitious quotation.

177 14 **one would therefore . . . be freely removed**] See JJ:152.

177 23 **Repetition**] Treated thematically and in a literary manner in *Repetition* (→ 176,27).

27 **return . . . to myself**] See *Repetition* (→ 176,27) where the Young Man, after he learns that his former fiancée has married, writes in his last letter to his silent confidant, Constantin Constantius, "I am myself again; here I have repetition" (*R*, 220; *SKS* 4, 87).

31 **the Aristotelian category: Das—Was—war—seyn**] Refers to the concept of primary substance in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, first mentioned at 983a 27f., "τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι" [Greek, "being what it was"], which Marbach translates as *das Was-war-sein* (see the next note).

32 **Marbach, Geschichte . . . pp. 4 and 5**] G. O. Marbach, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* [The History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages], vol. 2 in *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie* [Textbook in the History of Philosophy], 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838–1841; ASKB 642–643), § 128, pp. 4f. — **Marbach**: Gotthard Oswald Marbach (1810–1890), German philosopher, natural scientist and writer; professor at Leipzig.

§ 102 . . . griechichen Philosophie] G. O. Marbach, 33
Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie [History of Greek Philosophy] (vol. 1 in *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*), § 102 (concerning Aristotle's *Metaphysics*), pp. 247–260.

Aristotle . . . says . . . himself ακινητος] Refers to 3 178
Aristotle's definition of the first mover in *Metaphysics*, bk. 12, chaps. 7f. (1072a 19ff.), and in *Physics*, bk. 8, chap. 5 (258b 4f.). In his *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 3 (1801), p. 159, Tennemann paraphrases the passage in *Physics* as follows: "*Dieses erste Bewegende kann nicht von einem andern wieder bewegt werden, es muß bewegen ohne bewegt zu werden* [This first mover cannot be further moved by another, it must move without being moved] (*το πρωτον κινουν ακινητον* [Greek (tó prōton kinoôn akínēton), 'the first mover (itself) immovable')." —

Schelling pointed this out in Berlin] Refers to 4
Schelling's lectures in Berlin 1841–1842, some of which Kierkegaard attended. According to his notes, Schelling says: "The last [in a regressive causal inference] he also has as something existing, since his science is the science of what is real. But, all the same, what is uppermost in his mind is not *das* [that] but *was* [what]. Nor does he put what is last to use; for him it is just the final cause; not productive, not *τελος ποιητικον* [Greek (télos poiētikón), 'productive end']. This last is *τελος* [Greek (télos), 'end,' 'goal'], itself *ακινητον*; everything is drawn over to that, it itself remains the unmoved, just as what is demanded is the object of the demanding but itself remains still" (Not11:16 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 324; *Pap*. III C 27 in vol. XIII, p. 278). — **Schelling**: Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), German philosopher; studied philosophy and theology together with Hegel at Tübingen, 1790–1795; extraordinary professor at Jena, 1798; ordinary professor at Würzburg, 1803; taught at Erlangen, 1820–1827; professor at Munich, 1827–1841; called in 1841 as a professor at Berlin, where he was supposed to counteract Hegel's influence; retired 1846.

un-changingness] Variant: *changed from* "changing- 5
ness."

rationalism] Refers here to a theological school of 7
thought dominant in the Enlightenment, esp. from

1750 to 1800. It is typified by the view that all articles of faith should be capable of being based on reason and by a rejection of any belief that transcends human powers of reasoning.

178 10 **Steffens tells . . . pp. 215 and 216**] See Henrich Steffens, *Was ich erlebte* [What I Experienced] 10 vols. (vols. 1–2, 2nd ed.: Breslau, 1844 [1840]; vols. 3–10: Breslau, 1841–1844; ASKB 1834–1843), vol. 7 (1843), pp. 215f. — **Steffens**: Henrich Steffens (1773–1845), Norwegian-Danish and German philosopher, mineralogist, natural historian, and writer of novels and short stories; influenced by Schelling (→ 178,4) and German Romanticism, which he introduced to Denmark in a series of lectures in 1802–1803. In 1804 he took a chair in natural philosophy and mineralogy at Halle, in 1811 he was appointed professor of physics at Breslau, and from 1832 until his death he was a professor at Berlin, where he lectured on natural philosophy, anthropology, and geology.

178 15 **trilogy . . . art, religion, philosophy**] In his *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline] (Heidelberg, 1817), Hegel (→ 179,7) defines the development of absolute spirit in terms of "religion of art" (§§ 456–464), "revealed religion" (§§ 465–471), and "philosophy" (§§ 472–477), pp. 279–288. See *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind, Part Three of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. William Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 292–315. In Copenhagen J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,23) exploits this idea in *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik. Som Ledetraad ved Forelæsningerne paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Outline of the Philosophy of Philosophy or Speculative Logic, as a Guide to Lectures at the Royal Military College] (Copenhagen, 1832). Heiberg depicts the development of "the speculative idea" from its immediate expression in "the beautiful" (§ 189) through "the good" (§ 190) to "the true" (§ 191). Thereafter, in the remark to § 192, he identifies these with art, religion, and philosophy, respectively. See *Heiberg's Speculative Logic and Other Texts*, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart (Copenhagen: Reitzel's Publishers, 2006), pp. 210–211.

16 **Plato . . . music, love, philosophy**] See Marbach, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (→ 177,32), p. 58 and esp. the related note 11, pp. 63f. "Plotinus recognized (after Plato) three ways *along which one must strive*: music, love, philosophy . . . — As other paths to the eternal, Plotinus cited music and love, as we saw. When contemporaries designate art, religion, and philosophy as the means by which to bring the eternal into view, this is done for the same reasons."

saying . . . one's talent into one's vocation] A common ethical notion going back to Luther's understanding of work as a vocation; see, e.g., W. M. L. de Wette, *Lærebog i den christelige Sædelære og sammes Historie* [Textbook in Christian Ethics and History of the Same], trans. C. E. Scharling (Copenhagen, 1835 [German: 1819–1823]; ASKB 871), § 280, pp. 255f. "Transforming one's talent into one's vocation" is a theme underlying Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* [Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship] and *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* [Wilhelm Meister's Travels] (→ 208,14). In the second part of *Either/Or* (→ 145,26) Judge William explains how exceptional talent must be administered as a general vocation, that is, in work (*EO* 1, 292–297; *SKS* 3, 275–281). 19 178

my inclination . . . to become a police official] See journal entry AA:12, dated August 1, 1835: " . . . which is why I had thought it would be a good idea to throw myself into *jurisprudence*, to be able to sharpen my mind on life's many complications. Here a whole mass of details offered itself for me to lose myself in; from the given facts I could perhaps fashion a totality, an organism, of the life of thieves, pursue it in all its darker aspects" (*KJN* 1, 20; *SKS* 17, 25). 23

Heiberg remarked . . . profound or not] See J. L. Heiberg's review of *Either/Or* (→ 145,26) in "Litterær Vintersæd," in *Intelligensblade* [Intelligence Papers], no. 24, March 1, 1843: "One comes across so many piquant reflections, some of them are perhaps even profound, one can't be sure" (*Intelligensblade*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, 4 vols. [Copenhagen, 1842–1844; ASKB U 56], vol. 2, pp. 285–292, p. 289). — **Heiberg**: → 160,23. 5 179

Heiberg and his cronies . . . What they know is borrowed from Hegel] Like J. L. Heiberg, others, including the theologians H. L. Martensen (→ 189,22) and A. P. Adler together with the philos- 7

opher Rasmus Nielsen, attempted to carry Hegel's thought further; see esp. Heiberg, *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie eller den speculative Logik* (→ 178,15), and *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1837–1838; ASKB 569; abbreviated hereafter as *Perseus*). — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher; privatdocent at Jena from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. Kierkegaard owned *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; ASKB 549–565; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*).

179 16 **many . . . the result of the whole of existence**] Refers in particular to the Danish Hegelians, e.g., Martensen (→ 189,22). Martensen wrote of Hegel's system that it "comes on the scene with an infinite significance for our time, since it contains the most complete and embracing development of rational knowledge, whereby it appears that an entire era in the history of philosophy, which sought to solve the riddles of existence independently of all tradition and of given positivity, is ended" (*Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 16 [Copenhagen, 1836], p. 515). See Also J. L. Heiberg, who on the occasion of a review of his work, *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* [On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age], wrote, with respect to the speculative Idea, that "in contrast to our customary representation of God as the Father and Creator, it is not merely regarded one-sidedly as the *source* of everything, but also as the *result* of everything, specifically as the result of consciousness, in a word, because it contains both moments of development: thought and existence" (Heiberg, *Dansk Litteratur Tidende for 1833* [Danish Literary Times for 1833], no. 46, [Copenhagen, 1833], p. 777; see *Heiberg's On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age and Other Texts*, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart [Copenhagen: Reitzel's Publishers, 2005], p. 202).

179 19 **philosophy says . . . understood backward**] Refers presumably to Karl Daub (→ 159,20), to whom, in *From the Papers of One Still Living* (1838), Kierkegaard ascribed the view that there must "come a moment in life when, as Daub remarks, life must be understood backward through the idea" (*EPW*, 78; *SKS* 1, 33). The source has not been identified.

a victory over doubt] Allusion to the Hegelian philosophers, in particular Martensen and Heiberg, who not only made doubt a methodological starting point (→ 176,1) but also aimed at overcoming or going beyond it. See, e.g., the preface to *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7). 33 179

German Theology . . . chap. 10, p. 41] *Die deutsche Theologie, eine sehr alte, für jeden Christen äußerst wichtige Schrift, mit einer Vorrede von Dr. Martin Luther und dem gewesenen Generalsuperintendenten Johann Arnd* [German Theology, a Very Old and Important Work for Every Christian, with a Foreword by Dr. Martin Luther and Former General Superintendent Johann Arnd], ed. F. C. Krüger (Lemgo, 1822; ASKB 634), chap. 10, "Accomplished Human Beings Desire to Be Nothing More in Relation to the Eternal Good than the Hand is in Relation to Man. They Have Lost the Fear of Hell and the Yearning for Heaven," pp. 39–41: "But what is nobler than to be truly poor in spirit? Mt 5:3. And when it is offered to us, we do not want it. We want always to be rich in spirit, so that we feel things are very much to our taste, [full of] sweetness and delight. Then we would feel well and hold God dear. But when we lose it we are heavy of heart; then we forget God and we pride ourselves on being lost. That is a great weakness and an evil omen. For a true lover of God would hold God or the eternal good dear both in plenty and in need, in sweet, sour, and so on. (Ps 73:25–26.) In this, everyone should know and recognize himself—then let each examine and search himself so that he might experience how things are with God and his heart—" (p. 41). 34

Emmeline in The First Love] Refers to the first scene in A. E. Scribe's one-act comedy, translated in Danish as *Den første Kjærlighed* [The First Love], which Kierkegaard had discussed in *Either/Or* (→ 145,26); see *EO* 1, 231–279; *SKS* 2, 225–270. Emmeline's father Dervière, wants to present her against her will to a suitor, Rinville, even though she asserts there is only one she shall marry, her "first love," her cousin Charles, whom she has not 13 180

seen for eight years: "*Emmeline*. For two days I have had toothache or fever, I don't know which, but I am very much indisposed. / *Dervière*. Then it must be fever! And I am to blame for that! / *Emmeline*. Yes, who else? I am already quite changed in my appearance; I can see that quite well when I stand before the mirror. It gets worse and worse every day. And when I am dead and gone, you will say: 'My poor Emmeline, who was such a charming girl!' But now it's too late" (*Det kgl. Theaters Repertoire* [The Royal Theater's Repertoire], no. 45 [Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 98], p. 2). *Den første Kjærlighed* was performed at the Royal Theater fifty-seven times from June 10, 1831, to November 11, 1843. Augustin Eugène Scribe (1791–1861) was a French playwright and librettist, acclaimed for his opera librettos as well as his many bourgeois comedies, up to a hundred of which were performed at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen from 1824 until the new theater building opened in 1874. In his later career Scribe collaborated with such well-known composers as Auber, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Donizetti, and Verdi (*Sicilian Vespers*).

180 22 **screams**] → 164,*31*.

180 25 **street-roaming assistant barber**] The barber's apprentice, sent by the barber out of the barbershop with a basin and razor to shave customers on the streets and squares.

180 29 **New Year's congratulations**] According to an old custom and in expectation of a gratuity, the police and other state employees, esp. in Copenhagen, visited citizens at their homes around the turn of the year to congratulate them on the new year, i.e., wish them a good one. Not only the liberal press but also the conservatives criticized the custom; see, e.g., the conservative *Dagen* [The Day], no. 4, January 5, 1843: "*New Year's congratulations*—For a number of years now, there has been so much written and so much vehement ranting against the dreadful and highly inappropriate practice of new year congratulations that one would have thought this evil eradicated. In the year just gone, too, it seems this exaggerated politeness had abated somewhat. But there is no doubt that scarcely any previous new year's day has offered such a swarm and shoal of congratulators as last Sunday [January 1, 1843]. With the exception of the executioner, who just a quarter of a century ago also honored guests with a visit on new year's day and, according to an old verbal agreement, was entitled to break a window pane in the house if he received no acknowledgment, we doubt that any of the households involved in congratulations in former times have been left out this year; to the contrary, several new congratulators have popped up from the earth like mushrooms, and some species of congratulators have been able to show false certification."

whipping] Public flogging of a convicted criminal. 32 The criminal was tied to a post, which, in Copenhagen, was located at Halmtorvet (*see map 2, A2*). Public flogging was also used in the disciplinary punishment of prisoners in the penitentiary.

Repetition] → 176,*27*. 34 180

Constantin Constantius . . . struggles against the interesting] 34 Referring to the preference young girls have for interesting men, Constantin Constantius writes in *Repetition* (→ 176,*27*): "If a man has gone astray in the interesting, who but a girl can save him? And in doing so, doesn't she sin? Either the party in question is incapable of it, and then it is indelicate to require it of him; or he can, and then ..... for a young girl should be cautious enough never to conjure forth the interesting; the girl who does so, she always loses, from the idea's point of view; for the interesting can never be repeated; she who doesn't do it, she always wins" (*R*, 147; *SKS* 4, 23, trans. modified). — **the interesting**: A catchword from ca. the 1830s, taken over from German idealist aesthetics. It was a general term for the means by which a sense of fascination and excitement could be evoked. In the Danish context the "interesting" was made topical by J. L. Heiberg, who, in his review of Oehlenschläger's play *Dina*, in *Intelligensblade*, nos. 16–17, November 15, 1842, wrote that ancient tragedy did not recognize "the *interesting*, which is a modern concept for which ancient languages did not even have a corresponding expression. This circumstance signifies both the greatness and monumentality of ancient tragedy, but also its limitation; for it follows from this that as much as that genre demands character *portrayals*, as little, basically, has it room for character *development*; here there is, so to speak, nothing to develop, as little as in a marble statue. The bound-

aries of everything are plastically determined from the start, indeed even predetermined" (*Intelligensblade* [→ 179,5], vol. 2, p. 80).

181 2 **variation**] See, e.g., "Crop Rotation: Attempt at a Theory of Social Prudence," in the first part of *Either/Or*; *EO* 1, 281–300; *SKS* 2, 271–289.

5 **the Young Man**] In *Repetition* (→ 176,27), a character named the Young Man carries on an extensive correspondence with a character named Constantin Constantius.

181 8 **In vino veritas**] Latin, "In wine, truth," or "Truth is in wine," a Greek saying noted by the collector of proverbs Zenobius (ca. 100 A.D.), but already known from the poet Alcaeus of Mytilene in Lesbos (ca. 600 B.C.) in the form "Wine is also truth." Referred to frequently in Greek literature, e.g., in Plato's *Symposium*, 217e, with its explicit reference: "Wine makes both young and old speak the truth." The Latin form is presumably from Erasmus of Rotterdam, who includes and comments on "In vino veritas" in his collection of sayings *Adagia* [Adages] from the early 16th century. See, e.g., the travel book *Labyrinten* [The Labyrinth] (1792–1793), in which Jens Baggesen (→ 210,20) tells of an inn with a sign decorated with a painted bunch of grapes and the words: "Veritas in Vino," *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* (→ 166,27), vol. 8 (1829), p. 310.

11 **Nook of the Eight Paths**] → 156,30.

18 **Johannes nicknamed The Seducer**] The author of "The Seducer's Diary" in the first part of *Either/Or*, *EO* 1, 301–445; *SKS* 2, 291–432.

19 **Victor Eremita**] Latin, "Victorious hermit," one who triumphs in solitude; editor of *Either/Or*. See the title page, *EO* 1, 1; *SKS* 2, 9.

19 **recollection's unhappy lover**] See "The Unhappiest One" in the first part of *Either/Or* (*EO* 1, 217–230; *SKS* 2, 211–223), where "remembrance's unhappy lover" (*EO* 1, 229; *SKS* 2, 222) is elected the unhappiest of all.

19 **Constantin Constantius, "a young man"**] → 176,27.

24 **Henr. Cornel. Agrippa . . . foeminæi sexus**] Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, Latinized form of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535), a German philosopher and theologian who traveled most of Europe as a soldier, physician, and teacher. He suffered a checkered fate, at one time in the service of princes, at another imprisoned or wanted as a heretic. In his major work *De occulta philosophia* [On Occult Philosophy] (1533), he sought to unite spiritual traditions such as neoplatonism, hermeticism, and cabalism. He assumed magic to be as valid a science as physics, mathematics, and theology. In the work *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum atque artium* [Of the Vanity and Uncertainty of Arts and Sciences] (1526), he denied the possibility of acquiring knowledge by way of the intellect; only a personal relationship to God can lead to the truth. Kierkegaard's library contained a copy of the latter in an edition from 1622, bound with the aforementioned *De nobilitate et præcellentia foeminei sexus, ejusdemque supra virilem eminentia libellus*, [On the Excellence and Superiority of the Female Gender and the Advantage of the Same over the Male Gender] [1529]; ASKB 113.

dinner music (from Don Giovanni)] i.e., the chamber music played in Mozart's opera, *Don Giovanni*, act 2, scene 13, which Kierkegaard had already described in the first part of *Either/Or* (*EO* 1, 133–134; *SKS* 2, 135). 34

My Brimming Glass and the Joyful Sounds of Song] "Mit fulde Glas og Sangens raske Toner," no. 132 in *Visebog indeholdende udvalgte danske Selskabssange; med Tillæg af nogle svenske og tydske* [Songbook Containing Selected Danish Party Songs; with the Addition of Some Swedish and German], ed. A. Seidelin (Copenhagen, 1814; ASKB 1483), pp. 203f. The song was composed by the Norwegian poet and pastor Jens Zetlitz (1762–1821). See P. Hansen, *Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie* [Illustrated History of Danish Literature] 2nd enl. ed., 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1902), vol. 2, p. 449. It is mentioned in journal entry FF:161 from January 1838; see this volume of *KJN*, p. 98 and the explanatory note on p. 422. 38

182 1 **gathering . . . drinking songs**] Refers to the final decades of the 18th century when the enlightened citizenry gathered in clubs and societies where its favorite poetry consisted of drinking songs by writers such as J. H. Wessel, K. L. Rahbek, P. A. Heiberg, Jens Zetlitz (→ 181,38), and Jens Baggesen (→ 210,20). In time the drinking songs spread from the clubs to the middle class, and from the turn of the century, publication of popular song collections became a veritable industry. See J. L. Heiberg, "Bellman, som comisk Dithyrambiker. Et Foredrag, holdt ved det scandinaviske Selskabs Bellmans-

Fest den 20de December 1843 [Bellman as Comic Dithyrambic Poet. A Lecture held at the Scandinavian Society's Bellman Banquet on December 20, 1843], in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,5), nos. 41–42, January 1, 1844, vol. 4, pp. 115–140. Heiberg concludes his introductory address to the society as follows: "Nevertheless, my introductory words are no doubt superfluous; the proper mood must already be secured at the very sight of the bacchanalian emblems with which art has surrounded us; this colossal punchbowl surrounded by satyrs has already put us in the right position; the songs which are just now ringing in our ears, and the previous speaker's portrayal of a poet's life dedicated to the service of Bacchus—all this has led us to an entrance over which is written: 'Enter here! For here too there are gods,'" (pp. 116f.). Later Heiberg refers to "the drinking song literature so popular and still ever-famed in our time," and he remarks that "the so-called drinking songs of that time were meant to be sung in chorus by all the guests around a merry dining table" (p. 124). Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795) was a Swedish poet-musician whose songs are still popular in Scandinavia today, and for whom banquets, bibulous and otherwise, are still held.

182 7 **sows . . . imperishable**] Alludes to 1 Cor 15:42: "So it is with the resurrection of the dead: What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable."

182 13 **that scene in Shakspeare's . . . eulogies of Caesar**] See Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, act 3, scene 2, which Kierkegaard possessed in German translation, *Shakspeare's dramatische Werke* (→ 170,11), vol. 5 (1841), pp. 55–65.

182 23 **Albertus Magnus**] Albert von Bollstädt (1193–1280), called Albert the Great or Albertus Magnus, German scholastic and scientist; see §§ 197f. in Marbach, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 177,32), vol. 2, pp. 301–310, and Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 8.1 (1810), pp. 323–325. The entry may be presumed to have served as a draft for a passage in *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,7), where Kierkegaard refers to "what happened to Albertus Magnus when he presumptuously boasted of his speculation against the deity," namely, that "he was suddenly struck dumb," *CA*, 151n.; *SKS* 4, 450. See also the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest*, *SKS* K4, 321.

Mathæus Parisiensis] English historian (ca. 1200–1259); see Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 8.1 (1810), p. 314, n. 152, which tells of French scholastic theologian Simon Tornacensis (1130–1201), who declared in a lecture on the Trinity that he could refute it if he wanted to do so: "As punishment, he was thereby struck dumb and made simple-minded. After this it took him at least two years to learn to read again." The entry probably served as a draft for the passage referred to above (→ 182,23) in *The Concept of Anxiety*, where Kierkegaard gives this information from Tennemann in a note; cf. *CA*, 151n.; *SKS* 4, 450. 182 24

Denn wovon . . . vol. 2, p. 253] Direct quotation from *Imanuel Kant's vermischte Schriften* [Assorted Works of Immanuel Kant], ed. J. H. Tieftrunk, 3 vols. (Halle, 1799; vol. 4, Königsberg 1807; ASKB 1731–1733); vol. 2, p. 253: "For that about which one knows a great deal early on in life, as a child, one is sure to know nothing of later on and in old age, and the man of thoroughness will, in the end, be at best the sophist of his youthful delusions." As with the following quotation, this is from the treatise *Träume eines Geistersehers, erlaütert durch Träume der Metaphysik* [Dreams of a Spirit Seer Illuminated by the Dreams of Metaphysics] [1766], pp. 247–346. See *Kant on Swedenborg: Dreams of a Spirit-Seer and Other Writings*, trans. Gregory R. Johnson and Glenn Alexander Magee (West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2002), p. 5. — **Kant**: Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), German philosopher; professor at the University of Königsberg from 1770 to 1796; his so-called critical philosophy, which examined the conditions of possibility for human knowledge, experience, and reason, provided his field with a new point of departure. 182 25

Welcher Philosoph . . . p. 250] Direct quotation from the same work, p. 250, except that Kierkegaard writes "kan" (Danish) for "kann": "What philosopher has not at one time, torn between the assurances of a rational and firmly convinced eyewitness on the one hand and the inner resistance of an insuperable doubt on the other hand, cut the 183 1

most simple-minded figure one can imagine?" (*Kant on Swedenborg*, p. 3).

183 8 **Abælard . . . The conflicts . . . between the authority of Pope and Church and what he himself knows**] Abélard (→ 143,*27*) came into conflict with the church when he refused to believe its doctrine if he could not grasp it with his intellect. See H. E. F. Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* [Handbook of Church History], 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1838 [1833]; ASKB 158–159), vol. 1, p. 557. Abélard's teaching was condemned at a synod in Soissons in 1121 and, in the presence of a papal legate, he himself had to throw one of his heretical books on the fire; at a synod in 1140 his teaching was again condemned and his subsequent appeal to the pope was in vain.

11 **his sympathy . . . Heloise**] The conflict seems to have been that it was precisely the church that Abélard supported that did not allow his continued marriage to Héloïse (→ 143,*27*) after he had been castrated; see Bossuet, *Einleitung in die Geschichte* (→ 143,*27*), vol. 6 (1785), pp. 316f.

183 16 **Constantin Constantius's journey to Berlin**] See *Repetition* (→ 176,*27*).

17 **farce**] Popular in Berlin in the 1830s and 1840s. See *Repetition* (→ 176,*27*), *R*, 157–169; *SKS* 4, 33–43.

183 20 **day laborers in life**] Alludes to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, Mt 20:1–16, which is the text for Septuagesima Sunday (the third before Lent), in 1844, on February 4.

20 **factory workers . . . too long for it**] Circa 1840 a number of new factories were established outside guild restrictions. Factory owners could to a large extent set their own rates of pay based on the conditions of the free market, whereas the guilds tried to retain higher pay within their own trades.

183*m* 1 **gets for his pains is censure**] Variation on a Danish saying, "Han fik Utak til Løn for bevisst Tieneste [He got censure for services rendered]." See *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], ed. Videnskabernes Selskabs Bestyrelse [The Board of the (Royal) Scientific Society], vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1820), p. 181.

183 29 **The Seducer's Diary**] "The Seducer's Diary" in the first part of *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*), *EO* 1, 301–445; *SKS* 2, 291–432.

Johannes Mephistopheles] In the Faustian tradition Mephistopheles is the name of the Devil who leads Dr. Faustus astray. Faustus's name is Johan, a diminutive of Johannes. In "The Seducer's Diary," Johannes considers whether he can compare himself to Mephistopheles but concludes that he is "no Mephistopheles," *EO* 1, 350; *SKS* 2, 340. 33

swoon over the horrific . . . itself better] The age, along with J. L. Heiberg, (→ 160,*23*) "swooned over the horrific," which was prohibited on stage and in literature. Thus "The Seducer's Diary" aroused general indignation. In his review of *Either/Or* in "Litterær Vintersæd," Heiberg wrote that "one is distressed, one is disgusted, one is shocked, and one asks oneself, not if it is possible that someone can be like this seducer, but if it is possible for an actual author to be so constituted as to find pleasure in taking such a character's place and pursuing it in his mind" (*Intelligensblade* [→ 179,*5*], vol. 2, pp. 290f.). J. F. Hagen reviewed *Either/Or* in *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland], nos. 1227–1228, 1234, and 1241, May 7–21, 1843, (ASKB U 39). He suggests that the seducer's practice could be understood as "a diabolical thought-experiment, for one is, after all, and thank God, bound too tightly to what is greater than oneself to be able to want such a method, let alone carry it out," no. 1234, p. 9906. And in an editorial note to "Episode af 'Forførerens Dagbog' " [Episode of 'The Seducer's Diary], in *Den Frisindede*, no. 23, February 23, 1843 (ASKB U 34), the author writes that it could be tempting to call upon certain "moral inspectors to excommunicate the author, to beg the moral health police confiscate the work and burn the unknown one in effigy; but however that may be, the next moment one will confess that those who read this book will scarcely be any the worse for it" (p. 90). 34

what Victor Eremita has published . . . has become edifying] Victor Eremita (→ 181,*19*) is presented as the editor/publisher of *Either/Or* and thus of "The Seducer's Diary." In his preface to the work, Eremita renders an account of his own understanding of "The Seducer's Diary," which he takes to be fictional rather than a recounting of fact (*EO* 1, 9; *SKS* 2, 16). The reference might be to this passage. 2 184

the scene is in the house of Cordelia . . . married to Edward] In "The Seducer's Diary" Johannes describes in detail his methodical seduction of Cordelia, to whom another (Edward) is already en- 6

gaged. These three are supplemented by a third, Cordelia's aunt, in whose house the seduction is devised.

15 **femininity's idea**] In a manuscript of *Either/Or* Kierkegaard had the author "A" write the following passage in his preface to "The Seducer's Diary": "When I turned the diary over I found that it was also written from the other end. It contained a treatise entitled: 'Woman Regarded Categorically.'" The passage was later crossed out with ink. See *Pap*. III B 48; manuscript 4; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 13–15).

20 **courtesan**] See JJ:135.

25 **Don Juan**] In the section "Sensual Genius Defined as Seduction" (*EO* 1, 87–103; *SKS* 2, 92–107) in *Either/Or*, Kierkegaard has the pseudonymous A contrast Don Juan and Faust as representatives of, respectively, a sensual and a spiritual principle of seduction, insofar as Don Juan, *qua* sensual, seduces extensively, while Faust through speech (the medium of the spirit) seduces intensively: "This is the genuine seducer; the aesthetic interest here is also something else: namely, the how, the method" (*EO* 1, 99; *SKS* 2, 103).

184 33 **chamber councilor**] Once the title of a state official connected with the treasury, but later just a title. A chamber councilor was to be addressed "Worshipful and Honorable Sir."

184 36 **the absolutely exalted . . . the poor one in the equality of love**] Presumably an allusion to the epistle for Palm Sunday (in 1844, March 31), Phil 2:5–11: "Let the same mind be in you that was in Jesus Christ, who though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on the cross. Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (*Alterbogen* [→ 166,34], p. 64). See JJ:44.

185 14 **wounds . . . worst from behind**] See Plutarch's life of Crassus, chap. 24, 6, in his *Vitae parallelae* [Parallel Lives], where it is said that the Parthians continued to shoot their arrows while they fled and did so with great skill; *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, stereotype ed., 9 vols. (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1181–1189), vol. 5, p. 192; *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Dryden, 3 vols. (London and New York, 1910), vol. 2, p. 293.

The system in the Hegelian school] Refers to Hegel, who ca. 1800 began writing his major philosophical works. His principal thesis was that what is central in existence ("the Absolute") is Spirit, and that this Absolute is dialectical, i.e., it is in constant progressive development. Starting from this point of departure, Hegel's project was to employ a unique method that would bring his philosophical insights together in a great "system" comprising both the material and the spiritual worlds. Hegel's disciples were referred to as the Hegelian school. 17 185

Schelling . . . "the infinite epic"] The latter expression is not found in Schelling's writings but may refer to *das große Epos* [the great epic] about which Kierkegaard could have read in Karl Rosenkranz's annotated edition of Schelling's *Vorlesungen, gehalten im Sommer 1842 an der Universität zu Königsberg* [Lectures Delivered in the Summer of 1842 at the University of Königsberg] (Danzig 1843; ASKB 766), p. 187: "His whim, however, *to merge philosophy and poetry*, misled him into the murkiest utterances on *mythology* side by side with these excellent expositions . . . [It] misled him into hailing the false theory, recently warmed up for us, that the goal of poetry is to be placed in *the great epic*, that 'what up to now has only been proclaimed rhapsodically and in individual manifestations will present itself as a completed totality.'" 18

today . . . a bird on the roof] Variation on a Danish saying "Better a bird in the hand than two on the roof"; cf. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." See no. 1677 in Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,29), vol. 1, p. 168. The formulation may also allude to Mt 6:34: "So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today's trouble is enough for today." 21 185

What is this life] Kierkegaard appears to have used this and the following entry, with a few deviations, in "To Preserve One's Soul in Patience," in *Two* 24 185

Edifying Discourses (1844); *EUD*, 195; *SKS* 5, 198. Kierkegaard delivered the manuscript to Bianco Luno's Printing House on February 13, 1844, but it is uncertain whether the entries in *Journal JJ* were made earlier or later than this.

25 **when I am ... not**] Refers to Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), Greek philosopher and connoisseur of the art of living, who is supposed to have said: "When we are there, death is not come, and, when death is come, we are not," (bk. 10, 125, in *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie* [→ 141,12], vol. 1, p. 502; English trans. from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* [→ 141,12], vol. 2, p. 651).

185 28 **What is good fortune ... has been**] → 138,8.

29 **What is hope ... a quarrelsome friend**] No sayings have been identified to which these might be allusions.

31 **always retains ... has lost his**] Alludes to the saying "Where there is nothing, the emperor has lost his due"; see no. 1362 in Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* (→ 146,29), p. 52, and no. 4391 in Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,29), vol. 1, p. 486.

32 **What is remembrance, a tiresome consoler**] No saying has been identified to which this might be an allusion. Kierkegaard omits the comma.

32 **a faithless villain who wounds from behind**] → 185,14.

186 1 **a shadow ... buy it**] An allusion to Adelbert von (properly Louis Charles Adelaide de) Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte* [Peter Schlemihl's Wondrous Tales] 3rd ed. (Nürnberg, 1835 [1814]; ASKB 1630). It tells how a man who proves to be the Devil tempts Peter Schlemihl to sell his shadow for an inexhaustible bag of good luck.

6 **an arrow in flight that doesn't move**] Refers to one of the four arguments which the Greek philosopher Zeno of Elea (4th cent. B.C.) brought against the reality of movement. According to it, a flying arrow will not move since at any one moment it must be at a definite place and so always at rest. Zeno's argument has come down through Aristotle, who refutes it (→ 137m,4) in bk. 9 of *Physics*, esp. chap. 6, 9 (239b 5ff.), which is the source for later presentations in the history of philosophy; see, e.g., Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 1, pp. 198f.

Spinoza ... jump over the intermediate causes] 14 186
See chap. 1 "De Prophetia" [Of Prophecy], in Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [Theologico-Political Treatise] (1670), in *Benedicti de Spinoza opera philosophica omnia*, ed. A. F. Gfrörer (Stuttgart, 1830; ASKB 788; abbreviated hereafter as *Spinoza opera*), pp. 81–255, pp. 90–99. In the chapter in question, Spinoza discusses the nature of prophecy and revelation in the OT, and remarks that the Jews show no interest in "secondary" or "particular" causes but always seek God on the basis of their "religion, piety, and what is commonly called godliness" (*The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza*, trans. R. H. M. Elwes, 2 vols. [New York: Dover, 1957 (1883)], vol. 1, p. 15). — **Spinoza**: Baruch (or Benedict) de Spinoza (1632-1677), Jewish, Dutch, rationalist philosopher.

undertakes studies ... all philosophy's striving] 29 186
The exact formulation is not found in Hegel.

immanence] The quality of something remaining 32
within its own limits, such that this "something" is immanent rather than transcendent. Hegel (→ 179,7) uses the term "immanent" when he must describe how a concept develops itself by virtue of its inner contradictions and hence is not moved by anything external to itself. The result of this development is the actualization of that which was present as possibility at the beginning.

passion ... eternal punishment in hell] See JJ:324. 33

review of Fear and Trembling ... journal] See an 6 187
anonymous review of *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7) in *Theologisk Tidsskrift* [Theological Journal], ed. C. E. Scharling and C. T. Engelstoft, vol. 8 (1844; n. s., vol. 2), pp. 191–199. The review is in the volume's first issue, which is described by *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 58, March 1, 1844, as having come out "recently." The author was theologian Johan Frederik Hagen (1817–1859), who had earlier reviewed *Either/Or* in *Fædrelandet* (→ 183,34).

Johannes de silentio] Latin, "John of Silence," the 9
pseudonymous author of *Fear and Trembling*.

explains everything, explains all difficulties] Af- 11
ter giving what he calls "a condensed résumé of the thought's general drift" (p. 197), Hagen attempts to solve the problematic relation between faith and reason expressed by Johannes de silentio when he said that the believer believes only on the

strength of the absurd. Hagen claims, instead, that the believer "believes on the strength of the higher wisdom which he knows that faith contains and which comprises its mystery. It is a matter, first and foremost, of being clear about the difference between the absurd and mystery. The absurd stands in a purely negative, excluding relation to the intelligible, and, as such, is the absolutely irrational, in other words—absolutely transcendent . . . For it is, indeed, self-evident that there can be no talk of any mediation of faith as long as it is placed as an *absurdum* in an exclusionary, i.e., irresolvable opposition to common reason; but since faith's *mysterium* does not occupy this position, mediation is not excluded.—It thus cannot be denied that, in his eager interest to force the tasks of faith up to their high value, the author is guilty of a deception, and that, in this respect, his tactic is comparable to those Dutch merchants who, when the prices for spices were slack, had some loads dumped in the sea to force up the prices" (pp. 198f.).

14 **joy over Denmark**] Title of a poem by Poul Martin Møller (→ 145,12). On his extensive travels to the East in 1819–1821, Møller wrote the poem "Rosen blusser alt i Danas Have" [The Rose Always Blooms in Denmark's Garden], published under the title "Glæde over Danmark" [Joy over Denmark], in K. L. Rahbek's *Tilskuerne. Et Ugeskrift* [The Spectators: A Weekly], vol. 1, no. 47 (Copenhagen, 1823), pp. 374–376; later reprinted in *Efterladte Skrifter* (→ 145,12), vol. 1 (1839), pp. 47–49.

14 **praise to the author, goodwill to the journal**] Alludes to the conclusion of the Christmas proclamation of Lk 2:14. The Danish version reads "Ære være Gud i det Høieste! og Fred paa Jorden! og i Mennesker en Velbehagelighed!" [Glory to God in the highest! Peace on Earth! Ye people in whom God is well pleased!]. See also the NRSV: "Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favors!"

187 20 **Paul: I know in what I have put my trust**] Properly "I know the one in whom I have put my trust" (2 Tim 1:12).

21 **credo ut intelligam**] The expression is ascribed to St. Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109), a medieval philosopher and theologian who was born in Aosta in northern Italy and is claimed as the father of scholastic philosophy. He held that faith must both precede all philosophy of religion and also remain the norm of reason, as in the famous saying: "For I do not seek to understand in order to believe; I believe in order to understand" (*Proslogion*, chap. 1); here cited from Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 140,3), vol. 8.1 (1810), p. 120, n. 71. See also *Anselm: Monologion and Proslogion*, trans. Thomas Williams (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1995), p. 99.

Faith is the immediate] Refers presumably to the 22
dogmatic Hegelians, among them the German theologian Philipp Marheineke (1780–1846), who claimed that faith is on the one hand immediacy (or immediate knowledge of God), and on the other hand, that it can and should be abrogated or annulled (→ 188,22) in speculative knowledge, and also that this knowledge, being speculative, is higher than faith; *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* [The Fundamental Doctrines of Christian Dogmatics, Presented as a Science], 2nd ed., (Berlin, 1827 [1819]; ASKB 644), pp. 48f. Such a view is noted and contradicted in *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7): "Recent philosophy has simply allowed itself to substitute the immediate for 'faith' " (*FT*, 69; *SKS* 4, 161), and "Philosophy teaches that the immediate should be annulled. This is true enough, but what is not true is that . . . faith is directly the immediate" (*FT*, 99; *SKS* 4, 188). In the introduction to *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,7) we find, correspondingly, that "in dogmatics *faith* is called the *immediate*" (*CA*, 10; *SKS* 4, 318). In the rough draft of the latter passage, written presumably in December 1843 or January 1844 (see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest*, *SKS* K4, 331f.), Kierkegaard notes in the margin that "this happens every day before our eyes" (*Pap*. V B 49,2). The reference is presumably to H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course at the Royal Military College Begun in November 1834], in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly], vol. 16, pp. 516f. It could also refer to Martensen's dissertation, *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 648), pp. 2ff. See the English translation, *The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness in Modern Dogmatic Theology*, in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard*, trans. Curtis Thompson (At-

lanta: Scholars Press, 1997). Finally, it could refer to Rasmus Nielsen, *De speculativa historiæ sacræ tractandæ methodo* (Copenhagen, 1840; ASKB 697), p. 6; see the Danish translation, *Den speculative Methodes Anvendelse paa den hellige Historie* [Application of the Speculative Method to Sacred History] (Copenhagen, 1842), pp. 3f.

187 27 **yarn spindle**] A simple instrument used for spinning yarn by hand.

29 **official duties as a real spindle . . . its otium**] Refers to the difference between real and merely titular officials, e.g., when only the "real" chamber councilor carried out duties of office, whereas the titular councilor merely bore that name (→ 184,33).

30 **One complains . . . too many functions**] The opposition to the monarchy complained frequently that the king's officials performed "too many functions." For example, the director of police in Copenhagen became an object of criticism when he was not only the chief of the police but also (until July 1, 1845) the chief justice in the police court, so that executive and judicial power were combined in one governmental post. See *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (→ 271,19) [The Copenhagen Post], no. 52, March 2, 1843, p. 207. This paper championed the principle of division of powers.

188 2 **I was born in 1813 . . . put into circulation**] After Denmark was drawn into the Napoleonic wars, the government tried to finance rearmament by letting the Currency Bank put out worthless paper money, which led to state bankruptcy in 1813. See C. F. Allen, *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie med stadigt Henblik paa Folkets og Statens indre Udvikling* [Handbook in the History of the Fatherland with Constant Reference to the People's and the State's Inner Development] (Copenhagen, 1840; ASKB 2011; abbreviated hereafter as *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie*), p. 589: "As a consequence of this massive increase in the amount of bills for which there was no adequate security, paper money dropped well below its face value. With the constantly growing confusion in money matters, one therefore had to resort to the sad but inevitable expedient of devaluing the money, so that 6 rixdollars in currency were worth only 1 rixdollar in the new money . . . issued by the newly established State Bank (January 5, 1813)." Kierkegaard was born on May 5, 1813.

Østergade] The street between Amagertorv and Kongens Nytorv, where Østerport originally lay, and from which the street gets its name; see Sterm, *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn* (→ 171,5), p. 44: "The street is now both a shopping street where one can count about 150 shops, and a street used for strolls" (*see map 2, C2–D2*). 13 188

the wax candlewick snuff . . . all evening] By bending down the partially consumed part of the wick of a burning candle, it was possible to avoid a smoking wick which would have to be continually trimmed. Instead, the wick trimmed itself. 18 188

That I exist was the ancient world's eternal presupposition] This and the following entry may be rejected drafts for *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,31) which Kierkegaard nevertheless chose to preserve in the journal; see a passage in the provisional draft of chap. 3 (*Pap*. V B 5,3) together with the printed manuscript (*PF*, 39–40; *SKS* 4, 245), and see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Philosophiske Smuler*, *SKS* K4, 187, note 1. — **exist**: The Danish *jeg er til* follows the German *Dasein* in conveying a sense of "being there," i.e., at a certain place, sometimes referred to as "determinate being" as opposed "mere being." 21 188

new immediacy] In Hegel and his followers (→ 179,7) the "new immediacy" is the third step (or "moment") in the spirit's dialectical development. The first moment, immediacy, is negated or abrogated in the second, that is reflection, but is "mediated" (→ 148,30) in the third moment, the synthesis, as a new immediacy. 22

prove God's existence] Kant (→ 182,25) categorized the proofs for God's existence as, respectively, the ontological, cosmological, and teleological or physico-teleological proofs, in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 148,29), pp. 611–658; see *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Werner Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1996), pp. 572–608. Kant denies the validity of these alleged proofs, but they are discussed again by Hegel; see *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion. Nebst einer Schrift über die Beweise vom Daseyn Gottes* vol. 2 (in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 179,7), vol. 12, pp. 357–553; see *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion: The Lectures of 1827*, ed. Peter Hodgson 25 188

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 162–189.

189 9 **good intentions lead to hell**] Adverts to the saying: "The road to hell is paved with good intentions." See no. 3554 in Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,29), vol. 1, p. 402.

189 12 **If Christianity . . . be baptized**] A reference to H. L. Martensen, *Den christelige Daab betragtet med Hensyn paa det baptistiske Spørgsmaal* [Christian Baptism Considered with Regard to the Baptist Question] (Copenhagen, 1843; ASKB 652), p. 23: "For it is self-evident that in the period when the essential thing was the task of implanting the church in the world, much must be configured otherwise than in subsequent times now that the church has taken root and where God's kingdom has, so to speak, become nature. Thus baptism in particular, although its sacramental nature and its fundamental relation to faith are constantly the same, appears in another form where God's kingdom is to be propagated through *mission*—that is, where it is to be conveyed into the spirit of the people from outside—from that in which it is to be propagated owing to *indwelling*—where it has become innate in the spirit of the people and its transformative powers are to unfold in the life of the world from inside."

22 **Martensen's famous christening theory**] Martensen, *Den christelige Daab betragtet med Hensyn paa det baptistiske Spørgsmaal* (→ 189,12). This was widely reviewed in Denmark and also in Germany, where Martensen's book was published in translation, *Die christliche Taufe und die baptistische Frage* (Hamburg and Gotha, 1843). — **Martensen**: Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884), cand. theol. in 1832, privatdocent and tutor from 1834 to 1836 (also Kierkegaard's tutor), lic. theol. in 1837; appointed lecturer in theology at the University of Copenhagen in 1838, appointed professor extraordinarius in theology in 1840, appointed court chaplain in the Royal Chapel on May 16, 1845.

189 26 **young theology graduate**] Perhaps a reference in particular to the young Grundtvig (→ 202,10).

190 1 **Drunk in the sickly exhalation of promises**] The entry is presumably an echo of Kierkegaard's rough draft for a planned but unused postscript to *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,7) where, referring to "modern philosophy"(→ 148,24) and its "promise makers," he describes his "hastily" drafted book as "a dreadful judgment and drastic epigram on their painted untruths and their entire empty being, swollen only with the sickly exhalation of promises" (*Pap*. V B 48; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest*, *SKS* K4, 323). Kierkegaard refers in these terms to the unfulfilled promises of the Danish Hegelians to write and publish a completed, e.g., logical "system." See, e.g., J. L. Heiberg, "Det logiske System" [The Logical System], in *Perseus* (→ 179,7), vol. 2, p. 7. See also his article "I Anledning af Recensionen over mit Skrift: 'Om philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid' " [On the Occasion of the Review of My Work: 'On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age], in *Dansk Litteratur-Tidende for 1833*, ed. Jens Møller, (Copenhagen, 1833), no. 46, p. 765; see *Heiberg's On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age* (→ 179,16), p. 193. See also Martensen's promises of a larger system in the preface to his *Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System* (→ 166,18), p. iii; English translation available as *Outline to a System of Moral Philosophy*, trans. Curtis Thompson, in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard* (→ 187,22), p. 246. After writing this passage in *Journal JJ* in April 1844, Kierkegaard appears to have used it in the rough draft of the discourse "Against Cowardliness," in *Four Edifying Discourses*, 1844 (→ 197,22), which refers to a time "when all the inauthentic glitter and rouged untruth are held in high honor and even want to judge the one misjudged" (*EUD*, 371; *SKS* 5, 356). There is a rough draft for an unused addition to this passage: "when thoughtlessness and bluster and half-an-hour's feelings and hasty conclusions and misunderstanding and painted self-love and the sickly intoxication of promises and intentions attack one such [who is misjudged]" (*Pap*. V B 220,3). If this is also the perspective of the journal entry, the reference is not so much to philosophers as to preachers associated with Grundtvig (→ 202,10).

Plato . . . takes . . . only the male gender . . . but through corruption . . . become women] *Timaeus*, 41b–42c. — **Feuerbach . . . gender difference matter**: L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1843 [1841]; ASKB 488), which accord- 3 190

ing to an invoice from Philipsen, was purchased by Kierkegaard on March 20, 1844. According to Feuerbach, gender differentiation (*die Geschlechtsdifferenz*) is essential to humankind, for which reason he frequently criticizes Christianity for suspending the distinction. See *The Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1989), p. 156. — **Feuerbach**: Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), German philosopher, so-called Left Hegelian. Besides the work of Feuerbach mentioned, Kierkegaard acquired *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie* [History of Modern Philosophy] (Ansbach, 1837; ASKB 487), and *Abälard und Heloise oder der Schriftsteller und der Mensch* [Abelard and Heloise, or the Author and the Person] (Ansbach, 1834; ASKB 1637). — **He supposes ... become women**: Cf. *Timaeus*, 90e.

15 **the Christian view**] Cf. Gal 3:28, where Paul champions gender indifferentiation among those baptized "into Christ": "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus."

190*m* 1 **Aristotle also says ... imperfect forms**] Aristotle writes in *De generatione animalium* [Generation of Animals], bk. 4, chap. 6 (775a 15–16), that woman's nature must be assumed to be a natural imperfection. In the same treatise, bk. 2, chap. 3 (737a 27–30), we read that the female is a kind of deformed male, whose contribution to the production of the new individual lacks the "principle of the soul," which is provided by the male (*The Complete Works of Aristotle*, p. 1144).

190 24 **even if he ... stronger than himself**] Perhaps an allusion to Lk 9:25: "What does it profit then if they gain the whole world, but lose or forfeit themselves?"

28 **Christianity is the absolute religion**] See pt. 3 (with the title "Die absolute Religion") of Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 188,25), vol. 2 (in *Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,7], vol. 12), pp. 189–356, where Hegel identifies Christianity as the absolute religion. See Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion: The Lectures of 1827*, trans. Peter Hodgson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 109–110.

190 32 **Spang**] Peter Johannes Spang (1796–1846), Danish priest; resident chaplain at the Church of the Holy Spirit beginning May 3, 1840 (*see map 2, B2–C2*). Kierkegaard knew Spang personally and corresponded with him during his stay in Berlin 1841–1842; *LD*, 95–98, 117–119; *B&A* 1, 75–77, 91–93.

the sermon] Spang preached at the morning service on Sunday, May 12, 1844, on the text for the fifth Sunday after Easter: Jn 16:23–28. This is presumably the text to which Kierkegaard refers. 35

God's house ... a house of tears] Refers to Mt 21:13, where Jesus says: "It is written: 'My house shall be called a house of prayer'; but you are making it a den of robbers." Kierkegaard's *Grædehuus* (Danish, "house of weeping") verges on being homophonic with *Bedehuus* (Danish, "house of prayer"). See Is 56:7: " ... these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer." 5 191

stipulated with every servant ... Sunday morning] According to *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16) bk. 6, chap. 3, §§ 2, 4, and 6, heads of estates and households were to "prescribe" that their "serving folk" go to church, and "in no way" prevent them from doing so; they were also required to spare them from all but absolutely unavoidable work on Holy days, and never at the cost of missing divine service. These provisions were taken up for discussion in 1844 (in the Advisory Assemblies of Estates in Viborg and Roskilde [→ 273,25], among other places), and later given precise interpretations in the decree of March 26, 1845, concerning "The Due Observance of Sundays and Holy Days," § 4. See *Tidende for Forhandlinger ved Provindsialstænderne for Sjællands, Fyens og Lollands-Falsters Stifter samt for Færøerne* [Proceedings of the Provincial (Advisory) Assemblies of Estates for Zealand, Funen, and Lolland Parishes and for the Faroe Islands] (Copenhagen and Roskilde, 1844; abbreviated hereafter as *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende*), vol. 1, no. 21, col. 335. 8

Frederiksberg] A reference to Frederiksberg Gardens, about two miles outside what was then Vesterport. The gardens' promenades were commonly frequented by servants as well as the middle classes, especially in the summer and on Sundays. 11

priests' sermons ... of the whole of world history] Refers particularly to priests associated with Grundtvig (→ 202,10), who both as a theologian 14 191

and as a historian was intensely occupied with world history.

17 **priest preaching . . . about the Ascension**] Among those preaching on Ascension Day, Thursday, May 16, 1844, were the following: the royal chaplain J. H. Paulli in the Royal Chapel, the second assistant pastor P. C. Rothe at the Church of Our Lady, pastor Spang (→ 190,32) at the Church of the Holy Spirit, and (probably Harald) Boisen at Vartou Church. See *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4), no. 113, May 15, 1844. — **gospel . . . about the Ascension**: The gospel for Ascension Day is Mk 16:14–20, see esp. v. 14, which may have served as the focal point for the sermon on "the eye of faith" and "the physical eyes": "Later he appeared to the eleven themselves as they were sitting at the table; and he upbraided them for their lack of faith and stubbornness, because they had not believed those who saw him after he had risen."

29 **the caesura**] Rhythmic break in the middle of a line of verse.

191 35 **Human beings seem to have acquired . . . (Talleyrand . . . Young in Night Thoughts)**] In 1807 the French bishop and statesman Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838) is reported to have said to the Spanish emissary Isquierdo: "*La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée*" ("Speech has been given to man in order to disguise his thoughts"); the source is unidentified. — **Young in Night Thoughts**: i.e., *The Complaint, or Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (1742–1745) by the English poet and cleric Edward Young (1681–1765), one of three authors who became known as the Graveyard School (along with Robert Blair, *The Grave* [1743] and Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* [1751]); see "Dr. Eduard Young's Klagen, oder Nachtgedanken über Leben, Tod und Unsterblichkeit. In neun Nächten," in *Einige Werke von Dr. Eduard Young* [Some Works by Dr. Edward Young], trans. J. A. Ebert, 3 vols. (Hildesheim and Braunschweig, 1772–1777 [vols. 1–2, 1777; vol. 3, 1772]; ASKB 1911), vol. 1; the German translation of the title of the above-cited work by Eduard Young is identical with the English title except that it specifies that the work is "in nine nights." However, it is in the poem "Love of Fame" (concerning the courts) that Young writes in this vein; see "Dr. Eduard Young's sieben characteristische Satiren auf die Ruhmbegierde, die allgemeine Leidenschaft" [Dr. Eduard Young's Seven Characteristic Satires on Ambition, the Universal Passion], in *Einige Werke von Dr. Eduard Young*, vol. 3, p. 36: "where the natural purpose of language is loaned out and people talk only in order to hide the soul."

taking understanding captive] Alludes to 2 Cor 10:5 on "taking thought captive to obey Christ." 11 192

Petrus Ramus] Latin for Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572), also Peter Ramus; French humanist and logician, professor of rhetoric and philosophy as well as dean at the Collège Royal, later known as the Collège de France; dismissed in 1561 because of his criticism of Aristotle and scholasticism and his sympathy for the Reformation; murdered for the same reason during the massacre of St. Bartholomew in late August 1572. 16 192

daß er . . . part 1, the preface] Direct quotation from "Vorbericht," in *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's Werke* [Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's Works], ed. F. Roth, 6 vols. (in 8 vols.) (Leipzig, 1812–1825; ASKB 1722–1728; abbreviated hereafter as *Jacobi's Werke*), vol. 4:1, (1819), p. li. — **Jacobi**: Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819), German philosopher; greatly influenced by his friend J. G. Hamann (→ 145,15) . 17

Nicodemus indeed came by night] Refers to Nicodemus, who is said to have come to Jesus by night (Jn 3:2). Jn 3:1–15 was the gospel reading for Trinity Sunday, which in 1844 fell on June 2. 21 192

looking for the risen among the dead] Alludes to the account of the women at Christ's grave, who looked in vain for him, and the "two men in dazzling light" who announce to them Christ's resurrection: "The women were terrified and bowed their faces to the ground, but the men said to them: 'Why do you look for the living among the dead? He is not here, but has risen' " (Lk 24:5–6). 22

The task . . . to justify Christianity to human beings] This may be an allusion to a review of *Either/Or* in *For Literatur og Kritik. Et Fjerdingaarsskrift* [For Literature and Criticism: A Quarterly], (October 16, 1843, vol. 1, pp. 377–405), in which theologian and assistant teacher H. P. Kofoed-Hansen (1813–1893) claims that "the church is still unable 25 192

to seize hold of the more cultivated . . . Let the so-called awakened and holy say what they will, nevertheless, modern-day cultivated people are not content with old-fashioned Christianity or the old faith but demand it be presented in a new and fresh form, which only a philosophical bath is in a position to provide it with" (pp. 384f.). Kofoed-Hansen's comments were countered by Bishop J. P. Mynster in an article, "Church Polemic" in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,5) on January 1, 1844 (nos. 41–42, vol. 4, pp. 97–114). Kofoed-Hansen replied in *Fædrelandet* on January 19, 1844 (no. 1479, cols. 11859–11864).

193 5 **jumped into the water . . . is not allowed**] See the police ordinance of July 14, 1791, which, out of regard for the sea-going traffic, forbade swimming at the custom house and in the canals, especially at Knippelsbro, Holmensbro, and Højbro (*see map 2, C2–3*).

193 15 **wonder**] Refers presumably to the various passages in the NT telling how Christ's teaching and miracles were met with wonder, e.g., Mt 7:28f; cf. JJ:192.

17 **Had Christianity not viewed paganism as sin**] See, e.g., *Büchner's biblische Hand-Concordanz* (→ 166,18), vol. 1, 1840, p. 705, col. 2: "Die Schrift lehrt die Verirrungen des Heidenthums überall als GOtt schlechthin mißfällige Greuel, und Folgen der Sünde, ja als Werk des Satans ansehen" [The Scriptures teach us to regard the errors of the pagans simply as a horror to God and as the consequences of sin—indeed, as the work of Satan].

23 **When the pagan German . . . that was the god**] There seems to be no specific source for this general view of paganism in German Romanticism.

194 1 **one says . . . an improved breed of sheep**] Presumably a reference to C. F. Allen, who in *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie* (→ 188,2) recounts that "The complete introduction of Christianity into Denmark is due to Knud [Canute] the Great," who as king of Denmark (1019–1035) also arranged that "immigrant Englishmen, both secular and clerical, brought with them knowledge for improved agriculture, for new crafts and arts" (pp. 79f).

194 6 **wedding discourses**] See the provision on weddings in chap. 9, "Om Ægteskab" [On Marriage], in *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 166,34): "When the consecration is about to occur, the priest steps forward and, standing before the bridal couple, gives a small discourse to them on marriage, for which he can use a passage from the Bible (to the extent it bears upon the act) to explain it briefly. He ends with a brief wish" (p. 318).

my "edifying discourses"] i.e., Kierkegaard's *Three Edifying Discourses*, published on June 8, 1844. See *EUD*, 227–290; *SKS* 5, 225–282. 7

the immediate] See JJ:196. 14 194

reflection] See JJ:218. 15

Hamann puts it . . . die Jungfraukinder der Speculation] It has not been possible to identify the passage — **Hamann**: → 145,15. 21 194

Descartes' principle . . . Jacobi S. W., vol. 2, p. 134 n.] Translation quotation from *Jacobi's Werke* (→ 192,17), vol. 2 (1815), p. 102, where in a note Jacobi cites *Ideen zu einer allgemeinen Apodiktik* [Thoughts on a General Theory of Apodictic Certainty] (1799), by the German philosopher F. Bouterwek (1765–1828). See chap. 4 in *Dissertatio de methodo* (→ 137,29), where Descartes writes: "*Ego cogito, ergo sum*" (Latin, "I think, therefore I am") (*Discourse on Method*, pt. 4). See also the second meditation in *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (→ 138,2), where Descartes formulates the principle not as an argument but as a proposition: "*cogito sum*" (Latin, "I think, I am"). 24 194

Bacon] Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam, later Viscount St. Albans) (1561–1626), English philosopher and statesman. His principal works are *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (1620). 29 194

tempus siquidem . . . Jacobi S. W., vol. 2, p. 134 n.] Latin, "Time can be compared to a river that carries to us what is light and floats on top, letting what is solid and heavy go to the bottom;" quotation from *Jacobi's Werke* (→ 192,17), vol. 2 (1815), p. 134 (where in a note Jacobi quotes Bacon's *De augmentis scientiarum* [1623]; [English, *The Advancement of Learning*, 1605]). 29

195 2 **one says that faith relies on authority**] e.g., on the authority of scripture.

195 10 **Quiet Despair**] See journal entry EE:117 on various forms of dullness and vapidity, dated July 20, 1839, to which Kierkegaard remarks in the margin that "it is what my father called *a quiet despair*" (EE:117. a). In his probation sermon at the pastoral seminary (→ 230,*3*) January 12, 1841, Kierkegaard also refers to quiet despair: "Was there not a time when you found no one you could turn to, when the darkness of quiet despair brooded over your soul, and yet you lacked courage to forgo it but, rather, held fast to it and you yourself brooded in turn over your despair?" *Pap*. III C 1, p. 243.

12 **Englishman Swift ... Poor old man**] Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Anglo-Irish clergyman and satirist, ordained in the Anglican church, born and died in Dublin, where he became dean of St. Patrick's. For many years Swift feared he might lose his mind. In 1731 he wrote *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (published, 1739), in which he says of the departed that he gave his crumb of fortune to the building of a house for the insane. In 1733 he published *A Serious and Useful Scheme, To make an Hospital for Incurables* (i.e., for incurable simpletons, criminals, malcontents, liars, and the like), and he expressed a wish—as one incurably fond of scribbling—to be taken there himself. In his later years Swift suffered from depression, became insane, and ended his days in total stupor. At his death he had bequeathed a third of his fortune to the establishment in Dublin of a hospital for the mentally ill. A collation of these facts led to the myth that he had in his youth established a madhouse into which he himself was finally committed. Kierkegaard's formulation embraces a parody on Goethe's motto for part 2 (bks. 6–10) of his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (→ 202,*2*): "Was man in der Jugend wünscht, hat man im Alter die Fülle" ("What one wishes in one's youth, in age one has in excess"); see *Goethe's Werke* (→ 202,*2*), vol. 25 (1829), p. 1. Kierkegaard takes the anecdote about Swift before the mirror from J. G. Hamann's *Wolken. Ein Nachspiel Sokratischer Denkwürdigkeiten* [Clouds: A Sequel to Socratic Memorabilia] (1761); see *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 145,*15*), vol. 2 (1821), pp. 61f. (footnote): "as the childlike Swift shrugged his shoulders over the poor old man, and it was nothing but his own shadow."

But he never questioned ... quiet despair] Variant: *added*. 22

sketch ... of an observer ... The Concept of Anxiety] The manuscript of *The Concept of Anxiety: A Simple Psychologically Orienting Deliberation on the Dogmatic Issue of Hereditary Sin, by Vigilius Haufniensis* (1844), was delivered along with the manuscript for *Prefaces: Light Reading for Various Stations of Life as Time and Opportunity Permit* (1844), to Bianco Luno's Printing Press on May 18, 1844. Both books were ready from the press on June 11, 1844, and came out on June 17. — **sketch ... of an observer**: See *CA*, 54–56; *SKS* 4, 359f. 7 196

I always stand ... which is why I am a pseudonym] Kierkegaard had originally thought of publishing *The Concept of Anxiety* under his own name and seems to have decided on pseudonymity only just before handing over the manuscript to the printer; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Begrebet Angest*, *SKS* K4, 323f. 9

Vigilius Hauf. draws several] Among them young innocents, aesthetic and religious geniuses, the insanely repentant, demonic individuals, hardened criminals, the reserved, gamblers, and hypocrites. — **Vigilius Hauf.**: Abbreviation of Vigilius Haufniensis, Latin, "the watchful one from Copenhagen," or "the Watchman of Copenhagen." 12

Claudius] Mathias Claudius (1740–1815), German author who wrote as "Asmus den Wandsbecker Boten" [Asmus, Messenger of Wandsbeck] among other names; Matthias Claudius, *ASMUS omnia sua SECUM portans, oder Sämmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen* [*Asmus omnia sua Secum portans*, or the Complete Works of the Messenger of Wandsbeck], 5th ed., 8 vols. (Hamburg, 1838 [1790–1812]; vols. 1–4, ASKB 1631–1632). 23 196

Jacobi S. W., vol. 3, p. 282] *Jacobi's Werke* (→ 192,*17*), vol. 3 (1816), p. 282, where Jacobi quotes Claudius's glowing thumbnail portrait of Christ as savior, solver of riddles, raiser from the dead, preacher to the poor, etc., and he describes Christ's noble suffering and death on the cross when his work is finished. 23

the voice of Abel's blood crying out to heaven] 27 196

Cain's fratricide, Gen 4:10–11: "And the Lord said to Cain, 'Where is your brother Abel?' He said, I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?' And the Lord said, 'What have you done? Listen, your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground! And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand.' "

31 **Beneath the Church of the Holy Spirit . . . accompanies it**] An evident reference to a burial crypt under the Church of the Holy Spirit *(see map 2, B2–C2)*. The grave cannot be identified since the crypts were removed in 1878 to provide room for heating. — **skull**: Until about the middle of the 18th century it was common practice to decorate epitaphs, tombstones, and coffins with skulls, but this practice gradually gave way under the influence of neoclassicism until it ceased altogether ca. 1800.

197 1 **offer great selections**] A "large selection" of wares was an expression readers would associate with, e.g., *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*) and *Berlingske Tidende*.

197 4 **way one understands . . . same sin**] Allusion to the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6:12: "And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors."

197 7 **the philosophical chattering that . . . simply goes further . . . at sin**] See Hegel's discussion of sin in his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 188,*25*), vol. 2 (vol. 12 in *Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,*7*]), p. 269. See also *Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion: The Lectures of 1827*, pp. 215, 444ff. Kierkegaard may also have had H. L. Martensen in mind, who in §§ 36–39 of his *Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System* (→ 166,*18*) deals with "Sin" (pp. 39–43), after which, in §§ 40–45, he goes on to treat of "Punishment and Conversion" (pp. 43–48). See *Outline to a System of Moral Philosophy* (→ 190,*1*), pp. 275–277. See also § 42: "Repentance is this dialectical *transition* from punishment into grace, from the divine righteousness into the divine love, from liability into deliverance. But since it is only the dialectical transition, since liability is *still not* overcome in deliverance . . . this crisis must not be maintained but comes to *rest* in the *new human*. The philosophers, who like Spinoza and Fichte reject repentance because a done deed cannot be changed and the human does not have time to repent, are no less one-sided than the humans who transform repentance into an uninterrupted vain brooding over sin. Both overlook that on which it really depends, namely, the dialectical meaning of repentance and its necessity as a *transition point*" (p. 278).

chatter about Persia, China] Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. E. Gans and K. Hegel (Berlin, 1840 [1837]), begins with an account of China, India, and Persia. The historical development is divided into four periods, or "worlds," the Oriental, the Greek, the Roman and the German; see *Hegel's Werke* (→ 179,*7*), vol. 9, pp. 136–547; for an English translation, see Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. J. S. Sibree (London: Bohn, 1857; New York: Wiley, 1944; New York: Dover, 1956). 15

In former times . . . more liberal] The aristocracy's political privileges were formally abolished with the introduction of absolute monarchy in 1660. Nevertheless, it continued to be held in great respect and wielded economic power due to its possession of land. The aristocracy lost its real political significance under Frederik VI (1768–1839, whose reign began in 1808 but, due to his father's mental illness, became "crown prince regent" in 1784). The right to vote and to run for office in the regional parliaments (→ 273,*25*) and Copenhagen's municipal council were conditioned upon the right of disposal over property of a given insurance value. In their opposition to a property franchise of this kind, the liberals argued for a franchise that was conditioned upon a certain taxable fortune. The intention was to privilege the supporters of the liberals among rich merchants and functionaries, who seldom possessed landed property of the required size, but had correspondingly larger fortunes. 17 197

more world-historical . . . the 19th cent.] Refers presumably to Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*), who often commented upon the world-historical significance of the present time. See, e.g., his article "En Yttring af Nordens Aand" [An Expression of the Nordic Spirit], in *Fædrelandet*, April 11, 1844, in which he refers to the Nordic spirit as having "verdens-historisk Kald og Betydning" ("a world-historical vocation and significance"), col. 12422. See JJ:251 and → 202,*8*. 18

edifying discourses] On June 8, 1844, *Three Edifying Discourses* was published (→ 194,*7*), and on Au- 22 197

gust 31, 1844, *Four Edifying Discourses* was published. Both publications were dedicated to Kierkegaard's father (→ 165,35) using the following formula: "Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, Sometime Hosier in this City." Concerning these discourses, Kierkegaard writes in the respective prefaces, that they are addressed to "that single individual, whom he is pleased to call "*his* reader" (*EUD*, 229, 293; *SKS* 5, 229, 287).

197 25 **Jacobi**] → 192,17.

27 **fear and trembling**] See Phil 2:12: "Therefore, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed me, not only in my presence, but much more now in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."

30 **Jacobi, S. W. vol. 3, p. 435**] *Jacobi's Werke* (→ 192,17), vol. 3 (1816), p. 435: "Of course, if the in-itself true, good, and beautiful are only ideas invented out of need, if they are only illicitly expanded concepts of the understanding lacking objective validity, if they are only *categories of despair*, then an intellectual intuition which preserves them is superfluous and contradictory; for then in deed and in truth they ought not to be preserved, but rather declared heuristic fictions that have been made into concepts."

198 1 **harmonia præstabilita**] A philosophical term associated with Leibniz (→ 139,27). Except for its initial state created by God, the subsequent states of any thing (substance) are caused by its own preceding states, and what appear to us to be interactions between things are really unfoldings of a preestablished harmony.

198 4 **terminus medius**] A middle term or connecting concept in a logical inference or syllogism (→ 206,12).

198 10 **A deleted passage . . . thorn in the flesh**] See "The Thorn in the Flesh" in *Four Edifying Discourses*, 1844 (→ 197,22), *EUD*, 327–346; *SKS* 5, 317–334. The manuscript for these discourses was probably written between the middle of June and the beginning of August 1844; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Fire opbyggelige Taler*, *SKS* K5, 303. The completed manuscript was delivered to Bianco Luno's Printing Press on August 9, the sixth anniversary of the death of Kierkegaard's father (→ 165,35), the same date as that on the preface, *SKS* 5, 289; *EUD*, 295. The publication date of the discourses was August 31, 1844. "The Thorn in the Flesh" is a discourse on 2 Cor 12:6–7: "But if I wish to boast, I will not be a fool, for I will be speaking the truth. But I refrain from it, so that no one may think better of me than what is seen in me or heard from me, even considering the exceptional character of the revelations. Therefore to keep me from being too elated, a thorn was given me in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to torment me, to keep me from being too elated."

A deleted passage . . . too humorous] Variant: *added*. 10

acknowledge . . . every unshaven passion] The original text uses an expression that apparently alludes to a provision in law referring to a father's public acknowledgement of all his children, both those born in and out of wedlock. See *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16), bk. 5, chap. 2, § 70. 5 199

Fenelon's Lebensbeschreibungen . . . pp. 80 bottom of page–87 bottom of page] See "V. Lebens-Beschreibung [Portraits of Life]. / Periander" in *Herrn von Fenelon weiland Erzbischofs und Herzogs zu Cambray Kurze Lebens-Beschreibungen und Lehr-Sätze der alten Welt-Weisen, in das Teutsche übersetzt und mit Anmerckungen und Zusätzen vermehret* [The Late Archbishop and Duke of Cambrai, Monsieur von Fenelon's Brief Biographies and Teachings of the Ancient Philosophers, in German, translated with Commentary and Additional Material], J. M. von Loen (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748 [French, 1697]; ASKB 486), pp. 78–91; p. 80 bottom of page–87 bottom of page. — **Fenelon**: François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715), French archbishop and author, who achieved fame as tutor of the future king, Louis XIV's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. According to the bookseller Schubothe's "Primary Journal" (see *Fund og Forskning* [Discovery and Research], vol. 8 [Copenhagen, 1961], p. 125), on June 20, 1844, Kierkegaard purchased *Fr. de Salignac de la Motte-Fénelons, sämmtliche Werke* [Fr. de Salignac de la Motte-Fénelon's Complete Works], 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1781–82; ASKB 1912–1913), and according to an invoice from Philipsen dated July 29, 1844, he bought *Fenelons Werke religiösen Inhalts* [Fenelon's Works of Religious Con- 8 199

tent], trans. M. Claudius, 3 vols. (ASKB 1914). — **Periander**: Periander, son of Cypselus, whom he succeeded as tyrant of Corinth, (ca. 625–585 B.C.), expanded Corinth's territories and made it into a great power. Though a harsh ruler, he protected art and poetry and was counted among the Seven Sages of Greece (→ 149,*28*). Kierkegaard read the section on Periander in *Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie* (→ 141,*12*), vol. 1, pp. 42–45 (for an English version, see Hicks's translation [→ 141,*12*], vol. 1, pp. 96–103). Kierkegaard included Fenelon's portrayal of Periander in a passage titled "The Reading Lesson" from the section "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" in *Stages on Life's Way*. See *SLW*, 323–328; *SKS* 6, 301–305.

199 *14* **begin with nothing . . . presupposition**] Hegel requires in the introduction to *Wissenschaft der Logik* that logic begin with "pure being," which is however identical with "nothing"; see *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. von Henning, vol. 1:1–2, (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1:1 (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,*7*], vol. 3), pp. 59–74. See *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (New York: Humanities Books, 1999), pp. 82–108. Hegel's Danish follower J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,*23*) utilizes his ideas in the first eight paragraphs of his article "Det logiske System" [The Logical System] in the journal *Perseus* (→ 179,*7*), no. 2, August 1838, pp. 1–45, and *Grundtræk til Philosophiens Philosophie, eller den speculative Logik* [Outline of the Philosophy of Philosophy, or Speculative Logic] (Copenhagen, 1832), p. 11: "§ 26. If one abstracts from every determination in *everything*—which is necessary in order to exclude all presuppositions, for here it is a matter of reaching a *beginning* which is the abstract immediate—then only one thing remains from which one cannot abstract further because it is itself without presupposition and is consequently the abstract immediacy or beginning. This one thing is *being* in general or abstract or absolute being, the utmost abstraction from everything. / § 27. To abstract further from being would be to remove the utmost (last) abstraction and consequently leave nothing. But since one cannot abstract from being (§ 26), the utmost abstraction has already been effected, and *being* is thus the same as *nothing*." See *Heiberg's Speculative Logic and Other Texts* (→ 178,*15*), p. 55. In *From the Papers of One Still Living* (1838) Kierkegaard referred to "Hegel's great attempt to begin with nothing" (*EPW*, 61; *SKS* 1, 17), and in *Either/Or* (1843) he wrote "Experience shows that it is not at all difficult for philosophy to begin. Far from it. It begins, in fact, with nothing" (*EO* 1, 39; *SKS* 2, 48).

there are many things . . . has explained] As Hamlet more or less says to Horatio in Shakespeare's *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, act 1, scene 5. *17*

Answer: Bah!] See J. G. Hamann's (→ 145,*15*) letter of January 22, 1785, to F. H. Jacobi (→ 192,*17*). Hamann writes of the doubt that can arise in one's heart: "There is doubt that must be repulsed not with reason or answers but with a straightforward Bah!—just as there is a sorrow that can best be relieved through laughter" (*Jacobi's Werke* [→ 192,*17*], vol. 4:3 [1819], p. 34). *30* 199

These days . . . nothing at all] From the middle of June 1844, Kierkegaard worked on *Four Edifying Discourses*, which was delivered for typesetting on August 9 (see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Fire opbyggelige Taler*, *SKS* K5, 303). From the end of June he also worked on the manuscript for "In vino veritas" (→ 208,*12*). But at the end of August 1844 he came to a standstill and appears then to have had a less productive period (see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Stadier paa Livets Vei*, *SKS* K6, 45–48). *1* 200

a lady . . . with her veil] Not identified. See Kierkegaard's letter to A. F. Krieger on his homecoming from Berlin on May 30, 1843 (→ 162,*12*), in which Kierkegaard likewise adverts to "that verse: a lady stands on the castle and waves at me with her veil" (*LD*, 153; *B&A* 1, p. 120). *3*

insanity . . . Here freedom] See JJ:152 and JJ:157. *17* 200

an Englishman . . . change it] Source unidentified. *30* 200

all one's will . . . are of no avail] See JJ:152 and JJ:157. *9* 201

trustworthy over that little] Alludes to Jesus' parable of the entrusted pound (Lk 19:11–27), where a nobleman gives his slaves each a pound and tells them to invest them before he returns. On returning, he summons the servants: "The first came for- *13* 201

ward and said, 'Lord, your pound has made ten pounds.' He said to him, 'Well done, good slave! Because you have been trustworthy in a very small thing, take charge of ten cities' " (vv. 16–17).

201 19 **My listener**] The Danish has "M. T." (for *Min Tilhører*), which is Kierkegaard's preferred form of address in his edifying discourses.

20 **the graveyard**] i.e., Assistens Cemetery (Danish, *Kirkegård*, "churchyard" or "cemetery," a word from which Kierkegaard derives his family name), a graveyard in Nørrebro, outside Nørreport *(see map 5, A1)*. The graveyard was established in 1760 to relieve the overfilled parish graveyards inside the city walls.

23 **the remembrance of the God-fearing person is a blessing**] This exact inscription cannot be found at Assistens Cemetery. However, there are some inscriptions approximating this, e.g., "the memory of the righteous remains blessed"on the headstone above sometime postal treasurer F. P. B. Mazar de la Garde (1750–1833) at the German Reformed graveyard at New Assistens Cemetery; see Prov. 10:7: "The memory of the righteous is a blessing."

25 **a grave monument . . . in bust**] No grave monument of this exact description has been identified at Assistens Cemetery. However, it is unlikely that a young girl without family should be the recipient of such an expensive monument. It may be that Kierkegaard is referring to a monument that honors Sophie Vilhelmine Caroline Bornemann (1767–1792), found in the Trinity Parish graveyard at Gamle Kirkegaard [Old Graveyard], a few meters southwest of Schmettau's grave (see the following note). The monument (1792–1794), designed by the Danish sculptor Dajon, is a detached grave headstone of gray marble on a plinth and pedestal, crowned with an urn in light marble and with a portrait medallion of the twenty-five-year-old girl in white marble. In the inscription above the medallion she is remembered (with her maiden name) by her widower, Admiral J. N. Cornelius Krieger (1756–1824), while the inscription beneath the portrait greets the visitor: "Wayfarer / if virtue is to you sacred / then tread upon this place with respect / and if you have loved / then bestow a tear upon this memorial to love."

28 **Another grave . . . never be forgotten**] Refers to Count and Lieutenant General G. W. C. Schmettau (1752–1823), whose grave is at St. Peter's graveyard. Originally the grave was surrounded by a railing but is so no longer. The monument was designed by Danish architect G. F. Hetsch and lies near the old graveyard wall to the northwest, where in a niche one can see the side of a sarcophagus, which has a sword and a Greek knight's helmet together with an epitaph with the text: "Honored by the king loved by his own missed by many/ buried here / Gottfried Wilhelm Christian Count of Schmettau / lieutenant-general commander of the king's cavalry / commander of the Order of Dannebrog / he was born on the estate Stack in Mecklenborg Schwerin on 12 June 1752, /married for the first time to Elisabeth Alexandrine de Hemmert and a second time to Margrethe Wilhelmine von Stemann / from which latter marriage a son meets him in eternity / two sons and three daughters lament with their mother the loss of a loving father / he died in Copenhagen on 27 April 1823."

Goethe in aus meinem Leben] In *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth] (1811–1833), which comprises twenty books divided into four parts, Goethe portrays the first twenty-five years of his life; see *Goethe's Werke* [Goethe's Works], vols. 24–26 (1829) and vol. 48 (1833). Kierkegaard owned *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828–1842; vols. 1–55 [1828–1833]; ASKB 1641–1668; abbreviated hereafter as *Goethe's Werke*). This edition came in two formats: references here are to the pocket edition sixteenmo, which coincide with Kierkegaard's own references, but according to an invoice from C. A. Reitzel's bookshop Kierkegaard appears also to have bought the octavo edition on February 10, 1836. — **Goethe**: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German poet, dramatist, essayist, jurist, statesman, and scientist. 2 202

removes it . . . by poetic invention] Quotation from "Some Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections," in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,3), *SLW*, 87–184; *SKS* 6, 145. 5 202*m*

cast doubt on the correctness . . . in stirring times] Adverts presumably to "The Movements of Our 8 202

Time," an anonymous article in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 114, May 18, 1844, pp. 453f. The article, alluding to Grundtvig (see the following note) expresses doubts about the present age's own self-understanding: "The present age has the advantage over its predecessors that it is, to a much higher degree than those, the object of its own attention; moreover, that it sets in motion the most comprehensive, thorough investigation concerning its own assumed 'world-historical' position and importance vis-à-vis all other ages—so comprehensive, that it has no time to take upon itself anything that could yield a worthy object for these reflections. One talks in general of movements, of the meaningful struggle for the possession of political rights, of the reawakening of national feeling, while on closer inspection all this dissolves into wasted air and reveals itself for the most part as empty phrase-making" (p. 453).

10 **Pastor Grundtvig**] Nicolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872). Grundtvig caused a stir in 1810 when, contrary to practice, he published his probational sermon. See his *Hvi er Herrens Ord forsvundet af hans Hus*? [Why Has the Lord's Word Disappeared from His House?] (Copenhagen, 1810). He was reprimanded for this act. A year later he became curate in Udby, on Zealand, where his father was parish pastor. When his father died in 1813, Grundtvig returned to Copenhagen, where he preached in various churches to a small following. In these sermons, preached with great vehemence, he sharply berated "unbelief" and "false teachings." His style led to accusations of fanaticism. He therefore decided to stop preaching in 1815 and to dedicate himself instead to his writing. Thus in the foreword to his *Udsigt over Verdens-Krøniken fornemmelig i det Lutherske Tidsrum* [An Overview of the Chronicle of the World, Particularly during the Lutheran Period] (Copenhagen, 1817; AKSB 1970), he recalls his trials in the struggle for his cause, "something that, particularly during the last seven years, under much pressure and with much adversity, without a party, without the slightest worldly backing, without a single helper, I have treated as a matter of conscience" (p. xxxix). In spite of the difficulties, he said, he would not lose heart: "Who loves truth and yet would not let himself be flayed if only that would make people awaken!" (p. xliii). In 1821 he was called by the king to be parish pastor in Præstø on Zealand, but returned to the capital after a year, this time to take over the position as curate at the Church of Our Savior in Christianshavn. He published his sermons there as *Christelige Prædikener eller Søndags-Bog* [Christian Sermons or Sunday's Book], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1827–1830; ASKB 222–224). When H. N. Clausen published *Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus* [The Constitution, Teachings, and Rituals of Catholicism and Protestantism] in 1825, Grundtvig accused him of heresy and rationalism (→ 178,7) in *Kirkens Gjenmæle mod Professor Theologiæ Dr. H. N. Clausen* [The Church's Retort to Professor of Theology Dr. H. N. Clausen] (Copenhagen, 1825). This gave rise to the so-called church conflict. Clausen charged him with defamation of character. Grundtvig resigned his position and in 1826 was sentenced to pay a fine and was put under censorship (annulled in 1838). As a reaction to the sentence Grundtvig argued for the right to establish free congregations outside the state church; see his piece "Om Religions-Frihed" [On Freedom of Religion] in *Theologisk Maanedsskrift* [Theological Monthly], ed. N. F. S. Grundtvig and A. G. Rudelbach, 13 vols. (Copenhagen, 1825–28; ASKB 346–351), vol. 8 (1827), pp. 28–59, 136–171. In 1832 Grundtvig was allowed to preach at evensong in Frederick's Church (today Christian's Church) in Christianshavn. In 1834 Grundtvig formulated a demand concerning pastors' dogmatic and liturgical freedom within the Danish state church, along with a general loosening of parish ties (i.e., the citizens' freedom to seek formal ties with a pastor other than their parish pastor); see *Den Danske Stats-Kirke upartisk betragtet* [The Danish State Church Impartially Considered] (Copenhagen, 1834). On May 28, 1839, he became pastor at Vartov Almshouse Church (*see map 2, A2*), where he remained until his death. See Kierkegaard's characterization in journal entry EE:165, dated August 26, 1839. At the so-called Skamlingsbanke celebration on July 4, 1844, Grundtvig gave a speech about which *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 155, noted: "*Grundtvig* is reported to have delivered a lecture that lasted an hour and a quarter." This celebration was the most famous in a series (1843–1859) of popular celebrations ("language celebrations") in support of the Danish cause in contention with Prussia over North Schleswig (then con-

sidered by Danes part of South Jutland). Skamlingsbanke is a prominent hill and ancient burial site in Jutland, overlooking the channel (Lille Bælt) separating Jutland and Fyn. According to an invoice from Philipsen, Kierkegaard bought the collection of Grundtvig's speeches titled *Skovhornets Klang mellem Skamlings-Bankerne* [The Sound of the Waldhorn among the Skamling Hills] (Copenhagen, 1844; ASKB U 45), on the day of its publication (July 13, 1844).

11 **Archimedes . . . move heaven and earth**] The following remark is attributed to the Greek mathematician, physicist, and inventor Archimedes (287–212 B.C.) from Syracuse on Sicily: "Give me a fixed point, where I can stand, and I shall move the world." Marcellus's biography of Archimedes in Plutarch's *Vitae parallelae* [Parallel Lives] 14:7 recounts Archimedes' firm conviction concerning the mechanical applicability of the laws of geometry. He claimed "that given the force, any given weight might be moved; and he even boasted, we are told, relying on the strength of this demonstration, that he could move even the earth itself—so long as he had another earth to stand on." (Dryden, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* [→ 185,*14*], vol. 1, pp. 471–472; see *Plutarks Levnetsbeskrivelser* [→ 146,*7*] vol. 3, p. 272).

19 **Ale-Norse warrior hero**] Wordplay through near homophony between "Øl" (Danish, "beer," "ale") and "Old" (Danish, "old," as in *Old dansk*, "old Danish") referring to a reputed "Old Nordic" age of warriors, whose "heroic spirit" had been evoked by Grundtvig from the beginning of his writing career in order to arouse people to fight for the hard-pressed Nordic mother tongues. See, e.g., Grundtvig, *Om Nordens Historiske Forhold. Tale den 20de October 1843 i det Skandinaviske Selskab* [On the Northern Countries' Historic Situation: Speech on October 20, 1843, in the Scandinavian Society] (Copenhagen, 1843; ASKB U 44): "now, when all national spirits are awakening and want to make the best of themselves, now is the time when the strongest and most historic of all the 'North's heroic spirits' must necessarily perform popular miracles, now must the time have come, the great time, that will not merely show us the lives of our people in glorious continuity with all of mankind, but also give birth to a future worthy of the past, bestowing to the latest what the first sowed, and in the sons transfigure what the fathers wrought" (p. 8). In the winter of 1843–1844 Grundtvig gave a series of lectures on Greek and Scandinavian mythology (→ 211,*14*).

placing everything under sin] Presumably an allu- 25 202
sion to the epistle for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity (September 1, 1844), Gal 3:15–22. See especially v. 22: "But the scripture has concluded all things under the power of sin, so that what was promised through faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe." The NRSV has "imprisoned" where the King James version has "concluded."

each must be personally accountable to God] Al- 33 202
lusion to Rom 14:12: "So then, each of us shall be accountable to God."

Politivennen writes this word: holsterical] "Hol- 1 203*m*
sterical" (Danish, *hylsterisk*) is supposedly a misprint for "hysterical" (Danish, *hysterisk*). See "En Dame af Bonton" [A Lady of Breeding], in *Politivennen* [The Policeman's Friend], no. 1494, August 16, 1844, p. 524. — **Politivennen**: Copenhagen weekly, founded in 1798 (edited in 1844 by L. M. d'Olin Hallberg); its aim was to serve morality by criticizing weaknesses in public administration and the private life of the citizenry.

discourses for occasions] Broad term covering ad- 12 203
dressed speeches (discourses, orations, and even sermons) made or held by clergy at confirmations, weddings, burials, and confessionals, as well as addresses by deans and bishops at ordination ceremonies. Sometimes the term is used even more widely, as, e.g., in J. P. Mynster's *Kirkelige Leilighedss-Taler* [Discourses for Particular Church Occasions], ed. F. J. Mynster, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1854), which also contains inauguration and leave-taking sermons, sermons for such special occasions as ecclesiastical anniversaries, political events, and synods, and funeral orations for royalty. It was not uncommon for clergy to publish such discourses.

edifying discourses . . . or funeral discourses] Af- 13
ter the publication of *Four Edifying Discourses* (→ 197,*22*) on August 31, 1844, Kierkegaard did not publish more "edifying discourses" until 1847: *Edifying Discourses in Various Spirits* (→ 269,*13*). On the other hand, on April 29, 1845, he published

Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions, with the titles "On the Occasion of a Confession," "On the Occasion of Wedding," and "At a Graveside"; see *TDIO*, 1–102; *SKS* 5, 383–469.

203 17 **that God or Our Lord brings him clarity**] Popular pietistic expression implying that God brings him light.

203 21 **second marriage**] In Kierkegaard's time, entering into a new marriage after divorce was generally considered repugnant, but marriage of the divorced, as well as divorce, was nevertheless allowed under certain conditions. See *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16), bk. 3, chap. 16, § 15.

203 25 **edifying works**] Devotional or edifying (→ 156,21) writing predominated in 18th-century religious literature and far into the 19th. The genre was still widespread in Kierkegaard's time, and from 1842 *Foreningen til christelige Opbyggelsesskrifters Udbredelse i Folket* [The Society for the Spreading of Christian Edifying Works among the People] sought to promote it by publishing both old and new works.

204 3 **followed everything in the hymnal during mass**] See *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog, til Brug ved Kirke- og Huus-Andagt* [Evangelical-Christian Hymnal, for Use in Devotions in Church and at Home] (Copenhagen, 1823; ASKB 196; abbreviated hereafter as *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog*), pp. 483–672.

8 **choose the one thing needful**] Refers to the account of Jesus' visit to the sisters Martha and Mary, where Jesus says to the agitated Martha: "Martha, Martha, you are worried and distracted by many things; there is need of only one thing. Mary has chosen the better part, which will not be taken away from her" (Lk 10:41–42).

204 13 **Exchanging the temporal for the eternal**] A saying noted in C. Molbech, *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 1032), vol. 2, p. 114.

14 **edifying**] → 156,21, → 203,13, and → 203,25.

204 18 **the principle of contradiction**] i.e., the law of contradiction. It asserts the impossibility of the same property both holding good of and not holding good of the same thing at the same time. Aristotle claims in book 4 of *Metaphysics* (1005b 17–20) that this "principle" is the "most certain of all," and since no one can believe simultaneously what is and what is not, this is the principle that all those who adduce evidence or proof of things in nature must go back to in the end (*The Complete Works of Aristotle*, p. 1588). In speculative philosophy, particularly Hegel's, the law of contradiction is "canceled," or "sublated." For Hegel, contradiction is the principle of development in everything; thus every position develops an opposition in itself in a dialectical process that leads not to the cancellation of the opposition but to a higher unity of identity and difference; see *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 199,14), pp. 57–73, and *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (→ 178,15), § 119, pp. 129–132. See *Hegel's Science of Logic* (→ 199,14), pp. 431–435; *The Encyclopedia Logic: Part One of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. T. F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, H. S. Harris (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1991), pp. 185–186. Hegel's doctrine of the cancellation of the law of contradiction gave rise to a vehement debate in Denmark, where J. L. Heiberg and H. L. Martensen were among those who followed Hegel, while J. P. Mynster and F. C. Sibbern defended the law's universal validity.

the blue mountains] The far-off, the indistinct, marvelous; a common Romantic expression. 19

principle of identity is just an abstraction] As Hegel agrees (see references below); see *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im grundrisse*, § 115. — **the principle of identity**: i.e., the law of identity. One of the three basic laws of classical logic. The law of identity says that every logical entity is identical without remainder with itself. The founder of traditional logic, Aristotle, assumes this law but does not formulate it. On the other hand, in *Metaphyics* he defines the other two basic laws, namely the law of contradiction (1005b 19) and the law of the excluded middle (1011b 23). In his polemic against traditional logic, Hegel rejects the law of identity as an empty tautology and claims instead that identity implies distinction or difference, which also means that in relation to itself (as a self-relation) the identity of a logical entity involves drawing a distinction between it and itself; see *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 199,14), vol. 1:2, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 179,7), vol. 4, pp. 32–37, and 21

Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse (→ 178,15), § 116. See *Hegel's Science of Logic* (→ 199,14), pp. 412–416; *The Encyclopedia Logic* (→ 204,18), pp. 179–181.

35 **The identity . . . by abstraction**] Variant: *added*.

205 2 **The dialectic of the beginning**] → 199,14.

5 **no presuppositionless beginning . . . abstract from everything**] See the criticism of Hegel's "presuppositionless beginning" (→ 199,14) in Trendelenburg, *Logische Untersuchungen* (→ 206,7), vol. 1, chap. 2, "Die dialektische Methode" [The Dialectical Method], pp. 23–99. Trendelenburg questions the possibility of a presuppositionless start in logic. Saying that Hegel wants to begin with pure being identified with pure abstraction, he objects that "in order to abstract, something must be presupposed from which one abstracts" (p. 24).

205 13 **like Nebuchadnezzar . . . I dreamt**] Refers to Daniel 2:5, where Nebuchadnezzar (→ 168,32), "troubled" and made sleepless by a dream which he does not want to relate, commands the land's sorcerers to "tell me both the dream and its interpretation." Otherwise, they will be "torn limb from limb" and their "houses shall be laid in ruin."

205 20 **second examination**] Kierkegaard is referring to the *Examen philosophicum*, the examination in general knowledge that students at the University of Copenhagen had to take the year after they had matriculated. This was the second of the so-called academic examinations. The first, *Examen artium*, was a university entrance examination taken at the conclusion of high school. Only when the second examination had been passed at the university could the student present himself for a degree examination within the chosen major subject, e.g., in the philosophy faculty. See chap. 3 in *Nye Fundation og Anordning for Kiøbenhavns Universitet* [New Charter and Ordinance for the University of Copenhagen] of May 7, 1788.

26 **modern science**] i.e., modern philosophy from Descartes to Hegel, which demanded that philosophy present its understanding in a scientific system; see (→ 138,3) and (→ 185,17).

206 1 **Hegel . . . Logic . . . the preface**] See "Vorrede zur ersten Aufgabe" [Preface to the First Edition] (1812) and "Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe" [Preface to the Second Edition] (1831) in Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 199,14), vol. 1:1 (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,7], vol. 3), p. 3–9 and pp. 10–25, respectively. In the preface to the first edition, Hegel writes that the content of logic is the form that consciousness ("spirit as knowing which is concrete and engrossed in externality") gives its object; in the preface to the second edition he sharpens this to take account of language as the medium in which logic, which is man's "peculiar nature" (p. 11) and which enters into "all his natural behavior," is that in which this nature unfolds. See *Hegel's Science of Logic* (→ 199,14), pp. 28, 31.

The highest principles . . . Logische Untersuchungen] See F. A. Trendelenburg (→ 145,24), *Logische Untersuchungen* [Logical Investigations], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1840; ASKB 843). In vol. 2, chap. 18 ("Der indirecte Beweis" [Indirect Proof]), pp. 320–331, Trendelenburg explains that the individual sciences' "highest principles," e.g., the soul, the speed of light, the law of contradiction, or the good, cannot be directly proved but only confirmed by an "indirect proof," i.e., through a hypothetical denial of the principle or law in question. When this denial can be seen to imply an absurdity, the principle or law is confirmed. However, indirect proof itself depends on a presupposition that cannot be proved directly, namely the law of contradiction (→ 204,18). Indirect proof is for that reason inconclusive. Furthermore, an indirect proof depends on the impossibility of denying the principle being exhaustively described as much as the possibility of the principle, for which reason indirect proof presupposes that reality lends itself to presentation in a system free of contradiction and, as such, having a limit that cannot be transcended. "If, then, knowledge of the impossibility of the unsurpassable boundary of reality is come by in this way, then a ground for knowledge is indeed found for the matter , but not the inner ground of its origin" (vol. 2, p. 327). Thus theology's concept of God also lies beyond the limits of knowledge, and therefore a "proof of God's existence" is only an indirect proof. See chap. 20, "Das Unbedingte und die Idee" [The Unconditioned and the Idea], vol. 2, pp. 337–362: "At this boundary we lay down the arms of our finite knowledge" (p. 339). 7 206

12 **inferential figures**] A formal figure that shows the way in which the middle term of a syllogism (the inference of one proposition from two premises) is placed in the premises. There are four figures, in two of which the middle term is the subject of the major (or first) premise and two in which the predicate that appears in the conclusion is the subject of the major premise. The premises and conclusions are all in subject-predicate form. Traditional logic operated with four figures but Aristotle, to whom the syllogism is due, had only three; see, e.g., Trendelenburg, *Logische Untersuchungen* (→ 206,*7*), vol. 2, p. 233. The mood of a figure is given by a letter, according to whether the propositions forming the conclusions are universal affirmatives (all humans are mortal) (A) , particular affirmatives (some mortals are lazy) (I), universal negatives (no sportsmen are lazy) (E), and particular negatives (some mortals are not lazy) (O). Thus "All horses have tails," "all things with tails are four legged," "all horses have four legs" is AAA in the first figure, while an example of EAE in the first figure would be "No sportsmen are lazy," "all hurdlers are sportsmen," "no hurdlers are lazy."

14 **Trendlenburg's Erlaüterungen . . . p. 58**] F. A. Trendelenburg, *Erläuterungen zu den Elementen der aristotelischen Logik* (→ 145,*24*), p. 58: "In the inference figures, the possibility of denying greatly outweighs that of affirming."

14 **cf. Trendlenburg's Erlaüterungen . . . p. 58**] Variant: *added*.

16 **analogy and induction**] Informal forms of inference in logic, philosophy of science, and theory of argument. Neither analogy nor induction yield logically compelling conclusions, since one may without contradiction affirm both the premises and yet deny the conclusion, "so induction and analogy escape the confines of formal logic" Trendelenburg, *Logische Untersuchungen* (→ 206,*7*), vol. 1, p. 18. Argument by analogy is an inference from the fact that all subjects of a certain kind have one or more features in common to the conclusion that they have another or more features in common. Argument by induction is an inference from the fact that some subjects of a kind have certain features in common to the conclusion that all such subjects have them in common. Thus both induction and analogy involve arguing from the particular to the universal.

All other conclusions are essentially identity] Refers to an analytic judgment (tautology), i.e., a statement that merely asserts a property that is part of the definition of the subject term, e.g., "man is mortal." "If logic wants to base so-called synthetic judgments on the principle of identity [→ 204,*21*], then from what has been said earlier, the proof lies outside their allotted circle. From that standpoint they can only recognize so-called analytic judgments" (Trendelenburg, *Logische Untersuchungen* [→ 206,*7*], vol. 1, p. 14). 18

Trendlenburg elementa bottom of p. 15 and top of p. 16] F. A. Trendelenburg, *Elementa logices Aristotelicae* [Elements of Aristotelian Logic], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1842 [1837]; ASKB 844), pp. 15f: "Things are true and primitive which are convincing on the strength not of anything else but of themselves; for in regard to the first principles of science it is improper to ask any further for the why and wherefore of them; each of the first principles should command belief in and by itself" (Aristotle, *Topics*, bk. 1, chap. 1, 100a 30–100b 21; see *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 167). And "It is necessary to be already aware of things in two ways: of some things it is necessary to believe already that they are, of some one must grasp what the thing said is, and of others both—e.g., of the fact that everything is either affirmed or denied truly, one must believe that it is; of the triangle, that it signifies *this*; and of the unit both (both what it signifies and that it is)" (*Aristotle, Posterior Analytics*, bk. 1, chap. 1, 71a 11–16; see *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 114). 1 206*m*

and many passages in Logische Untersuchungen] Variant: *added*. 2

Aristotle] → 137*m,4*. 21 206

Trendlenburg Erlaüterungen . . . § 51] Trendelenburg, *Erläuterungen zu den Elementen der aristotelischen Logik* (→ 145,*24*), p. 109. In his commentary on § 59 in *Elementa logices Aristotelicae* (→ 206*m,1*) Trendelenburg writes: "From the preceding paragraph, one can, with the general determination of the term (§ 22) and its kind (§§ 24 ff.), with the general determination of the syllogism (§§ 20 ff.), and various aims that proceed from the kinds themselves (§ 33), recall finally the immediate in the double Aristotelian sense." — **§ 51**: See § 51 in *Elementa logices Aristotelicae*, p. 16: "But *we* say that 22

neither is all understanding demonstrative, but in the case of the immediates it is non-demonstrable—and that this is necessary is evident; for if it is necessary to understand the things which are prior and on which the demonstration depends, and it comes to a stop at some time, it is necessary for these immediates to be non-demonstrable. So as to that we argue thus; and we also say that there is not only understanding but also some principle of understanding by which we become familiar with the definitions" (Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, bk. 1, chap. 3, 72b 18–25; see *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 117). And: "it is necessary not only to be already aware of the primitives (either all or some of them) but actually to be better aware of them. For a thing always belongs better to that thing because of which it belongs—e.g. that because of which we love is better loved. Hence if we know and are convinced because of the primitives, we both know and are convinced of them better, since it is because of them that we know and are convinced of what is posterior" (*Posterior Analytics*, bk. 1, chap. 2, 72a 27–32; see *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 116).

206 *29* **Preciosa . . . the old Gypsy woman says it**] Refers to a line by "Viarda, the gypsy seductress," in the second act of the singspiel *Preciosa* (1821) by the German author P. A. Wolff: "Yes, in almost every country town / Where we have been; we know that / People everywhere are alike; / If one has indeed been to a place, / One ought not go there again" (*Preciosa. Lyrisk Drama af Wolff. Med Musik af C. M. v. Weber* [Preciosa: Lyrical Drama of Wolff, with Music by C. M. von Weber], trans. C. J. Boye [Copenhagen, 1822], p. 25). *Preciosa* was performed at the Royal Theater seventy-two times in the period from October 29, 1822, to November 26, 1843.

207 *1* **Tordenskjold . . . number of his troops**] Refers to the well-known story of Peder Vessel (1691–1720), knighted as *"Tordenskjold"* [Thundershield], who captured the Swedish harbor town Marstrand in 1719 after having forced the surrender of the imposing fortress Karlsteen: "In doing this he employed as much cunning as bravery, for since he spoke Swedish like a native, he first disguised himself as a fisherman and walked about the town, the fortress, and the enemy fleet, asking a very high price for his fish, in order thus to spy upon everything. Then he spread the rumor that 20,000 men were marching to his rescue, and when the commander of the fortress sent an officer down into town to report on the size of the Danish military force, Tordenskjold got the officer a bit drunk and positioned the same personnel on various streets" (E. Munthe, *De vigtigste indenlandske Tildragelser, og de mærkeligste danske og norske Personers Levnetsbeskrivelser fra de ældeste Tider til vore Dage* [The Most Important Domestic Events and Biographies of the Most Remarkable Danes and Norwegians, from the Earliest Times up to Our Days], 6th ed. [Copenhagen, 1837 (1806); ASKB 2012], pp. 225f.).

on New Year's Day . . . through the streets] → 180,*29*. *4*

it is what the times require] A phrase frequently employed by J. L Heiberg (→ 160,*23*); see, e.g., *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* (→ 179,*16*), pp. 52f., where he argues for philosophy as a requirement of culture and of the times: "so also it is now precisely this undertaking to which our activity in particular must be referred since the demands of the age assert themselves more and more. The author of the present work nourishes at least the hope that he will be able to . . . present an 'Introduction to Philosophy' accessible to all *cultured people*" (English translation from *Heiberg's On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age and Other Texts* [→ 179,*16*], pp. 117–118). *13*

new hymnal] The wish for a new hymnal was first expressed at the Advisory Assembly of Estates (→ 273,*25*) in Viborg in 1840, but in the resolution of June 25, 1842, the authorities stated that they would only approve a supplement to the *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog* (→ 204,*3*) authorized in 1798. The next year J. P. Mynster (→ 153,*19*) published his *Udkast til et Tillæg til den evangelisk-christelige Psalmebog (Foreløbig udgivet som Prøve)* [Draft of a Supplement to the Evangelical Christian Hymnal (Provisionally Published as an Experiment)] (Copenhagen, 1843). That same year, however, Copenhagen's priests and the theologians at the university organized themselves into Kjøbenhavns geistlige Convent (Copenhagen Ecclesiastical Convention), which on May 1, 1844, sent a proprosal to the Royal Danish Chancellery in which it recommended the production of an entirely new hymnal, motivating its pro- *15*

posal as follows: "For many years it has been acknowledged and stated that the only authorized 'evangelical Christian hymnal' which (in addition to the older collections of hymns from Kingo, Pontoppidan, and Guldberg) has been introduced into the vast majority of our churches does not satisfy the needs of ecclesiastical life, and that there has been a profound and lively feeling that we lack a hymnal that could provide stronger nourishment to religious feelings and a loftier uplift to devotion; this being so, it is scarcely necessary to develop in more detail the shortcomings of the older hymnal in presenting a petition such as the present one, which seeks to direct the attention of the Royal Danish Chancellery to the importance of introducing a new and improved hymnal." See "Beretning om Kjøbenhavns geistlige Convents Forhandlinger" [Report on the Proceedings of the Copenhagen Ecclesiastical Convention] in *Theologisk Tidsskrift* [Theological Journal], ed. Scharling and Engelstoft, vol. 8 (1844; n. s., vol. 2), p. 350. The proposal is in the second number of vol. 2, which was announced as having been published in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4), no. 200, August 26, 1844.

15 **Heiberg thinks it is astronomy**] Refers to Heiberg's interest in astronomy, which was quite well known at the time and which found expression, e.g., in the article "Stjernehimlen" [The Starry Sky] in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,5), no. 14, October 1, 1842, where he writes that "when astronomy is recommended as an indispensable element in a well-rounded education, the reasoning is simply that this element must enter into fruitful association with the others, or provide them, as it were, with a useful supplement" (*Intelligensblade*, vol. 2, pp. 45f.). In December 1843, Heiberg published the first annual issue (dated 1844) of his yearbook *Urania* (ASKB U 57), for which he himself wrote the articles "Stjerne-Calender for 1844, til Orientering i Himmellegemernes Bevægelser og Stillinger" [Star Calendar for 1844, for Guidance with Respect to the Movements and Positions of the Heavenly Bodies], and "Det astronomiske Aar" [The Astronomical Year]. Shortly thereafter, Kierkegaard noted on a loose sheet of paper that "the only difference there is between us w/ resp. to what the times require is that Prof. H. thinks it is astronomy" (*Pap*. IV B 101, p. 255). In *Prefaces* (→ 196,7), the fourth preface is a satire on Heiberg's interest in astronomy; see *P*, 24–25; *SKS* 4, 486–488.

The Jews expressed this . . . was death] See Ex 33:20, where God says to Moses: "You cannot see my face; for no one shall see me and live." See also Judg 13:22, where Manoa says to his wife: "We shall surely die, for we have seen God." 25 207

to see the miracle . . . give way] See the most frequent description of faith as a "miracle" in *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7), where Kierkegaard describes Abraham's "double movement"—that is, that he simultaneously had to give up Isaac, because God requires it, and nonetheless had to believe that he would receive him again: "to be able to lose one's understanding and thereby the whole of finitude, of which the understanding is the broker, and then by virtue of the absurd to gain precisely that same finitude—that terrifies my soul, but I do not therefore say that it is something lowly, for on the contrary it is the only miracle" (*FT*, 36; *SKS* 4, 131). 28

little by little . . . talk of the paradox] The paradox refers to the special significance Kierkegaard himself attributes to it in his writings, especially in *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7), where faith is depicted as a paradox, and in *Philosophical Fragments*, where the object of faith is portrayed as the absolute paradox: that the god, as the eternal, comes into being in time as a human being. *Philosophical Fragments, or A Fragment of Philosophy* was published on June 1, 1844, under the pseudonym Johannes Climacus but was "published by S. Kierkegaard." *Philosophical Fragments* was not reviewed in 1844, but in a review of *Fear and Trembling* in *Theologisk Tidsskrift* (→ 187,6), the reviewer emphasized and criticized the work's "tendency toward paradox" (vol. 8, p. 192). 31 207

The Sophist Gorgias . . . hellenischen Dichtkunst] With minor deviations in punctuation Kierkegaard cites word for word from H. T. Rötscher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung. In ihrem organischen Zusammenhange wissenschaftlich entwickelt* [The Art of Dramatic Presentation, Developed in Scholarly Fashion and in Its Organic Context] (Berlin, 1841; ASKB 1391; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*); as the second part of *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*, Rötscher pub- 2 208

lished *Cyclus dramatischer Charaktere* [The Cycle of Dramatic Characters], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1844–1846; ASKB 1802–1803); in a note on p. 20, Rötscher names the Greek philosopher, Sophist and rhetorician Gorgias of Leontini (ca. 480–ca. 380 B.C.) as the originator of the utterance, and as his source he refers to a work by the German librarian Georg Heinrich Bode (1802–1846), *Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst* [History of Greek Poetry], 3 vols.; vols. 2 and 3 are each in two parts with separate pagination (Leipzig, 1838–1840); see vol. 3:1 (1839), p. 50. — **Rötscher**: Heinrich Theodor Rötscher (1803–1871), a German professor, philosopher, and critic, who was strongly influenced by Hegel.

208 12 **in vino veritas**] Alludes to the manuscript of "In vino veritas" (→ 181,*8*) which lay ready at the time (September 1844 [→ 200,*1*]), and which was subsequently incorporated into *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*4*), *SLW*, 7–86; *SKS* 6, 15–84.

14 **Goethe, e.g., Philine in Wilhelm Meister**] i.e., in Goethe's great bildungsroman *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* [Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship], 8 vols. (1795–1796). See its continuation, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre oder die Entsagenden* [Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years, or the Renunciants] (1821–1829), which Kierkegaard owned as part of *Goethe's Werke* (→ 202,*2*), vols. 18–20 (1828), where the cheerful young girl Philine frequently appears. Wilhelm, the principal figure in the novel, is presented to her in vol. 2, chap. 4, where she insists on arranging his hair, and in doing so "she could not avoid touching his knees with hers and holding her bouquet and her bosom so close to his lips that he was strongly tempted, more than once, to impress a kiss upon it" (vol. 18, p. 147).

208 17 **Rachel says ... to be a mother**] See Gen 25:22, where, however it is the pregnant Rebecca who is speaking: "The children struggled together within her; and she said, 'If it is to be this way, why do I live.' "

208 21 **At Esrom ... down toward Esrom**] Alludes to Esrom Lake in northern Zealand, six miles long in a north-south direction, varying in width from one to two and one-half miles, with Grib's Forest (→ 156,*30*) to the west, and the park of Fredensborg Castle to the southeast, known as one of Denmark's most beautiful lakes. According to the bill from coachman P. S. Lassen, on September 20, 1844, and again on October 3, Kierkegaard was in Fredensborg, where he was a regular guest at the Great Inn Hotel in Slotsgade, just next to Fredensborg Castle. Skipper Allé starts at the end of Slotsgade, between Fredensborg Castle and the Great Inn Hotel, and it slopes gently down to the the west, so that one has a fine view across Esrom Lake and toward Grib's Forest and the village of Nøddeboe (or Nøddebo), which lies on the opposite shore *(see map 3, E3)*.

seeks permission ... alehouse] According to the ordinance of April 23, 1817, §1, "In general, everyone who wishes to establish a business must have a license." 30 208

prostitute] → 151,*32*. 33

denied permission because there were so many] "In provincial market towns the authorities must be careful not to grant more permits to establish businesses as ... alehouse proprietors ... than can be seen as sufficient for that town" (J. N. Høst, *Dansk Borgerret eller fuldstændig Fremstilling af den gjældende Lovgivning for de Handlende og Haandverkerne, samt Bryggerne, Brændeviinsbrænderne, Værtshuusholderne, Gjæstgiverne og Spiseværterne i Danmark* [Danish Licensing Law, or a Complete Account of the Laws Pertaining to Tradesmen and Craftsmen, Including Brewers, Distillers, Barkeepers, Innkeepers, and Owners of Eateries] [Copenhagen, 1839; abbreviated hereafter as *Dansk Borgerret*], p. 10). 4 209

baker's quip ... didn't get anything either] It has not been possible to identify the source for this, if there is one. 8

discourses of the Seducer] Presumably an allusion to the discourse of Johannes the Seducer in the manuscript of "In vino veritas" (→ 208,*12*). 13 209

Rötscher on the ethical accent] See H. T. Rötscher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung* (→ 208,*2*). The section titled "Der ethische Accent" [The Ethical Accent] (pp. 394–405) is the second of two sections in the chapter titled "Die Elemente zur Durchführung des Charakters" [The Elements of the Development of the Character]. In the first section, "Das stumme Spiel" [The Dumb Show] (pp. 16 209

388–393), Rötscher gives an account of the dumb show as an essential element in the entire dialogue of a play, because the fundamental passion of the characters portrayed (pathos) must be capable of being expressed in mime; on the other hand, the element in which the character shows itself most intensively is the ethical character (ethos). What is specific to the ethical character, as the linguistic expression of this same characteristic pathos, is "that it reveals *individual expressions* of *temperament of the characters*, revealing truthfully, at every moment, the individuality in the most personal aspects of its being, in the innermost movements of its characteristic spirit, which the performer is able to breathe into it " (p. 394). "In designating every thought as the expression of an individual life, the ethical accent thus always extends further than the immediate meaning of the words, and therefore at its highest stage it often permits us to see into the most hidden depths of the human soul. Indeed, it illuminates regions of the temperament from which an individual's entire past, as well as his entire future, suddenly stands before our spirit . . . It is the actor's great art to discover such moments, from which he illuminates for us the entire nature of pathos and places the audience in the mood appropriate to the character. The highest effect of the ethical accent is only possible by summoning forth all the circumstances: all the objective conditions, as well as the entire subjectivity of the individual" (pp. 401f.).

19 **when I . . . I chose the pain**] → 161,*8* and → 164,*31*.

209 25 **Shelley remarks . . . Prometheus**] See the German translation of the lyric drama in four acts by the English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), *Der entfesselte Prometheus* [Prometheus Bound] (English, 1820), in *Percy Bysshe Shelley's poetische Werke in einem Bande* [Percy Bysshe Shelley's Poetical Works in One Volume], trans. Julius Seybt (Leipzig, 1844; ASKB 1898), pp. 55–92 . — **Prometheus**: In Greek mythology Prometheus was a titan and the principal figure in a series of heroic poems concerning the mutual relations of the gods and humans. In European poetry of subsequent eras, he was viewed as a symbol of human defiance of the gods. Because Zeus deprived the human race of fire, Prometheus stole it from Olympus in order to make it possible for human beings to conquer nature. Zeus then punished Prometheus by chaining him to a cliff, where during the day an eagle pecked at his liver, which grew back at night. But Prometheus was also capable of chaining Zeus, because he knew the prophecy that Thetis's son would become stronger than Zeus. Only by breaking off his relationship with Thetis was Zeus able to prevent the fulfillment of the prophecy. When Prometheus revealed this to Zeus, he himself was freed from his chains. See W. Vollmer, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Nationen* [Comprehensive Dictionary of the Mythologies of All Peoples] (Stuttgart,1836; ASKB 1942–1943), pp. 1363f.

higher unity . . . absolute opposites] Alludes to the 3 210
sublation of the principle of contradiction in speculative philosophy (→ 204,*18*).

the positive . . . positive spirit] In Hegelian linguis- 5
tic usage, the positive can be used, on the one hand, to denote the immediate, which is to be sublated (→ 188,*22*) into reflection (the negative), and on the other hand, it can be used in reference to the speculative unity which will once again reconcile or mediate (→ 148,*30*) the opposites posited by reflection. J. L. Heiberg presents this elemental logical triad in § 15 of "Det logiske System" [The Logical System] as follows: "the first stage designates that which is at rest; the second stage, the movement of the former out of itself; and the third stage, the result of this movement. Or: the first designates what is immediately positive or abstract, the second part what is negative or dialectical, and third part the negation of the negation, i.e., the mediated positive or the speculative—that which has the negation within itself. Or: the first designates infinity as immediate, the second finitude, and the third reproduces the infinity but in a more concrete formulation, namely that which includes the finitude or the negation of the second part. In every case, the third stage is the unity of the first two; the entire development is a circuit in which the third stage coincides with the first, but after having gained a higher significance" (*Perseus* [→ 179,*7*], no. 2, August 1838, pp. 30f.). When it is says that "the speaker is a positive spirit," this is presumably an allusion to the circumstance that, in order to implement its own method, Hegelian philosophy must presuppose that it possesses the highest truth, or the positive.

14 **one must doubt everything**] → 176,1.

15 **writes on Hamlet . . . this disease of reflection**] Allusion to Rötscher, who writes, at the end of the chapter on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, that Hamlet suffers from "the disease of reflection"; see *Cyclus dramatischer Charaktere* [Cycle of Dramatic Characters] (→ 208,2), vol. 1 (which a receipt shows that Kierkegaard purchased at Philipsen's bookshop on June 25, 1844), pp. 99–132, p. 132.

18 **Woe! woe! woe! Siebenbürgen**] See *Gert Vestphaler, Lystspil i tre Acter. Samlet udaf den holbergske Femactscomedie af dette Navn* [Gert Vestphaler, Comedy in Three Acts, Constructed from the Five-Act Comedy of That Name by Holberg], by K. L. Rahbek, (Copenhagen, 1816), act 1, scene 1, in which the proprietor of an alehouse reads a newspaper aloud to several citizens: "In Siebenborgen, it is said that a calf was recently born which had a cap of hair upon its head and fringes on its legs, which, the local inhabitants believe, does not bode very well. This same calf died shortly thereafter, but before it died it spoke these words: Woe! Woe! Siebenborgen" (pp. 4f.). The line originally appeared in act 3, scene 1 of Ludvig Holberg's five-act comedy *Mester Gert Westphaler eller Den meget talende Barbeer* [Master Gert Westphaler, or the Very Talkative Barber], first published in 1722; see, e.g., *L. Holbergs Comedier* [L. Holberg's Comedies], ed. K. L. Rahbek, 7 vols.; vol. 7, ed. A. E. Boye (Copenhagen, 1824–1832), vol. 7, p. 39. The line is not found, however, in the abridged version from 1723, which was published in *Den Danske Skue-Plads* (→ 142,24), vol. 1. Generally the one-act version was performed at the Royal Theater, but Rahbek's version was performed ten times from April 6, 1816, to March 7, 1841.

210 20 **Baggesen's words . . . had an end**] See "Jeppe, et siællandsk Eventyr" [Jeppe, a Zealand Fairy Tale] (1785), canto 10, in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* (→ 166,27) vol. 1, pp. 200f.: "The coat Mr. *Orgon* had turned for the fourth time— / Indeed, even—(O! What can resist time!)— / Mr. *Jesper's sermon* during the recent vespers / Came to an end." — **Baggesen**: Jens Baggesen (1764–1826), Danish poet; from 1790 professor and from 1796 to 1803 also vice dean of Regensen College; from 1798 codirector of the Royal Theater; from 1811 to 1814 professor of Danish language and literature at the University of Kiel. — **Prof. David**: Christian Georg Nathan David (1793–1874) Danish political economist and politician; from 1830 professor extraordinarius of political economy at Copenhagen University. In 1834 he founded the liberal newspaper *Fædrelandet*, and, as the editor responsible for the journal, he was indicted for "writing impertinently" but was acquitted. Nonetheless, in 1836 he was dismissed from his professorial post by the king, but in 1840 he was elected both to the Copenhagen municipal council (→ 197,17) and to the Advisory Assembly of Estates for the islands (→ 273,25). When the assembly met in Roskilde on October 15, 1844, however, David emerged as a supporter of the absolute monarchy, and he opposed a series of liberal causes such as ministerial responsibility and a constitutional monarchy that excluded the German duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg; see, e.g., *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 254, October 28, 1844, p. 1014. See also the republican journal *Corsaren* (→ 236,11), no. 219, November 29, 1844, which inserted the following advertisement in its parody of "Copenhagen's Unlicensed Advertising Newspaper": "As the original inventor of 'turning coats,' we provide thorough, unusually simple instruction in the above-mentioned art. We turn coats of every sort, getting them turned in a couple of hours' time or, upon request, in an hour. Price is reasonable. / David & Ussing" (col. 6). — **vespers**: In Baggesen's and Kierkegaard's time, vespers were a brief religious service held at 1:00 or 2:00 P M. on all Sundays and holidays.

reviewer] See JJ:170. 30 210

the Judge in "The Wrong Side and the Right Side"] Alludes to Judge William, the pseudonymous author of "Some Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections" (→ 220*m*,1), which Kierkegaard had originally considered publishing, together with "In vino veritas" (→ 208,12), under the title "The Wrong Side and the Right Side," but he later published it together with "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,4). The journal entry is a copy of a portion of the draft (*Pap.* V B 190,26), which Kierkegaard discarded in November 1844, but he apparently wanted to preserve it by writing it into his journal, though with some changes in the wording; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Stadier paa Livets Vei*, *SKS* K6, 50. 1 210*m*

211 1 **have a coat turned twice**] → 210,*20*.

1 **Father**] → 165,*35*.

2 "**porcelain" coat**] It has not been possible to identify this expression. Presumably Kierkegaard's father used a particular coat as his "fine" one, even though it probably was more sturdy than actually "fine"; cf. the expression *porcellænsbonde* ("porcelain peasant"), which designated a peasant who wanted to dress beyond his social class (H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over jyske Almuesmål* [Contribution to a Dictionary of the Speech of the Common People of Jutland], 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1886–1914). Kierkegaard's niece Henriette Lund also retained a clear recollection of M. P. Kierkegaard's "aged, venerable figure in a long beige coat" (Bruce H. Kirmmse, *Encounters with Kierkegaard* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996], p. 154).

211 5 **Grundtvig**] → 202,*10*.

6 **dropped out and gone into vaudeville**] i.e., left a previous position in order to work in vaudeville (→ 240,*5*), i.e., comedy.

8 **prophet and seer**] Presumably an allusion to installment no. 22 of *Dansk Pantheon, et Portraitgallerie for Samtiden* [Danish Pantheon, a Portrait Gallery for Our Times], which was advertised in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*), no. 181, August 3, 1844, as having been published, and in which "*Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig*" is presented as "an absolutely unique and matchless example of a prophet in 'New Year's'" and as a "seer who is mightily moved" (no page numbers).

12 **insipid heartiness . . . Lars Mathiesen**] From ca. 1800 until his death, Lars Mathiesen (1769–1852) was the proprietor of a beer garden at Frederiksberg Alleegade 13. Mathiesen was a corpulent man, known for his casual attire and his direct manner of speaking, which could devolve into coarseness. His place was popular with the middle class and with university students; see, e.g., the song in praise of Lars Mathiesen composed by students at Regensen College in J. C. Hostrup's university comedy *Gjenboerne* [The Neighbors Across the Way], performed for the first time on February 20, 1844, at the Court Theater.

14 **he chose the words "Ladies and Gentlemen"**] Beginning on November 20, 1843, and continuing into March 1844, Grundtvig gave twenty-five public lectures in the auditorium of Borch's College on Store Kannikestræde *(see map 2, C1)*, which were advertised along with other public lectures in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 270, November 17, 1843: "Pastor *Grundtvig*'s lectures for ladies and gentlemen on Greek and Nordic myths and legends. Tickets for admission to these lectures, which are held every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from 6 to 7 in the evening, can be purchased at Reitzel's Bookshop." In his lectures Grundtvig gave a parallel presentation of Greek and Nordic mythology, and women were permitted to attend, which was something new. Grundtvig addressed the gathering "Ladies and Gentlemen," but he addressed himself, quite visibly, audibly, and animatedly, only to the "the ladies," which occasioned public utterances of displeasure from the men. The lectures were published in 1844, and, according to a surviving receipt from Reitzel's Bookshop, Kierkegaard purchased them on September 14, immediately after their publication; see N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Brage-Snak om Græske og Nordiske Myther og Oldsagn for Damer og Herrer* [Inspired, Skaldic Speeches on Greek and Nordic Myths and Legends, for Ladies and Gentlemen] (Copenhagen, 1844; ASKB 1548).

The Hill at the Deer Park] A hill in Jægersborg Deer Park, north of Copenhagen, where there was (and still is) a holy spring, Kirsten Piil's Spring. In the summertime a market which included booths, sideshows, and other popular entertainment, was set up at the spring. In Kierkegaard's time the Hill at the Deer Park was only open from midsummer (June 24) until the feast of Mary's Visitation (July 2). 15

the Oh! Ah! . . . from the open-shirted] Alludes to the primitive manner in which "open-shirted" (coarse) people express enthusiasm. 16

by speaking . . . in the direction of obscurity] See *Brage-Snak om Græske og Nordiske Myther og Oldsagn for Damer og Herrer* (→ 211,*14*), p. 7: "Why shouldn't the lectures be heard, just as the book can be read, *both* by ladies and gentlemen? And in using *spoken* words, much more surely than with written words, shouldn't one depend on obscure but vibrant expressions that often are far more valuable than the best explanations!" 20

Helveg leaped from his pulpit] Hans Friedrich Helveg (1816–1901), Danish priest; curate in Øster Starup and Nebel, 1842–1843, and in Copenhagen 26

1844–1846, where he was adherent of Grundtvig; in 1844 he preached at the vespers services at Vartov Hospital Church *(see map 2, A2)* on March 24, April 28, August 4, September 29, October 13, and November 17. That he "leaped from his pulpit" cannot be verified, but he was known as a very lively talker and preacher.

211 31 **musical key . . . steadily rises . . . the same thing repeats itself**] In music theory, a *key* is neither rising nor falling; the principle to which Kierkegaard refers is the regularity of the change that accompanies the playing of the same sequence of notes in various octaves, which is experienced as a rising or a falling and also as a repetition.

34 **cannon fire**] Perhaps an allusion to the daily cannon salutes with which the Danish navy honored the flag at Sextus Battery on the island of Nyholm *(see map 2, H3)*.

212 6 **The actor . . . it is a mistake**] See Rötscher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung* (→ 208,2), p. 77: "At this stage, then, the performer shows that he is animated by the idea of not permitting himself immediately to do as he pleases but rather must account for all the intentions of the poet, never for an unguarded moment abandoning his performance to passions and immediate inspirations but always listening to reflection and to thoughtful self-consciousness. At this stage, the actor, at every moment, not merely knowing what he wants and what he is capable of, will intend nothing but what he can accomplish with his capacities, precisely because he knows them and has appropriated them completely. And because he is not subservient to his passions, the spectator is also free of the embarrassing feeling of having to see him tossed about by the capricious waves of sentiment."

212 11 **3rd chapter of the 3rd book of Aristotle's de anima**] Aristotle (→ 137*m,4*), *De anima*, bk. 3, chap. 3 (427a 17–429a 9); see *Aristotelis de anima Libri tres* [Aristotle's de anima in Three Books], ed. F. A. Trendelenburg (Jena, 1833; ASKB 1079), pp. 82–87; an extant receipt shows Kierkegaard purchased the book at Reitzel's on December 18, 1844.

12 **de omnibus dubitandum**] Alludes to Kierkegaard's unfinished manuscript of *Johannes Climacus, or De omnibus dubitandum est*, which he here indicates was begun a year and a half earlier, i.e., ca. June 1843.

the motivating concept I used was: error] Kierkegaard does not use the term "error" in the manuscript he mentions. Perhaps he is alluding to Johannes, who in his repeated attempts to appropriate the principles of modern philosophy (namely, that one must doubt everything, that philosophy begins with doubt, et al.) summarily reveals these principles to be "misunderstandings." He is then forced to reflect more and more upon early philosophy and places special emphasis on the Greek skeptics, who indeed preferred to doubt in order to avoid the "misunderstanding" of judging one or another phenomenon incorrectly: "In a certain sense, therefore, they were never finished [with doubting], for right up to their final moment, there was always the possibility of being in error" (*Pap*. IV B 13,11). 14

Aristotle uses it as well] See Aristotle, *On the Soul* (427a 29–427b 6) in *Aristotelis de anima Libri tres*, p. 83: "Yet they [the ancients] ought at the same time to have accounted for error also; for it is more intimately connected with animal existence and the soul continues longer in the state of error. They cannot escape the dilemma: either whatever seems is true (and there are some who accept this) or error is contact with the unlike: for that is the opposite of the knowing of like by like. But it seems that error as well as knowledge in respect to contraries is one and the same" (*The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 680). 15

Plato] → 151,*21*. 16

The damned mendacity . . . Greek passage] Apparently not an allusion to any particular passage in Hegel (→ 179,*7*) who, like all philosophers since the scholastics, reconsidered the fundamental concepts of Greek philosophy. 17

Trendlenburg] → 145,*24*. 21

"**Prefaces" by Nicolaus Notabene**] In *Prefaces* (→ 196,*7*) Kierkegaard directs polemics especially at J. L. Heiberg, (→ 160,*23*). — **Nicolaus Notabene**: → 168,*36*. 24 212

"Specimens, or Samples of Various Writing"] Alludes to the titles of various published collections of handwriting for school use; see, e.g., E. Bjerring and A. Kjeldskov *Danske Forskrifter* [Danish Copybook] 3 vols. (Copenhagen, vols. 1 and 2 undated; 25

vol. 3, 1844). The inspiration for Kierkegaard's idea of writing a parody of this sort may have come from Israel Levin, a scholar of language and literature, who at the time was serving as Kierkegaard's private amanuensis and was about to publish his *Album af nulevende danske Mænds og Qvinders Haandskrifter. Til Brug ved Skriftlæsning i Skolerne* [Album of the Handwriting of Contemporary Danish Men and Women, for Handwriting Instruction in the Schools] (Copenhagen, 1846; ASKB 1955). In February 1845, Levin wrote to 130 notable men and women, asking them to contribute samples of their handwriting to his album. Kierkegaard declined the honor; see *LD*, 183; *B&A* 1, 144.

212 29 **the place which politics held in Greece . . . (that which is genuinely of the people) . . . acts through speech**] In Attic democracy, every free citizen could speak out on political matters, e.g., from the rostrum in the national assembly, where citizens served by rotation, or in court, where citizens also served rotating terms as judges. See Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, bk. 1, chap. 1 (1354b 27–31), in Aristotle's *Rhetorik* [Rhetoric], trans. K. L. Roth, 2 vols., in *Schriften zur Rhetorik und Poetik* [Writings on Rhetoric and Politics], which constituted vols. 1 and 2 of *Aristoteles Werke* [Aristotle's Works], which in turn constituted vols. 132 and 133 of *Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Übersetzung* [Greek Prose Writers in New Translations], ed. Tafel, Osiander, and Schwab (Stuttgart, 1833; ASKB 1092). In vol. 1, p. 14, Aristotle argues in favor of the superiority of political oratory: "The reason for this is that in political oratory there is less inducement to talk about non-essentials. Political oratory is less given to unscrupulous practices than forensic, but it treats of wider issues. In a political debate, the man who is forming a judgment [note here by German translator: 'namely the people or the Senate, in general the person or persons who in the final analysis make the decision on the matter at hand, and to whom the oratory is directed'] is making a decision about his own vital interests. There is no need, therefore, to prove anything except that the facts are what the supporter of a measure maintains they are" (*The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 2153).

213 1 **Aristotle's Rhetoric**] Kierkegaard owned two different editions of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: namely, *De arte rhetorica*, stereotype ed. (Leipzig, 1831; ASKB 1080), and Roth's above-mentioned translation, *Rhetorik*, to which Kierkegaard explicitly refers in a journal entry he wrote in a copy of *On the Concept of Irony* (*Pap*. IV A 207), in an excerpt he wrote down in 1845 (*Pap*. VI C 5), and in a draft from that same year, to which he assigned the working title "Something on the Art of Godly Rhetoric, with Some Reference to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*" (*Pap*. VI A 146). Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was also in the edition of Aristotle's collected works in Kierkegaard's library (→ 137*m,4*).

the entire question . . . to the Rhetoric] See Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, bk. 1, chap. 1 (1354a 26–28), where, with reference to one of the parties in a legal case, he writes that "a litigant has clearly nothing to do but to show that the alleged fact is so or is not so, that it has or has not happened," *Rhetorik*, vol. 1, p. 12 (English translation, *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 2152). — **ουσια πρωτη and δευτερα, cf. the Categories**: Alludes to Aristotle's *Categories*, chap. 5 (2a 11ff.), where he establishes a categorical differentiation between first and second substance, i.e., between a subject and a predicate that must necessarily be attributed to the subject. — **ουσια πρωτη**: Greek (ousia prōtē), "first substance." — **δευτερα**: Greek (deútera), "second (substance)." 2

evoke conviction. πιστις . . . πιστεις] Alludes to concepts presented in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, bk. 1, chap. 1: πιστις (1355a 5), Greek (pístis), "belief," "trust," "confidance," "faithfulness," "proof," "evidence," "production of evidence in court," "persuasion." 6

in Minna von Barnhelm . . . to worship God] See the maiden's reply in act 2, scene 2 of *Minna von Barnhelm, oder das Soldatenglück. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen* [Minna von Barnhelm, or The Soldier's Fortune: A Comedy in Five Acts], in *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* (→ 135,*23*), vol. 20 (1827), p. 241: "A single grateful thought toward Heaven is the most perfect prayer!" — **Lessing**: → 135,*29*. 8 213

the blue mountains] → 204,*19*. 13

vociferous and easily perspiring . . . seriousness] Apparently an allusion to Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*), specifically, and to pastors affiliated with him; see JJ:285. 17 213

23 **serious in the manner of Holberg's Jeronimus**] In Holberg's (→ 161,5) comedies (see *Den Danske Skue-Plads* [→ 142,24]) "Jeronimus" appears frequently, typically in the form of a philistine father who forces his narrow-minded morals on young people.

213 31 **Reitzel**] Reitzel's Bookshop, founded in 1819 by C. A. Reitzel (1789–1853), had moved in 1827 to what is now number 44 Købmagergade *(see map 2, C2)*.

33 **Über die Aesthetik . . . Hamburg 1844**] W. Danzel *Ueber die Aesthetik der Hegelschen Philosophie* [On Aesthetics in Hegelian Philosophy] (Hamburg, 1844). — **Wilhelm Danzel**: German aesthetician and historian of literature (1818–1850), inspired by Hegel (→ 179,7), but in the above-mentioned work he freed himself from Hegel's thought.

214 2 **Hamann**'s] → 145,15.

3 **In the preface to the 3rd volume Roth**] Roth, the editor of Hamann's letters, writes this with respect to those letters: "In the preface to the first part I indicated the procedure followed with respect to these letters, and this has also been observed with respect to them in the present case. Something that could not be communicated in the preface to the first part related to the marriage of conscience [without benefit of clergy] into which Hamann entered in 1760 and to which he not infrequently alludes in his writings, e.g., in vol. 2, p. 417. This alliance of Hamann's was well known to the citizens of Königsberg during his lifetime, and since it was more chaste and happy than many civil marriages, it was not offensive; even the general public did not remain unaware of it. For example, one sees it mentioned in an essay by the late [Mr.] Reichardt in the 1812 issue of *Urania*, where, however, Hamann's aversion to transforming his relationship into a civil marriage is explained incorrectly. Considerations which I have found unavoidable have prohibited me from including in this collection a copy of Hamman's notable communication concerning the origin of this alliance; but measures will be taken to see that it [Hamann's communication] is not lost" (*Hamann's Schriften* [→ 145,15], vol. 3 [1822], pp. x–xi).

6 **Reichardt's Urania for 1812**] Kierkegaard seems to have misunderstood Roth, who does not refer to "Reichardt's *Urania*," but to an essay by Reichardt in *Urania*; see J. F. Reichardt, "Kant und Haman" [Kant and Hamann] in *Urania. Taschenbuch für Damen* [Urania: A Little Book for Ladies] (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1812), pp. 257–66. — **Reichardt**: Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), German composer and author.

Hamann] → 145,15. 8 214

this statement . . . in the 5th vol.] In a letter to Herder, dated January 17, 1769, Hamann writes, "It is so true that there are thoughts one has only once in one's life and is no longer able to retrieve" (*Hamann's Schriften* [→ 145,15], vol. 3 [1822], p. 392). In another letter to Herder, dated January 13, 1773, Hamann writes, "I believe that nothing gets lost in our souls, any more than it does for God; similarly, it appears to me that there are certain thoughts that we are able to have only *once* in our lives" (vol. 5 [1824], p. 25). 11

the thinnest beer . . . the strongest] "Thin beer," i.e., beer without much alcohol strength, produced foam that did not last as long as that of "strong beer," which could be stored for long periods of time without spoiling. 15 214

When Father died] August 9, 1838 (→ 165,35). 23 214

Sibbern] Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872), professor of philosophy at Copenhagen University, 1813–1870; taught Kierkegaard philosophy at the university. 23

theology degree] → 153,5. 24

When I abrogated the engagement] → 161,34. 26

Peter] Peter Christian Kierkegaard (1805–1888), Kierkegaard's brother, defended his thesis for the degree of licentiate in theology in 1836, served as private tutor to theology students until 1842, when he accepted a call as priest for the parish of Pedersborg and Kindertoft by Sorø. 27

Someday . . . this parallel.—] Variant: *added*. 7 215

The Police Agent] A spy for the police; during the period of dawning political consciousness in the 1840s, plainclothes police officers were used to spy on associations that were suspected of agitation against absolute monarchy. 10 215

a servant of justice] A civil servant who enforces the law, e.g., a police officer or a judge. 14

16 **police justice**] In Kierkegaard's time the term "police" was used both in the narrow sense of those who exercise a police function and in a wider sense concerning all situations relating to law and order; these latter included street paving, street lighting, public water supply, sewage and refuse disposal, regulation of begging and public assemblies, et al. It was thus the task of the police to ensure that citizens behaved consistently with "good administration," i.e., that they contributed to public law and order, by making sure that everyone obeyed the laws set down in *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*) as well as the great host of detailed decrees, posted ordinances, and regulations; the police therefore had a reputation for pedantic and zealous enforcement of the law.

17 **the Spartans' relation to the helots**] It is possible that the helots were originally residents of the city of Helos, but after having been taken prisoner by the Spartans they and their offspring were used as "public slaves" in ancient Sparta; see *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 135,*23*) vol. 1, pp. 381f.: "It was said that they often had to intoxicate themselves in order to show young Spartans the vice of drunkenness in its vilest and most frightful form; or they had to sing lewd songs and dance obscene dances; on the other hand, they did not dare to sing their masters' songs, which were intended to awaken noble emotions. Even harsher and more inhumane was the so-called *Kryptia* [Greek secret police], which some people (Aristotle) even assert was a law decreed by *Lycurgus*. According to Aristotle, young Spartans were permitted to ambush and kill any helot whatever, especially those who induced fear by their courage and strength."

215 23 **Private Studies**] Lectures for an individual or for a few individuals.

27 **Cornelia Olsen**] Cornelia Olsen (1818–1901), a four-year-older sister of Regine Olsen, Kierkegaaard's onetime fiancée (→ 161,*8*).

216 1 **counter-parable . . . sorts of seed**] i.e., Jesus' parable about the sower, some of whose seed falls on sterile, rocky ground, some of it amid choking thorns, and some of it on good soil; see Lk 8:4–15, which was the gospel text for Sexagesima Sunday, January 26, 1845.

the owner of an estate . . . good-quality seed corn] 4 Alludes to Jesus' parable of the lord who entrusts a sum of money ("talents") to his servants while he is away on a journey: One receives five talents and earns five more by investing it; one has received two and earns two more; while the third buried the single talent he received in the ground. The useless servant was punished and his one talent was taken from him, while the two others were rewarded (Mt 25:14–30).

reckless and vain . . . an apostle] Perhaps an allu- 20 216 sion to Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*); see JJ:206.

Therefore Socrates was unpopular . . . Hegel's phi- 33 216 **losophy**] Perhaps an allusion to Plato's dialogue, Socrates' *Apology*, 17b–c, where Socrates starts by assuring his fellow citizens and the judges that, unlike his accusers, he will not use elegant rhetoric: "[F]rom me you shall hear the whole truth—not, I can assure you, gentlemen, in flowery language like theirs, decked out with fine words and phrases. No, what you will hear will be a straightforward speech in the first words that occur to me" (*Plato*: *The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 4). Socrates goes on to explain how he made himself hated in Athens by maintaining his ignorance vis-à-vis everyone who imagined he knew anything, while at the same time he believed that the oracle at Delphi had denied that anyone was wiser than he, precisely because *he* did not imagine that he knew anything. — **Hegel's philosophy**: → 179,*7*.

it can also be healthy to keep a wound open] This 4 217 was a widely held view in Kierkegaard's time; see, e.g., "Om Saar" [On Wounds] in A. Thornam, *Lægebog for dem, som ikke kunne faae betimelig Lægehjelp* [Medical Book for Those Who Cannot Receive Prompt Medical Assistance], 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1844), pp. 2–7: "One does not always need to stop *bleeding* from a wound, because the loss of blood can often be beneficial for the patient, replacing the application of leeches which might otherwise be necessary" (p. 2).

science . . . Christian rhetoric] At the very begin- 8 217 ning of his *Rhetoric*, bk. 1, chap. 1 (1354a 1–11), Aristotle writes that rhetoric is not a science (epistēmē), but a trade or a talent (téchnē). Kierke-

gaard wrote a great many drafts, ca.1845, of a "Christian Rhetoric" (homiletics); see *Pap*. VI A 146–156 and *Pap*. VI B 128–137. Most of these were written after JJ:305, but the earliest of these may have been written prior to it.

9 **Aristotle's Rhetoric**] → 213,*1*. — **Aristotle**: → 137*m*,*4*.

217*m* 1 **Carneades' doctrine of probability**] Carneades (ca. 215–129 B.C.), a Greek skeptic, was famous among his contemporaries for his eloquence and notorious for his zealous opposition to all dogmatism (the epistemological, cosmological, ethical, and theological dogmas of the Stoics), and was traditionally viewed as the founder of the "New Academy." Unlike the Stoics, he denied the possibility of true knowledge and taught that one could not judge whether a notion coincided with its object but could only assume so with a greater or lesser degree of probability. Concerning Carneades' doctrine of probability, see H. Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit* [History of Ancient Philosophy] (see next note), vol. 3 (1837), pp. 691–694, especially Ritter's judgment of Carneades' doctrine of probability: "The artful cultivation of elaborate speeches for and against a doctrine; the precedence which he grants to ethics over physics because the former can be dealt with in oratory more easily than the latter; [and] finally, his painstaking investigations of the means by which an opinion can be made to appear probable show him as a man who concerned himself precisely with the cultivation of rhetoric" (p. 694).

3 **Ritter Gesch. der Philosophie 3rd vol. pp. 677, 78, 79**] H. Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, 2nd ed., 4 vols.; constitutes the first four volumes of his *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy] (Hamburg, 1836–1839 [1829–1834]; ASKB 735–738), vol. 3 (1837), pp. 677–679. The pages Kierkegaard mentions do not discuss Carneades' doctrine of probability, but rather the Greek skeptic Arcesilaus (ca. 315–242 B.C.), who is viewed as the founder of the "Middle Academy."

6 **Aristotle situates . . . otherwise**] See Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, bk.1, chap. 2, where he gives an account of the specific subject matter of rhetoric, as opposed to that of dialectic, namely the likely or the average, rather than that which is necessarily true: "Most of the things about which we make decisions, and into which we inquire, present us with alternative possibilities" (*Rhetorik* [→ 212,*29*], pp. 25f. [1357a 23f.]; English translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m*,*4*], p. 2157). "A probability is a thing that happens for the most part—not, however, as some definitions would suggest, anything whatever that so happens, but only if it belongs to the class of what can turn out otherwise, and bears the same relation to that in respect of which it is probable as the universal bears to the particular" (*Rhetorik*, pp. 27f. [1357a 34–1357b 1]; English translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m*,*4*], p. 2157). — **πιστεις**: → 213,*6*.

improbability] In *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,*31*) 13 Johannes Climacus describes "the absolute paradox," i.e., God's incarnation in human form, as "the most improbable thing" (*PF*, 52; *SKS* 4, 256). In a subsequent note he calls "the idea . . . of seriously wanting to link a probability proof to the improbable (to prove—that it is probable? but then the concept is of course changed; or to prove—that it is improbable? but it is of course a contradiction to use probability for this purpose) is so stupid that one ought to regard it as impossible that it could occur" (*PF* 94; *SKS* 4, 292).

In the old days . . . but not himself] Approximate 13 217 quotation from "Letter to the Reader from Frater Taciturnus," which Kierkegaard had written out in fair copy in March 1845; it forms a part of *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*4*), where it is said of a person that he "has understood the old saying *de te narratur fabula*; he is no modern fool who believes that everyone should court the colossal objective of being able to rattle off something that applies to the whole human race but not to himself" (*SLW*, 478; *SKS* 6, 440; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Stadier paa Livets Vei*, *SKS* K6, 82). — **de te . . . fabula**: Cited from Horace's *Satires*, bk. 1, no. 1, v. 69f.; see also *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* (→ 143,*17*), p. 157: "*mutato nomine, de te / Fabula narratur*." In *Q. Horatius Flaccus' samtlige Værker* [Complete Works of Horace], trans. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1792–1793), vol. 2, p. 11, the expression is rendered "Change the names, and the tale tells of you."

A genius . . . a better posterity] Perhaps an allusion 19 217 to Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*), who quite emphatically expressed his confidence that—unlike the literary

and academic Parnassus of his times—"posterity" would not reject his works. Kierkegaard may also have in mind the preface to the *Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of the Spirit], in which Hegel reassures the misunderstood author that, in time, the truth will put the judgment of the public to shame, so he will at any rate have a "posterity" (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,7] vol. 2 (1832), pp. 57f.; for an English translation, see *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977]). See also J. G. Hamann, *Kreuzzüge des Philologen* [Crusades of the Philologists], where it is stated in the preface: "With a taste of the strength of a posterity in which things will be better, one easily overcomes the double heartache of being misunderstood in one's relations with one's times and of being mistreated for that reason" (*Hamann's Schriften* [→ 145,15] vol. 1, p. x). As early as journal entry CC:25 from ca. 1836–1837, under the heading "Something about Hamann," Kierkegaard refers to the interesting opposition between "living for one's time" and "the notion of living for posterity and of being misunderstood by one's times" (*KJN* 1, 200; *SKS* 17, 209).

31 **to encounter Socr. . . . dialogue**] Alludes to Plato's dialogue *Apology* (→ 216,33), in which Socrates—after having been condemned to death—considers whether, after having got away from his this-worldly judges and arrived in the hereafter, he will encounter the true judges, namely Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Aeacus, who were sons of gods, as well as the hero Triptolemus, and he finds joy in the prospect of being able to speak with these and other great men, e.g., Homer (40e–41c).

218 2 **dressed as a peddler**] A petty merchant who had a license permitting the sale of small quantities of foodstuffs and housewares, such as pork, eggs, butter, salt, lamp oil, and matches. In accordance with the system of classification requiring Copenhagen's business owners to pay license fees and taxes, peddlers were consigned to class four out of a total of six classes. The customary dress of a peddler is not known.

218 15 **a father . . . require not only obedience but love**] Perhaps an allusion to Luther's explanation of the fourth commandment; see *Dr. Morten Luthers liden Catechismus. Nøiagtig oversat efter Grund-Texten* [Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, Carefully Translated from the Original Text] (Copenhagen, 1843), no pagination: "We should fear and love God, so that we do not despise our parents and lords or make them angry, but honor, serve, obey, love, and respect them."

possible preface to my Occasional Discourses] 20 218 The beginning of April 1845 is the latest possible date on which Kierkegaard can have delivered the manuscript of *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* to Bianco Luno's printing office; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Tre Taler ved tænkte Leiligheder*, *SKS* K5, 393. The printing was finished on April 25 and the book was published on April 29. This entry could be a discarded draft originally intended for *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* which Kierkegaard preserved by writing it in his journal. — **Occasional Discourses**: See JJ:255, (→ 203,12).

Instead of conscience . . . objective Spirit] Presum- 31 218 ably alludes to Hegel's exposition of the objective Spirit, in which conscience seems to rank lower than public opinion; see *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse* [Elements of the Philosophy of Right, or Natural Law and Political Science in Outline], in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 179,7), vol. 8, ed. E. Gans (Berlin 1833 [1821]; ASKB 551), where Hegel provides an exposition of the three spheres of the objective Spirit, in accordance with which the work is divided into three parts: abstract right, morality, and ethical life. The second part is divided into three sections, of which the last (§§ 129–141) treats "the Good and the conscience" (pp. 171–207; for an English translation see G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, ed. Allen W. Wood, trans. H. B. Nisbet [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], abbreviated hereafter as *Philosophy of Right*, pp. 157–186). In § 140, the moral forms of evil are treated under the rubric of increasing levels of subjectivity, and among those mentioned is conviction, where reference is made to the individual conscience (see *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7), *FT*, 54–55; *SKS* 4, 148f.). In themselves, neither objective law ("abstract right") nor subjective morality make any claim to being actual, which is why they must be united (reconciled) in a higher unity; this unity is

ethical practice. In ethical practice, the objective has received its proper actuality and substance, while subjective arbitrariness has lost its liberty of action. In the third part of the work Hegel provides an exposition of the three levels of ethical practice: the family, civil society, and the state, which is the absolute substance of ethical practice. In §§ 315–319 on the state, Hegel gives an account of public opinion as the expression of the people's knowledge of its own interests and as a medium for legislation, since the power of the state must seek, within public opinion, to differentiate true knowledge from false (pp. 407–415; *Philosophy of Right*, pp. 352–358). In the Denmark of the 1840s, "public opinion" had become a fashionable term among those members of the liberal opposition who favored a free constitution under which the king would be bound to an organ that represented public opinion. Thus the Danish theologian D. G. Monrad (1811–1887), was following Hegel, when, for example, he wrote in *Flyvende politiske Blade* [Political Flysheets], no. 3 (Copenhagen, 1842), p. 13, that it is "the soul of the masses which constitutes public opinion," while it must be the privilege of the intellectuals and the propertied classes to give articulated expression to the spirit of the people in public opinion. See "On the Occasion of a Confession" in *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* (→ 218,*20*), where Kierkegaard writes about the person who seeks, "instead of conscience, and quiet, and the judging voice of God, when one is alone—to have a natural echo of the crowd, a confused collective cry, a general opinion, with which a person, afraid of himself, in his cowardice, is not alone" (*TDIO*, 11; *SKS* 5, 393).

219 *4* **glittering sins**] The expression is part of a Latin saying from the Middle Ages: "Virtutes paganorum splendida vitia" ("the virtues of the heathen are glittering vices"). See journal entry AA:18, *KJN* 1, 29, and *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,*31*) (*PF*, 53; *SKS* 4, 256).

4 **affected virtues**] Presumably a recollection of Poul Martin Møller's "Forberedelser til en Afhandling om Affectation" [Preparations for a Dissertation on Affectation] in his *Efterladte Skrifter* (→ 145,*12*), vol. 3, pp. 291–302. Møller writes that affectation is a mixture of falsity and self-deception, and he differentiates among three degrees of affectation: the momentary, the permanent, and the changeable forms. The third and "worst" degree of affectation is to be "skilled in affectation, so that affectation takes one specific form after another," and in its extreme development, the consequence for the affected person is "moral suicide, by which he would have utterly annihilated himself as an integral figure in the moral world" (pp. 299f.). See also "Random Thoughts on Affectation" in *Efterladte Skrifter*, vol. 3, pp. 303–313, esp. p. 305: "Those who deck themselves out with morality (which is just as wrong as decking oneself out with immorality), say 'God forgive him,' in the same sense, and with the same embittered look, as when they say 'God damn him.'"

the pauper's hearse] For the transport of the body of the deceased from the home to the church or funeral chapel and thence to the cemetery, the undertakers of the city made available hearses of six classes; the simplest and least expensive of these was for the transport of bodies which were to be interred in the free burial ground, i.e., the portion of the cemetery in which poor people could be buried without charge. *8* 219

sin in a hum. being . . . with tears] There was a widely held view, especially in pietist circles, that the repentant sinner had to express his genuine repentance with visible tears, as the woman who was a sinner in Lk 7:36–50 did by moistening Christ's feet with her tears. — **Greek fire**: An explosive and easily ignited mixture that included sulphur, carbon, and wood chips, which prior to the invention of gunpowder was used in warfare, and was supposedly even capable of burning under water. *12* 219

A Story of Suffering. Psychological Experiment] Used as a subtitle of "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" A Story of Suffering. Psychological Experiment," in *Stages on Life's Way* (*SLW*, 185–397; *SKS* 6, 173–454), which was published on April 30, 1845. The manuscript, which Kierkegaard had delivered to Bianco Luno's Printing House (→ 157,*9*) in March 1845, was finished on April 17, 1845. *3* 220

. . . . . de profundis] Idea for a new pseudonym along the lines of, e.g., Johannes de silentio (→ 187,*9*). — **de profundis**: Latin, "from the depths"; in the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible, Ps 129 starts with this phrase: "*De profundis clamavi ad te,* *6*

Domine." The Danish OT translation of 1740 uses a different numbering system, so that the passage in question was the first verse of Ps 130: "Out of the depths I cry unto thee, LORD." See also Frater Taciturnus's "Notice: Owner Sought" in *Stages on Life*'s *Way,* where he describes "a sigh *de profundis*" as "a sigh from an inclosed soul from which I wrested its secret" (*SLW*, 188–189; *SKS* 6, 177).

220*m* 1 **A Married Man**] Perhaps in the sense of *by* a married man; see the title "Some Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections. By a Married Man," in *Stages on Life's Way*, where the married man is the well-known Judge William from the second part of *Either/Or*; thus the subject of this experiment must be a man who has entered into the matrimonial state, while the opposite was the case in "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" in which Quidam (→ 224,*26*) of the experiment has abrogated an engagement.

3 **be released**] i.e., be released from "the bonds of sin," an allusion to a related expression meaning the forgiveness of sins, e.g., in *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 166,*34*); also has the meanings "commutation," "liberation," "deliverance."

8 **follow him like Cain's wife**] Refers to the account in Genesis in which Cain, after having slain his brother Abel, goes into exile but is accompanied by his wife; see Gen 4:16f.

221 1 **Enthymeme**] Greek, an incomplete or rhetorical syllogism (conclusion based on probability) consisting only of a single premise and a conclusion; a complete or logical syllogism consists of two premises and a conclusion (→ 206,*12*).

8 **enthymeme in Aristotle's Rhetoric**] Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, bk.1, chap. 1 (1355a 8–14): "[T]he orator's demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion; the enthymeme is a sort of deduction ... clearly, then, he who is best able to see how and from what elements a deduction is produced will also be best skilled in the enthymeme, when he has further learnt what its subject-matter is and in what respects it differs from the deductions of logic" (*Rhetorik* [→ 212,*29*], p. 15; English translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m*,*4*], pp. 2153–2154). See also bk. 1, chap. 2 (1355b 26–1358a 35), *Rhetorik*, pp. 21–32, and bk. 2, chap. 22 (1395b 20–1397a 6), *Rhetorik*, pp. 182–186. — **Aristotle**: → 137*m*,*4*.

sorrow over one's sin] In Protestantism generally, and especially in pietism, sorrow over one's sin is viewed as an essential precondition for the forgiveness of sins; see, e.g., the complete title of Johan Arndt's *Sämtliche geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christentum, welche handeln von heilsamer Buße, herzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde, wahrem Glauben, auch heiligem Leben und Wandel der rechten wahren Christen* [All Insightful Books on True Christianity, Which Treat of the Healthy Repentance, Heartfelt Regret, and Remorse over Sin, True Faith, as well as the Holy Life and Doings of the Genuinely True Christian] (→ 268,*25*) 12 221

and lack of sincerity] Variant: *added*. 13

released criminal ... bringing anxiety] Presumably an allusion to the betterment intended for prisoners when they were sentenced to years of imprisonment in the House of Punishment, Rasping, and Betterment in the Christianshavn district of Copenhagen *(see map 2, C4)*. See J. M. H. F. Stilling, "Pastor Visby og Fængselsselskabet" [Pastor Visby and the Prison Society] in *Fædrelandet*, no. 1846, March 26, 1845, cols. 14793–14798, where the author, as chairman of the Prison Society which was established in 1843, writes that its principal goal is "to work for the religious and moral betterment of the prisoners" (col. 14793), while its secondary goal is to look after the released prisoners if, during their imprisonment, they have shown hopes of improvement: "If one or another person suffering his punishment, perhaps with loathing for his vice, has conceived an earnest intention of earning his living in the future by respectable and lawful means, then, as citizens, we dare not abandon him, even if he has not, by the grace of God, become a converted and enlightened Christian who knows how the temptations of the world can surely be conquered" (col. 14797). 16 221

and, first and foremost ... when] This marginal entry leads directly into the next entry, JJ: 320. See illustration of manuscript on facing page. 1 221*m*

Diana ... unmarried herself, she helped] In Roman mythology, the eternally virgin Diana (Artemis in Greek mythology) was the goddess of hunt- 25 221

ing and fertility, among other things; as such she helped during birth and lessened the sufferings of those who give birth (→ 136,*28*). As the firstborn, Diana is supposed to have experienced her mother's pains during the birth of her twin brother Apollo, and she therefore asked Jupiter (Zeus in Greek mythology) to permit her to remain a virgin all her life. This wish was granted; see the article "Diana" in *Neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 136,*28*), vol. 1, pp. 615–625, esp. 619f.

221 *28* **The theater was a religious service . . . in Greece**] See, e.g., F. A. Brockhaus, *Conversations-Lexikon* (→ 156,*21*), vol. 11 [1836], p. 154: "After the temple, the theaters were the most important buildings for the Greeks and the Romans, because they not only served to produce enjoyment, but were also meant to be a part of the religious service." See also an entry, with neither date nor any reference mark, that Kierkegaard wrote in a bound book ca. 1841: "That the theater really was for the pagans what the church is for us can also be seen in the fact that the theater was gratis and that it would no more have occurred to the pagans that it ought to cost something to attend the theater than it would occur to us [that it ought to cost something] to go to church. In a general way this understanding of the theater could be broadened into an entire way of looking at paganism" (Not7:24 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 212).

30 **a person who paid out of his own pocket . . . rewarded in Heaven**] Refers to the the well-to-do citizens (*choregos*) who were appointed by the Athenian authorities (*archontes*) to assume the honorable responsibility of paying for the costumes and the rehearsals of the chorus of a play that had been chosen to be performed at one of the poetic competitions (Dionysia); these poetic-dramatic competitions had religious connotations. See, e.g, Flavius Philostratus, *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana* [The Life of Apollonius of Tyana] (→ 139,*2*), p. 504n. The actors were paid by the state.

223 *2* **building churches and monastaries in the Middle Ages**] Refers to the medieval practice in which princes and other important figures sometimes built churches and monastaries, which they donated to the Catholic Church and its religious orders, thereby earning themselves great respect and the promise of eternal reward.

the result of the latter . . . infinitization of the former] Variant: *added*. *8*

priests in our time . . . flagellation, etc.] Source not documented. *11*

Münter especially exerts himself in connection with this] Presumably refers to a sermon by Münter on the epistle (1 Cor 9:24–10:6) for Septuagesima Sunday, i.e., January 19, 1845, when he preached at the communion service in the Castle Church and at the vespers service in Holmens Church. Münter's sermon is not known, but he may have preached against asceticism in connection with 1 Cor 9:27: "but I punish my body and enslave it, so that after proclaiming to others I myself should not be disqualified." It is clear from a journal entry with the heading "Abuses in the Oratorical Address" (*Pap*. VI B 129) that Kierkegaard indeed heard this sermon. — **Münter**: Balthasar Münter (1794–1867), Danish cleric; Court Preacher, 1828; first resident curate at Holmens Church from 1835; instructor and codirector of the Royal Pastoral Seminary from 1837. *13*

people want to neglect Bishop Mynster . . . what's at stake] Perhaps an allusion to Mynster's sermon on this same text, "Om Alvorlighed i vor Christendom. Paa Søndagen Septuagesima" [On Earnestness in Our Christianity: On Septuagesima Sunday], in *Prædikener paa alle Søn-og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* (→ 153,*19*), vol. 1, pp. 178–191. According to Mynster, true earnestness is willing the salvation of one's soul in everything one does: "It is of course self-evident that, because a human being has a higher nature than that which is called flesh and blood, the spirit in a person must vanquish the sensual instincts, and that we must therefore talk of abstinence" (pp. 183f.). Similarly, Mynster asserts that the Christian is obligated to endure "in the hour of temptation, when the battle is hard, when it is perhaps a matter of giving up one's favorite pleasure" (p. 187). — **neglect Bishop Mynster**: People hardly dared to neglect Mynster as a preacher (→ 153,*19*), but as the leader of the church he was criticized, especially by followers of Grundtvig, for lacking the will to institute fundamental reforms; thus his *Udkast til en Alterbog og et Kirke-Ritual for* *29*

Danmark [Draft of a Service Book and Church Ritual for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1838) encountered such great resistance that it was shelved, though his *Udkast til et Tillæg til den evangelisk-christelige Psalmebog* (→ 207,15) was authorized in 1845, despite the great criticism with which its publication had been greeted in 1843.

33 **Now is the moment**] "Now" presumably refers to the publication of *Stages on Life's Way* on April 30, 1845 (→ 220,3).

224 5 **In Either/Or . . . there were only two moments**] In his preface to *Either/Or* (→ 145,26), the work's editor Victor Eremita declares that the first part (the papers of A) contains "a multiplicity of approaches to an aesthetic view of life" (*EO* 1, 13; *SKS* 2, 21). The author of A's papers is not identified, but their contents include "The Seducer's Diary," of whom the author is said to be a certain Johannes; the author of B's papers is identified as a municipal court judge named William.

8 **end with a sermon . . . truth for me**] → 145,27.

10 **the point of departure for my edifying discourses**] Kierkegaard's first volume of edifying discourses, *Two Edifying Discourses*, was published on May 16, 1843 (→ 157,5).

11 **In Stages there are 3 moments**] *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,3) is divided into three parts: (1) "'In vino veritas,'" in which there is a drinking party that includes five aesthetes, specifically, Johannes the Seducer and Victor Eremita, who appeared earlier in *Either/Or*; the Young Man and Constantin Constantius, who appeared earlier in *Repetition* (→ 176,27); and the Fashion Designer; (2) an essay on marriage by Judge William (→ 220m,1); and (3) a series of diary entries by a certain Quidam, who has abrogated an engagement, plus a letter to the reader of this diary by its "real" author, the pseudonymous Frater Taciturnus.

13 **"a memory"**] Refers to the first part, titled "'In Vino Veritas,' A Recollection Related by William Afham" (*SLW*, 7; *SKS* 6, 15).

18 **the woman being merely an instant**] Johannes the Seducer is the last to speak in praise of woman, and he explains that a woman exists only in the unique, isolated instant of seduction: "thus does the eroticist understand her, and in the moment of seduction leads her and is led by her outside of time, where she belongs as an illusion. With the married man she becomes temporal, as does he through her" (*SLW*, 80; *SKS* 6, 78).

19 **the woman's beauty increases with the years**] Judge William writes precisely these words (*SLW*, 131; *SKS* 6, 123; cf. *SLW*, 132; *SKS* 6, 124; and *SLW*, 134; *SKS* 6, 127).

26 **the religious . . . (the Quidam of the experiment)**] See the "Letter to the Reader from Frater Taciturnus," i.e., Taciturnus's postscript to his psychological "experiment," where he writes that "the issue itself, the idea of the forgiveness of sins, is extraneous to the task which this experiment has set for itself, because its Quidam is only a demonic figure tending toward the religious" (*SLW*, 484; *SKS* 6, 446). — **quidam**: Latin, indefinite pronoun, masculine gender, used of a person when no further description is required.

27 **humor as its presupposition and its incognito**] In the "Letter to the Reader from Frater Taciturnus," Taciturnus does not call this presupposition "humor," but Kierkegaard is presumably referring to his understanding of the unity of the comic and the tragic, which he uses in defining Quidam's position: "for I well understand the unity of the comic and the tragic, but not the source of his new, higher passion, which is the religious" (*SLW*, 435; *SKS* 6, 403).

28 **Frater Taciturnus**] Latin, "taciturn brother." A person named Bruder Taciturnus [Brother Taciturnus] appears in a tale by the Hungarian-German author Johann Mailàth, "Der Schaz" [The Treasure] in *Magyarische Sagen und Mæhrchen* [Hungarian Stories and Tales] (Brünn, 1825; ASKB 1411), pp. 108–132: The story is set in Hungary around the year 1400, when the principal character, Günter, finds the story of Brother Taciturnus in a Benedictine monastery, written on an old parchment manuscript. This monk had originally been a pagan wizard named Tolzán. In his hatred of Hungary's Christians he had wanted to steal the golden crucifix which was hidden inside a mountain and was guarantee of the land's wealth and fertility. His attempt was foiled by the guardians of the crucifix, however, and as a punishment he became deaf and dumb. A monk found him lying in the forest and led him to the monastery, where they knew nothing of his past, but because he was dumb, he was given the name Brother Taciturnus. For many years

he served in the monastery, where he was strict in disciplining himself and tireless in doing penance. Shortly before his death he regained the ability to speak and told his story to the abbot as an admonition to others. At the end of his narrative, Taciturnus asked to be admitted into the Christian brotherhood of the order; his wish was granted and he died. In Kierkegaard's day, perhaps even before the publication of *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*3*), in which he presented the pseudonym Frater Taciturnus, a taciturn restaurant owner in Copenhagen was known as Frater Taciturnus, even though when he was among merry company and with certain guests he could be quite talkative; see J. J. Davidsen, *Fra det gamle Kongens Kjøbenhavn* [From the Old Royal City of Copenhagen], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1880–1881), vol. 1, pp. 324f.

224 *29* **14 May 1845 . . . Berlin**] On Tuesday, May 13, 1845, Kierkegaard sailed from Copenhagen to Stettin on the steamship *Geiser*. The railroad from Stettin to Berlin had been finished, and Kierkegaard could thus complete his journey by rail (→ 162,*12*). On Saturday, May 24, Kierkegaard returned to Copenhagen, again aboard the *Geiser*; see *Berlingske Tidende* for that day (no. 123): "Arrived from Stettin aboard the *Geiser*, the 24th of May: . . . Magister Kierkegaard."

31 **The only usable figure . . . (a lad)**] See the rubric "Travelers" in *Berlingske Tidende*, (→ 156,*4*), no. 115, May 15, 1845: "Departed with the *Geiser* on May 13, bound for Stettin and Swinemünde: Mr. Hagen, Miss Bjørn, Dr. Bock, Lt. Møller, Mr. Amsberg, . . . Magister Kierkegaard, . . . plus 4 journeymen workers."

225 *13* **Private Studies**] → 215,*23*.

225*m* *1* **Sophie Beaumarchai. (Clavigo)**] In Goethe's tragedy *Clavigo* (in *Goethe's Werke* [→ 202,*2*], vol. 10 [1828], pp. 49–124), Sophie Guilbert, née Beaumarchais, is the sister of Marie, who dies of grief because she is abandoned by her fiancé Clavigo. Marie's brother avenges her death by killing Clavigo. In the picture he presents of Marie Beaumarchais in *Either/Or*'s "Silhouetttes," the pseudonymous author A notes parenthetically that Goethe hinted that Marie Beaumarchais' sister had been fond of Clavigo (*EO* 1, 181; *SKS* 2, 178). See *Clavigo*, act 3, in which Sophie tells Marie that she has met Clavigo: "I was beside myself when he entered; then, oh! Did I not love him, as you do, with the fullest, purest, most sisterly love? Have I not been injured and tormented by his distance?" (*Goethe's Werke*, vol. 10, p. 83). On July 11, 1845, *Clavigo* was performed at the Royal Theater for the first time since 1809, when it had had its premier performance and was performed four times; in 1845 Sophie Guilbert was played by the celebrated actress Anna Nielsen (→ 250,*6*).

Royal Gardens] Rosenborg Gardens were also called the Royal Gardens or the King's Gardens *(see map 2, D1–2, map 3, E1–2)*. *21* 225

Cherry Alley or the Philosopher's Alley] The Philosopher's Alley, today Vestervoldgade, ran parallel to and just inside the Vestervold (Western Rampart) from Vesterport to the harbor entrance; Cherry Alley was favored as a romantic path and lay just outside the Vestervold, running between the outer wall of the rampart and the city moat which lay just beyond *(see map 2, A2)*. *21*

one must hope that things will get better] Proverb, listed as no. 3344 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,*29*), vol. 1, p. 374. See also no. 1023 in Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* (→ 146,*29*), p. 38: "One must always hope for the Good (the Evil comes of itself)." *28* 225

you will . . . thank God] If a proverb is being alluded to, it has not been identified. *29*

after the rain comes the sunshine] → 153,*20*. See the proverb, "After sunshine comes rain, and after rain comes dry weather," collected in Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,*29*), vol. 2, p. 158. *30*

I . . . just as Emeline did with her father] → 180,*13*. *Den første Kjærlighed* was performed for the sixtieth time on May 3, 1845, and—while Kierkegaard was in Berlin (→ 224,*29*)—for the sixty-first time on May 16. *4* 226

everything that God does is good] See the proverb, "What is done by God is well done," collected as no. 3273 in Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* (→ 146,*29*), vol. 1, p. 366; this is also an allusion to the account of creation in Gen 1:1, where with respect to the individual acts of creation it is repeatedly stated, "And God saw that it was good" (vv. 10, 12, 18, 21, 25). *6*

10 **the . . . movement of infinity**] In *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,7) this is the term used to designate infinite resignation, i.e., the renunciation of finitude which must precede the faith which believes that, by the power of the absurd, it will regain the finite; see "Preliminary Expectoration" (*FT*, 27–53; *SKS* 4, 123–147).

19 **edifying works**] It is unclear to which edifying works (→ 203,25) Kierkegaard is referring, just as the genre itself is difficult to define; in his library Kierkegaard did, however, have a number of books which can be understood as "edifying works," for example, I. Brinch, *En Christens Tanke-Tøyle, Eller og saa Aandelige Sange Hvormed han mange gange Fordrev hans Tanker mange Og holdte dem I. Bidsel* [A Bridle for Christian Thoughts, or Spiritual Songs with Which He Often Banished Many of His Thoughts and Held Them Under Control] (Copenhagen, 1736; ASKB 265); *Philipp Jakob Spener's deutsche und lateinische theologische Bedenken* [Philipp Jakob Spener's Theological Considerations in German and Latin], ed. F. A. E. Hennicke (Halle 1838; ASKB 268); *For Christne. Et Tidsskrift* [For Christians: A Journal], ed. J. Thisted, 6 vols. (Copenhagen, 1823–1825; ASKB 364–369); *Auswahl aus Gerhard Tersteegen's Schriften, nebst dem Leben desselben* [Selections from the Writings of Gerhard Tersteegen, Including His Biography], ed. G. Rapp (Essen, 1841; ASKB 729); J. P. Mynster, *Betragtninger over de christelige Troeslærdomme* [Observations on the Doctrines of the Christian Faith], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1837 [1833]; ASKB 254–255); and especially Johann Arndt, *Sämtliche geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (→ 268,25).

22 **the psalms of David . . . move hearts and reins . . . At one point he hopes . . . now for eternity, then temporally . . . at another point he consoles himself . . . his enemies, etc**.] There is a long Jewish and Christian tradition according to which the Israelite king David (ca. 1000–960 B.C.) was the author of the 150 psalms in the book of Psalms in the OT, even though his name only appears in the headings of seventy-three of them. The designation "Psalms of David" was introduced by Luther in his translation of the Bible, and was thereafter adopted by the Danish Bibles of the Reformation, all the way up to the editions of 1699 and 1802, and thus won acceptance by the church and the common people. — **move hearts and reins**: Alludes to the frequent mention of heart, liver, and kidneys in the OT, occasionally in the psalms themselves; see, e.g., Ps 7:9 and 16:7 (in the King James version). — **At one point he hopes . . . now for eternity, then temporally**: Alludes to the psalmist, who expresses the hope of eternal protection and liberation from the kingdom of death, e.g., in Ps 30:3, 40:2, and 49:10–20, and the hope of forgiveness for himself and his people, as well as the hope of being free of enemies and of suffering, e.g., Ps 39:7–13, 71, 104:24–30, 130:7–8. — **at another point he consoles himself with his innocence**: Thus in Ps 7:8, 17:3, 26. — **at one point he curses his enemies**: i.e., his own enemies as well as the enemies of God and of Israel; see, e.g., Ps 5:8–10, 59:8–15, 137:7–9, 140:9–11.

psalms of David . . . to be on terms of familiarity with God] See, e.g., Ps 73:23–28. 6 227

if we had hope only . . . most wretched of all] An allusion to 1 Cor 15:19: "If for this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all people most to be pitied." 10 227

the fear of God has promise for this present life] An allusion to 1 Tim 4:8: "for, while physical training is of some value, godliness is valuable in every way, holding promise for both the present life and the life to come." 12

the expectation . . . of the eternal] Kierkegaard gave detailed treatment to the theme of expecting the eternal or eternal salvation in time in *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,31 and → 232m,23), and he addresses the matter in "The Expectancy of Eternal Salvation" in *Three Edifying Discourses* (1844); see *EUD*, 253–273: *SKS* 5, 250–268. 15

promise for this life] → 227,12. 17

promise for the life to come] → 227,12. 19

remark of the sort made by Socrates . . . perished at sea] Kierkegaard's paraphrase of Plato's dialogue *Gorgias* 511d, where Socrates, unlike a speaker who makes much of his eloquence, tells of a humble ship captain whose nautical skills save someone from drowning: "The man who possesses this art and achieves these results goes ashore and walks alongside the ship with modest bearing. For I suppose he is capable of reflecting that it is uncertain which of his passengers he has benefited and which he has harmed by not suffering them to be drowned, knowing as he does that those he has 25

landed are in no way better than when they embarked, either in body or soul" (*Udvalgte Dialoger af Platon* [→ 151,*21*], vol. 3, p. 165; English translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 293).

228 2 **Greek skepticism**] The older school of Greek skepticism, which had forerunners among the pre-Socratics, including the Eleatics and the Sophists, formed their first school with Pyrrhon of Elis (ca. 365–ca. 275 B.C.) and his disciple Timon of Phlius (ca. 320–ca. 230 B.C.). With Arcesilaus (→ 217*m*,*3*) and, later, Carneades (→ 217*m*,*1*), this skepticism won acceptance in the Academy that had been founded by Plato (→ 151,*21*), constituting the so-called academic skepticism, which subsequently received further development in the neo-skepticism that characterized the work of the Greek physician and philosopher Sextus Empiricus (ca. 160–ca. 210 A.D.). See *Philosophical Fragments* → 207,*31*), *PF*, 81–82; *SKS* 4, 280–281.

5 **the person bewitched by the System**] The person who is infatuated with the (Hegelian) "system" (→ 185,*17*).

228 11 **In paganism . . . frightful figures**] Refers to the zealous avenging goddesses of Greek mythology (the Erinyes or Furies) who, with their snakelike hair and with torches and daggers, pursued trespassers, inducing frightful visions; they thus pursued Orestes when he had killed his mother, Queen Clytemnestra, in order to avenge her murder of his father, King Agamemnon; see Aeschylus's tragedy, *Choephori* [The Libation Bearers] (the second play in the *Oresteia* trilogy, v. 1035–1050, in *Orestias, Trilogie af Æschylos* [The Oresteia: Trilogy by Aeschylus], trans. P. O. Brøndsted, ed. N. V. Dorph (Copenhagen, 1844; ASKB 1049), pp. 114f . The passage is illustrated with an engraving by W. Eckersberg, based on a line drawing by J. Flaxman; see illustration 9.

228*m* 1 **because the Furies were . . . found refuge**] In Greek religion, the temple was viewed as an asylum for a person who was being pursued by the Furies because of a crime; thus Apollo denied the Furies access to his temple at Delphi, where Orestes had sought refuge; see Aeschylus's tragedy *The Eumenidies* (the third play in the *Oresteia* trilogy), v. 170f.: "'*Apollo*: . . . / Away! I command, out of this temple! Immediately / remove yourselves out of this hall of prophecy'" (*Orestias, Trilogie af Æschylos* [→ 228,*11*], p. 126).

Yet not my will, but thine] See Jesus' prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane before he was arrested: "nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done" (Lk 22:42; King James version). 24 228

God wants us to be happy] See, e.g., Paul's exhortations to the congregation in Thessalonika, "Rejoice always" (1 Thess 5:16) and to the congregation in Philippi: "Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, rejoice" (Phil 4:4). 32

goes to church 3 times every Sunday] i.e., to matins, high mass, and vespers. 6 229

the Socratic saying . . . not reciprocate] The source is a work by the Roman philosopher and author Seneca, *De beneficiis* [On Good Deeds], bk. 5., chap. 6,2; see, e.g., *Lucius Annäus Seneca des Philosophen Werke* [The Philosophical Works of Lucius Annäus Seneca], trans. J. M. Moser, G. H. Moser, and A. Pauly, 15 vols., constituting vols. 19–20, 25, 33, 41, 45–46, 50, 53–55, 67, 73, 111, and 115 of *Römische Prosaiker in neuen Übersetzungen* [Roman Prose Authors in New Translations] (Stuttgart, 1828–1836; ASKB 1280–1280c); see vol. 7 (1829), pp. 849f.: "King Archelaus asked Socrates if he would like to come to him. It was said that Socrates answered that he could not be of a mind to go to a man and receive favors from him if he were not capable of reciprocating." — **King Archelaus**: Macedonian king (ca. 413–399 B.C.). 11

in Mohammedanism . . . good deeds] Traditionally, Islam ("Mohammedanism") has placed great emphasis on the law and on good deeds; the Koran, however, does not preach good deeds as productive of justification in themselves, but only in conjunction with faith. See, e.g., *Der Koran* (→ 154,*28*), sura 13, v. 28: "Now the person who believes and who does the Good will enjoy salvation, and blessed will be his entry into Paradise" (p. 204). — **in the Midd. Ages**: Presumably refers to the many ritual and institutional actions which during the Middle Ages were seen as productive of salvation, but which were rejected by the Reformation. 16

in Biblische Legenden . . . the 4 angels behind] See G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* 27 229



9. Engraving from P.O. Brøndsted's translation of Aeschylus' tragedy, *The Libation Bearers* showing Orestes being persued by the Furies, also known as the Erinyes and subsequently as the Eumenides; see JJ:334 in this volume (→ 228,*11*).

[Biblical Legends of the Muslims] (Frankfurt am Main, 1845; ASKB 865), pp. 185f.: "When Moses returned to the encampment without Aaron, and they asked after his brother whose death he announced, they suspected that he had murdered him. Indeed, many were not afraid to proclaim their suspicions openly. Moses asked God in prayer to show his innocence in front of the entire people. Then four angels lifted Aaron's coffin up from Hell and raised it above the camp of the Israelites so that everyone could see it. Then one of the angels shouted: 'God has taken Aaron's soul to Himself.'* [* Exactly according to the Midrash Fol. 255, where it is indeed recounted that the Israelites had wanted to stone Moses until the angel had lifted the coffin on high, with God Himself walking alongside, grieving.]"

229 35 **In the same book . . . and then they fail**] See Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (→ 229,27), especially the story on pp. 209–212, which is a variation on the OT story of King David, who owing to Bathsheba's beauty gives in to the temptation to bring about her husband's death (see 2 Sam 11). On the way home from prayer, David overhears two of his subjects discussing whether he or Abraham is the greater prophet. The one does not believe that David has done anything which can stand comparison with Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac (see Gen 22). "As soon as David had come home, he prostrated himself before God and prayed, 'Lord! You, who tested Abraham's faith and obedience, give me, too, an opportunity to demonstrate to my people that my love for you can resist all trials!" (p. 209). David's prayer is heard, but he cannot resist the beauty of Saya (who in the Koranic version replaces Bathsheba), and he therefore orders that her husband, Uriah, be sent to a fatally exposed position. As with Nathan in the OT (see 2 Sam 12), the archangels Gabriel and Michael confront him with his sin by telling him of a rich man who deceives a poor man. David is outraged at the rich man and thereby passes judgment on himself: "Your offense is all the greater because you yourself had prayed for a temptation without having had the strength to resist it" (pp. 211f.).

230 2 **a psychological experiment**] See JJ:317.

a future cleric] A theology graduate who, after taking his final examinations (→ 153,5) goes to the pastoral seminary in order to prepare himself for the possibility of ordination as a priest. At the pastoral seminary (which in Kierkegaard's day was in Copenhagen) the theology graduate took two semesters of courses in practical theology and ecclesiastical duties, i.e., homiletics, catechetical instruction, liturgy, canon law, and pastoral care, which among other things dealt with the ethical issues that confront a priest in carrying out his work. The seminary training included a trial sermon, with the final portion of the examination consisting of the candidate's inaugural sermon. Kierkegaard attended the pastoral seminary from November 1840 until September 1841; he delivered his trial sermon in Holmens Church on January 12, 1841, but did not give his inaugural sermon until February 24, 1844, when he preached in Trinitatis Church [Church of the Trinity]. 3

canon law] In the Catholic Church this is a more or less fixed body of legislation governing ecclesiastical organs and legal matters involving the clergy. Canon law was valid in Denmark only until the onset of the Reformation in 1536, but in civil law one could still find traces of the special connections between law and theology; see *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16), bk. 2 (on religion and the clergy). When Kierkegaard attended the pastoral seminary, law professor J. L. A. Kolderup-Rosenvinge lectured on church law (including canon law), making use of his own work *Grundrids af den danske Kirkeret. Til Brug ved Forelæsninger* [Outline of Danish Church Law for Use in Connection with Lectures], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1838–1840). 7

sins . . . by the Church . . . non judicat ecclesia] Canon law forbids a whole series of sinful acts, which it divides into *actus interni* ("internal acts"), *actus externi* ("external acts") and *actus mixti* ("mixed acts"). — **de occultis non judicat ecclesia**: Latin, "The Church does not judge that which is hidden" (i.e., hidden sins); this is a famous principle of canon jurisprudence, which originated with Pope Innocent III, who ca. 1213 issued a decree (included as chap. 33 in *Decretalium Gregorii IX* [Decrees of Gregory IX], bk. 5, title 3), on the occasion of a case involving simony, and refers to the church "*quæ non iudicat de occultis*" [which does not judge things that are hidden]; see *Corpus juris can-* 8

onici Gregorii XIII Pontif. Max. auctoritate post emendationem absolutam editum [The Corpus of Canon Law, Published by the Authority of Pope Gregory XIII, After Having Been Completely Revised] (→ 230*m*,*28*) vol. 2, col. 726. Thus, according to canon law the church had the authority to *forbid* certain inward acts, but it could not *pronounce judgment* on them because they fell exclusively under "God's judgment"; see the title of the first draft of Kierkegaard's "psychological experiment" (see JJ:317.b). Kierkegaard's source is not identified.

230*m* 15 **my pulpit**] According to the lists of preachers published in the newspapers, the preacher for a vespers service was commonly listed as "a theology graduate from the pastoral seminary."

16 **the deathbed and the sickbed**] When a priest was called to a deathbed or a sickbed, he had to proclaim the gospel and the forgiveness of sins as well as hear confession and give the eucharist; see *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*), bk. 2, chap. 7, §§ 3–6, and *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 166,*34*), pp. 169–192.

25 **Shall I blurt it out myself? . . . work would be hindered**] Apparently refers to a the legally prescribed custom that a theology graduate, prior to accepting a position as a priest, must present himself to the bishop "who shall examine him, and if he finds him fitted in learning and in life, he shall perform the requisite ceremonies and ordain him to the priesthood without delay" (*Danske Lov* [→ 144,*16*], bk. 2., chap. 3, § 2; see bk. 2, chap. 2, § 2). This rule was enjoined upon the bishops by the ordinance of June 14, 1728, which also states: "When a bishop finds such a candidate to be either incapable of the office of preaching, or unsuited for it, or if there might be something in his previous or present way of life of which it could truthfully be said that it is unseemly for clergy, not only must the bishop not ordain such a person, but he indeed must immediately report it to the Chancellery and await a royal resolution concerning the matter."

28 **a new copy of the canon law**] For example, *Corpus juris canonici Gregorii XIII Pontif. Max. auctoritate post emendationem absolutam editum*, ed. J. H. Boehmer, 2 vols. (Halle, 1747), which J. L. A. Kolderup-Rosenvinge mentions as being among the "best editions of the *Corpus juris canonici*" in his *Grundrids af den danske Kirkeret. Til Brug ved Forelæsninger* (→ 230,*7*), vol. 1, pp. 17f. Among the more recent editions, he mentions a selection in German translation, *Das Corpus Juris Canonici in seinen wichtigsten und anwendbarsten Theilen* [The Most Important and Usable Portions of the Corpus Juris Canonici], ed. B. Schilling and C. F. F. Sintenis, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1834–1837).

to get a historical point of departure for eternal salvation] → 232*m*,*23*. 8 232

A self-enclosed person . . . has been self-enclosed] Earlier in *Journal JJ* Kierkegaard had written the outlines of a similar sketch as a psychological experiment in which "the self-enclosedness is in the circumstance that he does not let anyone know that he is suffering a punishment" (JJ:317; see JJ:332 and JJ:339). 11

punishment in hell is eternal] Both the OT and the NT depict punishment in Hell as eternal: in the OT, e.g., "everlasting contempt" (Dan 12:2), and the NT, e.g., "eternal punishment" (Mt 25:46); see especially Paul's description of the ungodly, who "will suffer the punishment of eternal destruction, separated from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might" (2 Thess 1:9). 19

salvation] Variant: *first written* "consciousness." 21

the problem of The Fragments] The problem dealt with in *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,*31*), is indicated on the title page: "Can there be a historical point of departure for an eternal consciousness; how can such a point of departure be of more than historical interest; can one build eternal salvation on historical knowledge?" (*PF*, 1; *SKS* 4, 213). 23

the Church teaches about it in vain] See, e.g., *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession], § 17, in *Confessio augustana invariata* [The Unchanged Augsburg Confession] (Copenhagen, 1817; ASKB 469), p. 24; see *Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse* (→ 166,*18*), pp. 57f.: "In the same way they [the reformers] teach that on the final day the Lord Christ will come to awaken all the dead, giving eternal life and eternal happiness to the God-fearing and the chosen, but condemning ungodly people and devils to unending torment." See also K. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Hutterus redivivus, or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1839 [1829]; ASKB 581), § 26

132, "*Damnatio et beatitudo aeterna*" ("eternal damnation and salvation"), pp. 341–346.

33 **proofs put forward by the orthodox**] See Kierkegaard's summaries of H. N. Clausen's lectures on dogmatics at Copenhagen University, 1833–1834 (see Not1:1–8 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 7–74; *Pap*. I C 19 in vol. XII, pp. 53–125), where, under the rubric "On Eternal Damnation and Punishment in Hell" (*SKS* 19, 31–32; *Pap*. I C 19, pp. 78–80) Kierkegaard writes the following: "The earlier Lutheran dogmaticians . . . cited as reasons for the eternity of punishment: 1) God's infinite majesty, which must require an infinite punishment; 2) God's omniscience (*scientia media* [Latin, "foreknowledge"]), which foresaw that evildoers would be eternally evil, that their lives would continue to be such in eternity; 3) they believe that the evil, who have died in sin, will not find an opportunity for improvement and thus will become hardened, so that their punishment is eternal. These arguments can easily be refuted" (*SKS* 19, 32; *Pap*. I C 19, p. 79).

233 2 **like the flutist's instrument**] Presumably a reference to Socrates' *Apology*, 27b, where Socrates asks the following question of his accuser Meletos: "Is there anyone who does not believe in musicians, but believes in musical activities?" (*Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 13).

233 10 **the customs officer . . . writing . . . reading**] Not identified; perhaps an error for the servant Peer in Ludvig Holberg's comedy *Jacob von Tyboe Eller Den stortalende Soldat* [Jacob von Tyboe, or the Grandiloquent Soldier] (1725), act 1, scene 4, where he says "Not to praise myself, but I can say most of what I want to in German, but there are, however, certain words which I do not understand; I can write it perfectly, but not read it" (*Den Danske Skue-Plads* [→ 142,*24*], vol. 3 [unpaginated]).

233 17 **Weil biblische . . . Frankfurt a M. 1845**] See Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (→ 229,*27*), p. 277: "That will be a frightful day, when everyone must think only of himself. Adam will shout: Oh Lord! Save only my soul! I am concerned neither for Eve nor for Abel." In Kierkegaard's own copy the passage is marked with a cross and a vertical line in the margin, and the beginning and end of the passage is underlined in pencil.

Xst's talk of the downfall of Jerusalem] See Mt 24:3–28, Mk 13:1–23, and Lk 21:5–24. 20

(Mk 13:9) As for yourselves, beware] Kierkegaard omits the comma after "yourselves" but otherwise cites word for word from the NT. 23

world-historical social categories] A probable allusion to Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*), who liked to defend "people" and "congregation" as categories of "world-historical" significance (→ 202,*8*). 24

the System] → 185,*17*. 27 233

like a bird on a branch] → 185,*21*. 29

Lady Machbeth . . . dare not sleep] → 147,*29*. *Macbeth* was not performed at the Royal Theater in 1845; the most recent performance had been on March 25, 1843. 31 233

Cromwell] Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), English Puritan, military leader, and statesman. After a youth marked by drink and gambling, Cromwell was seized by the religious enthusiasm which helped him create a religious and political party, the so-called Independents, during the English Civil War. At Cromwell's instigation King Charles I was executed in 1649, after which a republic was proclaimed; in 1653 the republic was abolished in favor of a protectorate, with Cromwell as Lord Protector. During the Protectorate (1653–1658), which was in fact a military dictatorship, Cromwell employed a great many spies to forestall plots, and his anxiety developed into full-blown paranoia. See *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 135,*23*), vol. 8 (1825), pp. 494f. 23 234

Lady Seymour] No one of this name appears in *Macbeth*, but there is an officer named "Seyton" who brings Macbeth the news of Lady Macbeth's death (act 5, scene 5). In another of Shakespeare's tragedies, *Richard II*, a "Seymour" is mentioned (act 2, scene 3). Perhaps Kierkegaard is alluding to Henry VIII's third queen, Jane Seymour (ca. 1505–1537), who had been a lady-in-waiting for his second queen, who was executed in 1536; see, e.g., *Beckers Verdenshistorie* (→ 135,*23*), vol. 7 (1824), p. 374. 4 235

The widow who put three mites in the temple box] Alludes to the story of the poor widow's offering, Mk 12:41–44; the widow gave two, not three, 12 235

small coins. — **mites**: Designation in the King James version for coins of very little value.

13 **the 5 loaves and the 3 fishes**] See Mt 14:13–21, where it is related that Jesus fed 5,000 people in the desert with five loaves of bread and three fish.

235 17 **Two servant girls . . . it was Sunday**] → 191,*11*. — **Sunday**: If Kierkegaard is referring to a Sunday after his return home from Berlin (→ 224,*29*), it must have been May 25, June 1, or June 8, 1845.

20 **having one's reward in oneself and then in the world to come**] Presumably an allusion to various biblical passages which promised the rewards of Heaven for one's labors, e.g., 2 Chr 15:7 and Lk 6:23.

23 **hired on a six-month or monthly contract and good pay**] The established moving days for domestic servants were May 1 and November 1. Thus maidservants were supposed to be hired for a minimum period of six months, but in Kierkegaard's day they were commonly hired on a monthly basis, and indeed, in a series of articles entitled "Om Tyendeforholdet" [On the Circumstances of Domestic Servants] in the newspaper *Den Frisindede* (February 1, 4, and 6, 1845) reference is made to "the custom in recent years of hiring domestic servants on a weekly or monthly basis." Hiring for short terms was commonly viewed as a cause of loose morals among domestic servants. A housemaid earned a maximum of thirty rixdollars (→ 163,*11*) a year, plus room and board.

235 27 **if one does not . . . no immortality**] Refers to the dogma of the immortality of the individual; see Hase, *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der evangelische-lutherische Kirche* (→ 232*m*,*26*), § 129, p. 330: "The Christian concept of death includes immortality as the self-conscious, eternal continuation of the life of the individual." Shortly after Hegel's death, a long and bitter dispute erupted, both among his opponents and among his supporters, about the extent to which Hegel's thought allowed for individual immortality. News of these disputes was summarized and continually updated in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* [Journal for Foreign Theological Literature], ed. H. N. Clausen and M. H. Hohlenberg; according to the lists of subscribers published by the editors for the period 1833–40, Kierkegaard was a subscriber beginning in 1833. See also "Tanker over Muelighеden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed, med Hensyn til den nyeste derhen hørende Literatur" [Thoughts concerning the Possibility of Proofs of Human Immortality, with Reference to the Most Recent Literature concerning the Subject] in *Efterladte Skrifter af Poul M. Møller* (→ 145,*12*), vol. 2 (1842), pp. 158–272.

Plutarch in a little essay on the word: ει in Delphi § 18] Plutarch, *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ* (Greek, Perí tou ei tou en Delphoís), 18, in *Plutarchi chaeronensis varia scripta quae moralia vulgo vocantur* [Plutarch of Chaeronea's Various Writings, the So-Called Morals], stereotype ed., 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1829; ASKB 1172–1177), vol. 3, pp. 95–97. See J. F. S. Kaltwasser's German translation in "Ueber die Inschrift Ei im Tempel zu Delphi" [On the Inscription "Ei" in the Temple of Delphi] in *Plutarchs moralische Abhandlungen* [Plutarch's Moral Essays], 9 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1783–1800; ASKB 1192–96), vol. 3 (1786), pp. 508–10. — **Plutarch**: Greek philosopher and historian, ca. 50–125 A.D. — **ει**: Greek, (ei), "if" (used in a logical proposition in the form "if A, then B"). 32

dangerous dogs] Despite an 1814 ordinance requiring the licensing of dogs, in Kierkegaard's day Copenhagen was plagued by wild dogs; outbreaks of rabies were common, and dog bites were dangerous and much feared by residents of the city. 1 236

Pastor Grundtvig's ale-Norse tavern] Presumably a reference to the newspapers opposed to the government, the republican *Kjøbenhavnsposten* for May 8 and 19, 1845 (nos. 105 and 113) and the liberal *Fædrelandet* for May 23 and 24, 1845 (nos. 1894 and 1895), which, departing from their usual position, came out in support of Grundtvig, who favored absolute monarchy, when he published *Udkastet til en ny Trykkelov fra Literaturens Side betragtet og fraraadt* [The Draft of a New Press Law, Investigated from the Literary Point of View, and Warned Against] (Copenhagen, 1845); the newspapers heaped enthusiastic praise on Grundtvig's critique of the government's proposed new press law, "Udkast til en Anordning om Trykkefriheden" [Draft of an Ordinance concerning Freedom of the Press], which had been submitted to the Advisory Assembly of Estates in Roskilde on October 16, 1844. Kierke- 8 236

gaard could also be alluding to "The Scandinavian Society" founded in 1843, where Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*) liked to deliver speeches and extended toasts concerning Scandinavia. — **ale-Norse**: → 202,*19*.

236 *11* **The Corsair**] Or, in Danish, *Corsaren*, satirical weekly magazine, founded in 1840 by a group including M. A. Goldschmidt, who was the real editor of the republican journal until 1846. Meyer Aron Goldschmidt (1819–1897), Danish Jewish author and journalist; editor of *Corsaren* from its founding in 1840 until October 1846.

13 **A drawing . . . Pastor Grundtvig**] *Corsaren* often published satirical drawings of well-known figures, but to date none of Grundtvig (→ 202,*10*), who had, however, been portrayed in 1844 as no. 22 in *Dansk Pantheon, Et Portraitgallerie for Samtiden* [Danish Pantheon: A Portrait Gallery for the Times] (→ 211,*8*). — **Hercules**: In Greek mythology Heracles was the son of the god Zeus and the mortal woman Alcmene, and thus a demigod, though upon his death he joined the gods. His mighty powers led to great exploits in which he vanquished centaurs, dragons, lions, and many other dangers, but when he lost control of himself, his might and his fury were also mortal dangers to his children and his friends. See, e.g., Vollmer, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Nationen* (→ 209,*25*), pp. 832–848.

236 *16* **Father's grave**] On August 14, 1838, Kierkegaard's father, M. P. Kierkegaard (→ 165,*35*), was buried in the family plot at "the old cemetery" of Assistens Cemetery (→ 201,*20*), where the grave is today registered as no. A 738. M. P. Kierkegaard had bought the plot when his first wife, Kirstine Nielsdatter née Royen (1758–1796) died; later, two of his children, Søren Michael (1807–1819) and Maren Kirstine (1797–1822), as well as his daughter-in-law Elise Marie Kierkegaard née Boisen (1806–1837), who had been married to Kierkegaard's brother Peter Christian, were buried in the family plot. After M. P. Kierkegaard's own death in 1838 a white marble stone was set up commemorating him and Kierkegaard's mother, bearing the text: "ANNE KIERKEGAARD / NÉE LUND / WENT HOME TO THE LORD / THE 31ST DAY OF JULY 1834 / IN THE 67TH YEAR OF HER AGE / LOVED AND MISSED BY / HER SURVIVING CHILDREN / RELATIVES AND FRIENDS / BUT ESPECIALLY BY HER OLD HUSBAND / MICHAEL PEDERSEN KIERKEGAARD / WHO ON AUGUST 9TH 1838 / FOLLOWED HER / INTO ETERNAL LIFE / IN THE 82ND YEAR OF HIS AGE."

the turn by the entrance] When one exited the city at Nørreport, crossed the lakes on the road which today is called Nørrebrogade, and came to Assistens Cemetery, one arrived at a turn on the left-hand side, after which one came to four gates opening into "the old cemetery." *18*

the hearse . . . the whole cortege, and the trumpeters] Funeral processions accompanied the casket from the church out to Assistens Cemetery, and in polite society it was seen as especially prestigious when a large number of carriages escorted the remains of the deceased to their final resting place. Similarly, the hearse should preferably be of the most expensive sort (→ 219,*8*), even though in principle people were supposed to avoid "great extravagance and pointless expense," as it was expressed in a decree of 1682. *25*

237 **In his Mimik Engel cites**] See. J. J. Engel, *Ideen zu einer Mimik* [Towards a Theory of Mimic], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1785–1786; ASKB 1403–1404), vol. 1, p. 269: "When he wants to show his goodwill, the New Zealander pushes nose upon nose, as we Europeans push lip upon lip." — **Engel**: Johann Jakob Engel (1741–1802), German philosopher and dramatist; tutor to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (III) in Berlin, where he was subsequently theater director. *1*

237 **William Afham's role (in Stages)**] See the "Preface" to " 'In Vino Veritas,' A Recollection Related by William Afham," in *Stages on Life's Way* (*SLW*, 9–19; *SKS* 6, 17–26). William Afham explains the difference between "to remember" (Danish, *at huske*) and "to recollect" (Danish, *at erindre*): the detailed recalling of the object, which is typical of remembering, is, according to recollection, inessential; for recollection, the mood and atmosphere are of decisive significance, but not, for example, whether the participants in a drinking party are by chance the same as those who had appeared in *Either/Or* or *Repetition*. "The art of recollection is not easy, because in the moment of preparation it can change to something different, while remem- *5*

bering only fluctuates between remembering correctly and remembering incorrectly" (*SLW*, 13; *SKS* 6, 20).

10 **to choose other names**] i.e., names other than those readers already knew from *Either/Or*, namely Victor Eremita, Johannes the Seducer, and Judge William, and from *Repetition*, namely Constantin Constantius and the Young Man (→ 224,*11*).

11 **Const. had said . . . admiring words about D. J**.] See William Afham's stage direction in " 'In vino veritas' " after Victor Eremita has praised Mozart, and Constantin Constantius has asked the guests to take their places at the table: "How easy it is to give a banquet, and yet Constantin has assured us that he will never dare to do so again! How easy it is to admire, and yet Victor has assured us that he will never again give voice to his admiration, for a defeat is more frightful than becoming an invalid in war! How easy it is to desire, when one has a magic wand, and yet it is sometimes more frightful than to perish from want!" (*SLW*, 28; *SKS* 6, 33).

14 **the Judge, on the other hand . . . keep on repeating**] See "Some Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections, by a Married Man," where Judge William writes: "Enough concerning marriage; at the moment I have nothing more to say; another time, perhaps tomorrow, I will say more, but 'always the same thing and about the same thing' " (*SLW*, 118; *SKS* 6, 112).

17 **only robbers . . . has been before**] → 206,*29*. See the continuation of Judge William's remark cited above: "for it is only gypsies and robber bands and counterfeiters who have the motto: One must never to return to the place one has been before" (*SLW*, 118; *SKS* 6, 112).

237 20 **Stages . . . no attention**] *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*4*) was discussed and excerpts were cited in *Nyt Aftenblad* [New Evening Paper] on May 8, 1845, (no. 105); *Berlingske Tidende* also published a review of the book on May 6, 1845 (no. 108), in which the reviewer, using the pseudomyn " — n.," was careless enough to review the book together with *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* (→ 218,*20*), thus identifying Kierkegaard—who was the acknowledged author of the discourses—with the unknown author of *Stages on Life's Way*. In "An Explanation and a Little More," published in *Fædrelandet* on May 9, 1845 (no. 1883, cols. 15093–15096), Kierkegaard repudiated the review, as did *Corsaren* (→ 236,*11*) the same day (no. 242, col. 11); see *COR*, 24–27.

" 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " . . . this would happen] 23 See Frater Taciturnus's "A Concluding Word" (*SLW*, 485–494; *SKS* 6, 446–454) to " 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " in *Stages on Life's Way*, where Taciturnus speaks of "an ambiguous author such as myself, who does not have one single reader, and only a few who get as far as the middle of the book" (*SLW*, 490; *SKS* 6, 451).

suffering . . . a precondition for . . . religious individuals] 27 237 See JJ:331, JJ:333, JJ:335, and JJ:340.

The Scriptures say . . . all one's might] Refers to 5 238 Deut 6:5, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might."

a teacher . . . a priest] Priests only came to be des- 9 238 ignated as teachers in the wake of the Enlightenment notions and the rationalism (→ 178,*7*) of the late 18th century, but by Kierkegaard's time the designation as teacher had lost its decidedly rationalistic sense.

People think . . . its ambivalence] It is not clear 13 238 what Kierkegaard is referring to.

The review . . . in the German journal] See the 19 238 review of "*Philosophiske Smuler eller en Smule Philosophie* (Philos. Brocken oder ein Bischen Philosophie). Af *S. Kierkegaard*" [Philosophical Fragments or a Fragment of Philosophy (Philos. Fragments or a Bit of Philosophy) by S. Kierkegaard] in *Neues Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik* [New Review of Theological Literature and Ecclesiastical Statistics], ed. H. Th. Bruns, vol. 2:1 (Berlin, 1845), pp. 44–48. — **Fragments**: *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,*31*).

permitting the contents . . . the elasticity of irony is to be found] 20 After giving a close reading of the book's argument, the reviewer adds the following concluding remark on p. 48: "We refrain from making any critical remarks, because, as noted, we only wish to point out the author's peculiar method. In other respects we leave it to the judgment of every

reader whether he is being serious in these apologetic dialectics or is attempting some sort of irony."

23 **Christianity ... the shamelessness with which philosophy has treated it**] Presumably alludes to the attempt by the Hegelian school (→ 179,7) to grasp Christianity as a conceptual moment within a comprehensive philosophical system, with the consequence that Christianity is not said to possess any special truth but only differs from philosophy in expressing the truth in another manner.

26 **so that our times ... recognize them**] The reviewer wrote that Kierkegaard was trying to provide an exposition in the form of universal problems—i.e., as problems apart from their historical aspect—of the presuppositions posited by Christianity: "These presuppositions are presented with such clarity, are defined with such acuity and precision, that our times, in which everything is leveled down, neutralized, and mediated, will scarcely be able to recognize them" (p. 45).

27 **mediate**] → 148,30.

239 2 **All the Pseudonymous Writings**] i.e., *Either/Or*, edited by Victor Eremita (→ 145,26); *Repetition*, by Constantin Constantius (→ 176,27); *Fear and Trembling*, by Johannes de silentio (→ 170,7); *Philosophical Fragments*, by Johannes Climacus (→ 207,31); *The Concept of Anxiety*, by Vigilius Haufniensis (→ 196,7); *Prefaces*, by Nicolaus Notabene (→ 196,7); and *Stages on Life's Way*, edited by Hilarius Bookbinder (→ 220,3).

4 **Nicolaus Notabene**] → 168,36.

11 **one Sunday afternoon ... Fredriksberg Gardens**] → 191,11. — **café**: i.e., Josty's Pavillon, a favorite destination for visitors to the gardens; situated at what is today Pile Allé 14 A.

16 **priceless genius ... world-historical affairs**] Presumably a reference to Grundtvig (→ 202,10), though Kierkegaard could also be alluding to the speeches and lengthy toasts offered during the festivities for the Scandinavian students on June 24, 1845 (→ 240,6), when newspaper editor Carl Ploug (1813–1894) expressed his delight that the Scandinavian idea had now received its "world-historical ratification" (*Fædrelandet*, no. 1921, June 24, 1845, col. 15397), while a university graduate named H. F. Povelsen (1815–1869), warned those present about "what world-historical importance would remain for Scandinavia if Denmark were to tempt the fate of Poland" (*Fædrelandet*, no. 1922, June 26, 1845, col. 15403), and attorney Orla Lehmann (1810–1870) had no doubts that Denmark would continue to exist as part of a united Scandinavia: "Therefore I have confidence in the destiny of my fatherland; for my fatherland is the whole of triune Scandinavia—therefore I believe in the idea in the name of which we are gathered here; for it does not date from yesterday or the day before, not from the amicable gatherings of some young people or the beautiful dreams of some poets, but it is as old as Scandinavia itself: it has the time-honored right of centuries and the holy baptism of world history" (*Fædrelandet*, no. 1922, June 26, 1845, col. 15407; see *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 146, June 27, 1845, p. 583). — **world-historical**: → 197,18, → 202,8, and → 233,24.

Socrates] → 146,8. 36 239

vaudeville] French, a folk song, song of the common people, or street song; musical drama that includes folk songs. As a genre, vaudeville is a bourgeois comedy of intrigue with songs written to simple (preferably well-known) melodies. The characters are unheroic and often comical; the substance of the action is colored by local circumstances and involves romantic difficulties that can always be surmounted. Inspired by German and especially by Parisian theater, J. L. Heiberg introduced the vaudeville to the Royal Theater in 1825. 5 240

the newspapers ... about the incomparable Danish hospitality] As part of the "Scandinavian movement," ca. 500 Swedish and Norwegian university students arrived in Copenhagen on Monday, June 23, 1845. Even while they were still at sea on the Sound, they were greeted by Danish ships, and at the customs house they were welcomed by ca. 800 Danish students, after which they were greeted with jubilation and showered with flowers by perhaps 50,000 Copenhageners as they paraded through the city streets and up to the university. They were given lodging by local citizens, granted special admission to royal museums, and on the evening of June 24th they were the guests at a grand banquet at the royal palace of Christiansborg, seat of the Danish government, held in their honor by the Danish students. They were honored with toasts and with songs and accompanying speeches by prominent Scandinavians. The follow- 6

ing day the Scandinavian Society sponsored a great celebration in the Deer Park, to which the students were transported gratis by more than 100 peasants from the Copenhagen area; in the Deer Park there were more toasts, speeches, and songs, and the good mood was helped along by a Copenhagen citizen who donated 500 bottles of champagne. The following day there were many dinners, visits to museums, etc., and in the evening a special performance at the Royal Theater, gratis. The day after there was free admission for 1,000 students at Tivoli, where there was an enormous display of fireworks; and at the Tivoli Concert Hall there was still more singing and toasting to celebrate the students, "the Scandinavian idea," and not least, the hospitality of the citizens of Copenhagen. The final day, Saturday, June 28, 1845, the Norwegian and Swedish students departed from Copenhagen, but not before they and their Danish hosts had exchanged speeches and songs of thanks; a large crowd followed them to the harbor, where they weighed anchor while the men of Copenhagen waved their hats and women threw flowers upon the waters. Before, during, and after the visit, the Copenhagen newspapers were filled spirited accounts of the entire affair.

8 **the prostitutes . . . Either/Or**] In "Rotation of Crops: A Venture in a Theory of Social Prudence" in the first part of *Either/Or*, the pseudonymous A imagines a situation in which, in order to combat boredom, the government takes out a loan of 15 million rixdollars and uses the money to subsidize public amusements: "Everything would be free; the theater would be free; the prostitutes would be free" (→ 151,*32* *EO* 1, 287; *SKS* 2, 277).

240 *24* **poetice**] Latin, "poetic," as in the expression "*poetice et eleganter*" [poetically and tastefully], a cliché often found in commentated Latin editions of Roman poets.

241 *7* **echo**] According to Greek mythology, the nymph Echo became infatuated with the handsome youth Narcissus, but when he did not return her love she was consumed with despair, so the only thing that remained was her voice, which was the resonance of other voices from cliffs and forests.

241 *11* **Martensen has . . . its ethical point**] Refers to the section on "The Determination of Duties' Limit" in H. L. Martensen (→ 189,*22*), *Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System* (→ 166,*18*), § 30, pp. 34f.: "Duty and conscience comprise a human being's *entire life of freedom*. It is its demand that a human life present a moral *unity* in which no spiritual moment falls outside the determination of the law. Therefore, duty cannot be comprehended in a circle of abstract commands but is *the individual*'s all-determining spiritual law, or its idea expressed in the imperative form. The spiritual comprehension of duty consequently requires that the individual's life shall be a moral work of art, where even that which is in-and-for-itself accidental receives meaning by becoming the Idea's reflection. Therefore the concept of the *accidental* or the morally *trivial* has no validity and is only the expression for lacking knowledge of concrete duty. *Note*: The sphere of the morally trivial and the closely related sphere of moral license are restricted by the advance of culture. (What in social life is called convenience receives a moral meaning from this viewpoint). In crude people duty is restricted to a certain number of commands, which they often conscientiously observe, while outside of this they abandon themselves to the greatest license. In cultured, *flexible* characters, the most accidental and the most trivial things often assume a mark of higher necessity. At the same time, since no human in its praxis can totally liberate itself from the morally trivial, this only shows that no individual corresponds to its ideal" (English translation from Hans L. Martensen, *Outline to a System of Moral Philosophy*, in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard: Hans L. Martensen's Philosophy of Religion* (→ 190,*1*), p. 272; translation slightly modified).

Mag. Hagen . . . in his dissertation] See J. F. Hagen, *13* *Ægteskabet, betragtet fra et ethisk-historisk Standpunkt. Udgivet for Licentiatgraden i Theologien ved Kjöbenhavns Universitet* [Marriage, Viewed from an Ethical-Historical Standpoint. Published for the Licentiate Degree in Theology at Copenhagen University] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 534). In *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*) for July 12, 1845 (no. 161), the dissertation was advertised as having been published. Hagen writes on p. 16 that "the concept of the indifferent has no validity in the domain of the will, but is merely an *asylum ignorantiæ* [Latin, 'refuge for ignorance'] and is valid only as long as moral intuition has not yet become capable of gain-

ing the moral point with respect to the utterances of the will," and in a footnote he refers to "Dr. *H. Martensen*, Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System" (p. 34). — **Mag. Hagen**: Johan Frederik Hagen (1817–1859), a senior secretary at the Theology Faculty; 1844–1846 headmaster at Borch's College; Hegelian. He defended the above-mentioned dissertation for the licentiate degree in theology on July 14, 1845; earlier he had written reviews of *Either/Or* and *Fear and Trembling* (→ 187,6).

30 **that the past . . . the future**] See the "Interlude" in *Philosophical Fragments*, where a subheading poses the following question, which is subsequently answered in the negative: "Is the Past More Necessary than the Future?" (*PF*, 72; *SKS* 4, 272).

242 7 **psychological experiment ("'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'")**] → 220,4.

8 **Quidam of the experiment**] → 224,11 and → 224,26.

8 **theology graduate**] → 153,5.

13 **the banns are to be read from the pulpit . . . third time**] According to *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 166,34), chap. 8, pp. 315f., the priest was supposed to announce from the pulpit on three consecutive Sundays that X intends to marry Y: "When the marriage banns are announced the first time [and, subsequently, the second and third times], may God on high bless these persons, so that their Christian undertaking may be well begun, successfully carried through, and blessedly ended, for the sake of a good conscience for themselves, and of a good example and a model for others: If anyone has anything to say regarding this, let him say it in timely fashion or remain silent ever afterward." Reading the marriage banns was a legal responsibility spelled out in *Danske Lov* (→ 144,16), bk. 2, chap. 8, § 4, and subsequently confirmed by a decree of April 30, 1824, § 2.

242 20 **a Genius . . . reform the whole world**] Presumably a reference to N. F. S. Grundtvig (→ 202,10 and → 239,16).

243 20 **Eskildsen's boats**] Erik Eskildsen (ca. 1775–1856) was harbormaster of Copenhagen harbor and a private businessman there, and the king had granted him a lifetime monopoly (strongly criticized in the 1840s) on all ferry transport in the harbor. Prior to a decree of April 3, 1843, all larger vessels (because of shallow channels) and all steamships (because of fire danger) had been required to anchor in Copenhagen Roads, and passengers were then ferried to the customs house *(see map 2, G3)* in Eskildsen's red boats.

the canal] In Kierkegaard's time there were more canals in Copenhagen and Christianshavn than there are today, but it is not known whether Eskildsen also ran the ferry services on these canals. 20

Hs. Majesty the King . . . the Crown Prince] His Majesty King Christian VIII (1786–1848), became king in 1839; Her Majesty Queen Caroline Amalie (1796–1881) was Christian VIII's second wife; Her Majesty Queen Marie Sophie Frederikke (1767–1852) had been a widow since the death of Frederick VI in 1839; His Royal Highness Crown Prince Frederik Carl Christian (1808–1863) was the son of Christian VIII and his first wife, and became king in 1848. 25 243

turns out for the parade all stiff and starched] Presumably a reference to Copenhagen's Civic Guard, which held parades on Nørre Fælled (North Common), which lay northeast of Sortedam Lake *(see map 5, C1)*. 37

my physician] Kierkegaard's own physician was Oluf Lundt Bang (1788–1877), whose extensive writings helped gain recognition of the importance of diet. 4 244

You probably drink . . . walk too little] In his *Syge-Diætetik* [Diet for the Ill], (Copenhagen, 1840 [1835]), O. L. Bang recommends, as part of a standard diet for those who are ill, that a patient not drink more than "a little cup of coffee" following breakfast, and "in the afternoon, neither coffee nor tea" (p. 20); and in the early morning, mid morning, and afternoon the patient ought to take "a little walk, lasting ½ to 1 hour" (p. 21). 5

in Den Frisindede . . . on the same day the solution appeared] In 1845 *Den Frisindede* and the German journal *Der Freischütz* appeared three times a week and frequently diverted their readers with puzzles, with the solution appearing in the next issue, though, in the case of *Den Frisindede*, without naming "the person who guessed the riddle." 29

I am not interested . . . appeared."] Variant: *added*. 31

If God can do everything . . . going off and fooling around] If Kierkegaard is referring to a proverb or 1 243*m*

a colloquialism here, it has not been possible to identify it.

243*m* 5 **come running with a passion no one had during the bombardment**] Refers to the English bombardment of Copenhagen in September 1807.

244*m* 2 **the Mount of the Transfiguration**] Refers to the transfiguration of Jesus on the mountain, where he spoke with Moses and Elijah and a voice from heaven declared him to be the Son of God; see Mt 17:1–9.

12 **Per Madsen's Alley**] A narrow alley (today called Ny Østergade) amid dwellings for common people, regularly used by prostitutes and their customers; it opened into Grønnegade, but access from Østergade, the finest street in the city, was only possible through a door *(see map 2, D2)*.

19 **vaudeville**] → 240,*5*.

244 37 **healthy spirit . . . fatigue of the body**] Alludes to the proverb "to have a healthy spirit in a sound body," from the Latin, *mens sana in corpore sano*, noted in Ludvig Meyer, *Fremmedord-Bog* [Dictionary of Foreign Words], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1844 [1837]; ASKB 1034), p. 484.

245 7 **like a steamship . . . the ship's construction**] See Kierkegaard's letter to P. C. Kierkegaard (→ 214,*27*) from May 1844: "My spirit is working with more and more horsepower. God knows whether the body can bear it; I know of nothing better with which to compare myself than a steamship which has too many horsepower for its structure" (*LD*, 170; *B&A* 1, 134).

244*m* 29 **poultice of mush**] A poultice of cold or hot oatmeal, which was placed on a boil or an inflamed limb to relieve pain. In this connection, Kierkegaard's physician O. L. Bang (→ 244,*4*) writes: "For a *hot* poultice, oatmeal is boiled, either with or without flaxmeal, herbs, etc.; often herbs are not boiled with the porridge but are added later. The poultice is placed in a bag or between linen cloths, as hot as can be tolerated when tested against the cheek; when it cools off, it should be changed, every one or one and one-half hours" (*Syge-Diætetik* [→ 244,*5*], p. 15).

245 36 **the sexual instinct itself as a sin**] The doctrinal books of the church differentiate between permissible and impermissible instincts, so that the sexual instinct in itself is not a sin but only becomes sinful if it is misused. See, e.g., Jens Hornsyld, *Præsten Hornsyld og hans Confirmantere, eller Taler og Samtaler over Lærebogen i den evangelisk-christelige Religion, en Haandbog for Christne i Livets forskjellige Stillinger* [Pastor Hornsyld and His Confirmands, or Discourses and Discussions concerning the Doctrinal Book of the Evangelical Christian Religion: A Handbook for Christians in the Various Situations of Life] (Århus, 1822; ASKB 267), p. 333: "But if there is anything that testifies to man's depravation by sin—and there is much that testifies to it—it is the shameful misuse of this holy instinct. It brings disorder, sorrow, and wretchedness to families, breaking the most sacred bonds; when carried to great lengths it transforms a beautiful, splendid human being into a wretched creature, degraded into terrifying savagery and unnaturalness; and those from Sodom and Gomorrah, which sank into the Dead Sea, are frightful testimony to how deep a human being can sink—a stinking, poisonous pit, the consequence of raging concupiscence."

edifying writings] → 203,*25*. 7 246

edifying assemblies] Presumably a reference to the so-called godly assemblies, private revival meetings at which a lay preacher spoke; the assemblies started with the "Funen revival" of the 1820s, and in the 1840s they had spread to a number of districts, including western Zealand, where both the clergy and lay authorities kept a sharp eye on them. 13

Luther] Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian, Augustinian monk, professor at Wittenberg, and Reformer. 35 246

er predigte gewaltig—εξουσια Mt Gosp. 7] In Mt 7:29 it is said of Jesus that "ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς"; Luther (→ 246,*35*) translates this as: "Denn er predigte gewaltig, und nicht wie die Schriftgelehrten" [For he preached mightily and not like one of the scribes]; see, e.g., *Die Bibel, oder die ganze heilige Schrift. Nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers* [The Bible, or the Entire Holy Scripture, according to the German Translation of Dr. Martin Luther] (Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1836; ASKB 3; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Bibel*). The NRSV has "for he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes." 1 247

13 **Luther has such frequent recourse . . . cannot be forgiven**] See, e.g., "Sermon vom Sacrament der Buße" [Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance] (Latin, 1519): "There is no greater sin than that of not believing in the article of faith concerning the forgiveness of sins, for which we pray daily in our faith. And this sin is called the sin against the Holy Spirit, which makes all the other sins powerful and eternally unforgivable" (*Luthers Werke* [→ 167,35], vol. 3 [1840], p. 66). — **the NT . . . sin against the Holy Spirit**: See Mt 12:32: "Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come."

23 **certainty to that of Socrates**] Presumably an allusion to Socrates (→ 146,8) who maintained that the only thing he knew was that he knew nothing with certainty.

26 **Luther was . . . striking behind him**] While traveling along a road on July 2, 1505, Luther was surprised by a thunderstorm, during which he swore an oath to enter a monastery. C. F. G. Stang relates that Luther had been terrified by a stroke of lightning that struck next to him, and further, that a friend named Alexis was subsequently killed in Erfurt; see *Martin Luther. Sein Leben und Wirken* [Martin Luther, His Life and Work] (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1835), p. 18. (Kierkegaard owned what appears to have been a later edition, from Stuttgart [1838; ASKB 790]; it has not been possible to obtain this edition, but the pagination is probably the same as the edition cited here.) Thus, the circumstance that the lightning struck next to Luther is a legend, but in an engraving on p. 18 of the abovementioned volume we nonetheless see Luther with his dead friend at his side, while lightning continues to strike at the mountains behind him. The engraving bears the caption: "Ein Freund von Luthers wird vom Blitz getoedtet was letztern zum Klosterleben bestimmt" [A Friend of Luther's Was Killed by Lightning, Which Convinced the Latter to Enter a Monastery].

247 33 **many times its most zealous defenders**] This was the case as early as with Paul (→ 168,18); see Acts 9:1–19 and Gal 1:11–24.

248 16 **The good Samaritan**] Refers to Jesus' parable about the good Samaritan who, unlike the priest and the Levite, does not fail to help a person who has been attacked by robbers; see Lk 10:25–37, the gospel for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, which in 1845 fell on August 17.

two English lords . . . the unfortunate rider] It has 17 not been possible to identify the source.

The Levite and the priest just walked past] See Lk 23 10:31–32.

merchant measures out millions of yards] See the 1 249 decree of August 4, 1742, § 13: "No wholesale merchant . . . may . . . sell anything by the yard, by the bushel, by the quart, or by any other *lesser measure or weight*." Wholesale merchants were classified in the highest of the six classes in accordance with which licensed persons paid taxes in Copenhagen (Høst, *Dansk Borgerret* [→ 209,4], p. 14).

the authorized yardstick] The actual unit of length 4 referred to here is an *alen*, which was ca. two feet.

Ammianus Marcelinus . . . evening dew] See *Am-* 7 249 *mian Marcellin* [Ammianus Marcellinus] , trans. J. A. Wagner, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1792–1794; ASKB 1257–1259), vol. 2 (1793), p. 213: "That their creation is caused and promoted more by atmospheric influences than by nutrients in the sea can be proven from the circumstance that morning dew makes these hard, small bodies beautiful, light, and rounded, while evening dew, on the other hand, makes them angular, with a reddish reflection, and spotted."

dear listener] Kierkegaard's preferred form of ad- 15 249 dress in his edifying discourses (→ 201,19).

Medieval lyric poetry . . . the lyrical objectivizing] 18 Refers to medieval folk songs; see journal entry EE:37, dated March 15, 1839, and marginal journal entry EE:37.b, both in this volume.

Kean] A play in five acts by Alexandre Dumas, 1 250 translated by C. Borgaard; it was performed at the Royal Theater twenty-one times between June 5, 1838, and September 19, 1844. The lead character, for whom the play is named, is himself an actor and by virtue of his great talent he has worked his way up from modest circumstances and has become the greatest character actor of his day. But in the higher circles of London society, he is the object of both flattery and mockery, recognition and envy;

despite all manner of rumors concerning Kean's escapades and sexual exploits, his greatest vice is a weakness for drink. His strength of character is such that he finally comes to defy the art which has been his joy and his sorrow throughout his life, and in act 4, scene 8 he passes the following judgment on the theater: "O damned art, in which no feeling, no mood belongs to ourselves! In which we are masters neither of our joy nor our sorrow! With a broken heart, one is compelled to play Falstaff; with joy in one's soul one must play Hamlet! Always a mask, never a face!" (*Det kongelige Theaters Repertoire* [The Repertoire of the Royal Theater], no. 103 [Copenhagen, 1838], p. 24). In a draft of a letter to Regine Olsen, Kierkegaard remarks in 1848 that shortly after the break with her (→ 156,*15*), specifically on October 21, 1841, he was in the theater, where he saw the actor F. F. J. C. Printzlau (1814–1859) in the guest role as Kean (*LD*, 337; *B&A* 1, 264).

2 **the old prompter**] i.e., Salomon, who was Kean's prompter and trusted servant; when Kean was finally banished from England for a year by the king, Salomon accompanied Kean and a young actress to New York. Salomon was played by the highly regarded actor J. L. Phister (1807–1896).

250 5 **Erasmus proves that Nille is a stone**] See L. Holberg's comedy *Erasmus Montanus* (→ 142,*24*), act 2, scene 2, where Erasmus says to his mother, Nille: "Mother, I will make you into a stone. / *Nille*: Yes, surely, this is even more foolish. / *Montanus*: Now, listen to this. A stone cannot fly. / *Nille*: No, that is for sure, unless you throw it. / *Montanus*: You cannot fly. / *Nille*: That's also true. / *Montanus*: Ergo, Mother is a stone" (*Den Danske Skue-Plads* [→ 142,*24*], vol. 5 [unpaginated]).

6 **syllogism**] → 206,*12*.

6 **Mad. Nielsen**] Anna Nielsen (1803–1856), from 1821 an actress at the Royal Theater, where her varied repertoire included a great number of female roles, though her most distinctive artistry was displayed in roles in which she portrayed a wife or mother, to which she brought a special intensity, depth, and warmth. This was the case, for example, in *The Lady of Lyons* (see next note), and the review in the July 3, 1844, issue of *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 177, refers to "Mad. *Nielsen*'s noble simplicity as the widow Melnotte."

The Lady of Lyons] A play in five acts by the English dramatist E. L. Bulwer; the Danish version, translated by N. V. Dorph, was *Pigen af Lyon*; it was performed at the Royal Theater eleven times between July 2, 1844, and December 4, 1845. It was published in *Samlede Skrivter af E. L. Bulwer* [E. L. Bulwer's Collected Writings], 69 vols. (Copenhagen, 1833–1865), vol. 50 (1850). 6

that it was not so remarkable . . . nearly as good] See the line by the widow Melnotte, who is the mother of Alexis, in act 3, scene 2, when she thinks that the aristocratic Pauline will marry Alexis out of love and thus marry beneath her station: "Yes, yes! And there's nothing surprising about that, for even if my son is not a prince, he deserves to be one, and that, after all, is nearly as good" (*Samlede Skrivter af E. L. Bulwer*, vol. 50, p. 60). 8

willing] Variant: immediately preceding this, the word "little" has been deleted. 17 250

bird called the rainseer] The whimbrel, *Scolopax phoeopus*, a shorebird which did not breed in Denmark, but during the spring and autumn migrations it was a frequent visitor to the heaths of west Jutland, the North Sea coast, and the lesser islands; see, e.g., *Danmarks Fugle beskrevne af N. Kjærbølling* [The Birds of Denmark, Described by N. Kjærbølling] (Copenhagen, 1852; ASKB 947), pp. 275f. It was said that its call was a sign of rain; see H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over jyske Almuesmål* (→ 211,*2*), vol. 3, p. 35. (The Danish name for the bird, *regnspove*, sounds much like the Danish word *regnspåer* ["predictor of rain"], and it was said that its cry was a harbinger of rain.) 21

Rome and Greece and Asia] → 197,*15*. 29 250

diliciis diffluentes . . . diffluentes] See Cicero, *Lælius, sive de amicitia dialogus* [Laelius, or a Conversation about Friendship], 52, in *Laelius sive de amicitia dialogus ad T. Pomponium Atticum* [Laelius, or a Conversation about Friendship with Titus Pomponius Atticus], 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1829 [1822]; ASKB 1233), p. 72: "*non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi*," which C. F. Gerdsen translates as "Consequently one ought never listen to people who live in the lap of luxury," in *Lælius eller Om Venskab* [Laelius, or On Friendship] (Copenhagen, 1820), p. 36. — **is in the spiritual sense diffluentes**: i.e., is 31

on the brink of collapse or dissolution; from *diffluo*, Latin: "collapse," "be destroyed."

250*m* 1 **pantheistic**] Relating to pantheism, the view that nature or the world as a whole is God. Hegel's "System" was accused of being pantheistic.

251 1 **the subjects in a country . . . to have a king**] From 1660 on, Denmark was an absolute monarchy; see Kongeloven [the Royal Law] (1665, published for the first time in 1709), § 2: "Denmark's . . . absolute and hereditary king shall hereafter be regarded and respected by all subjects as the most excellent and exalted head here on earth, elevated above all human laws, and who acknowledges no other head or judge over himself . . . save God alone." In the Advisory Assemblies of Estates (→ 273,*25*) the liberal opposition, starting ca. 1840, argued in favor of changing the constitution to that of a constitutional monarchy under which the king would not be able to appoint his government without the approval of a popularly elected parliament; a constitutional change of this sort would transform "subjects" into free "citizens."

251 19 **absolutely**] Variant: *added*.

251 23 **Hamlet swears by fire tongs**] In Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, act 3, scene 2, Hamlet swears "by these pickers and stealers," that he still loves Rosencrantz. In A. W. Schlegel's German translation (*Shakspeare's dramatische Werke* [→ 170,*11*], vol. 6, [1841]) it becomes "*bei diesen beiden Diebeszangen*" [by these two thieves' pincers]. Both the English original and the German translation refer to the two fingers that Hamlet holds in the air while he swears. In Peter Foersom's Danish translation (*William Shakspeare's Tragiske Værker* [William Shakespeare's Tragic Works], 9 vols. (Copenhagen, 1807–1825; ASKB 1889–1896), vol. 1, Hamlet swears "*ved denne Tyvekloe*" (Danish, "by this thieving hand"). It is not known how "*Tyvekloe*" became "*Ildtang*" (Danish, "fire tongs") for Kierkegaard, but perhaps an actor in Copenhagen held up fire tongs while speaking and altered the line to match his action.

25 **4 shillings' worth of gold on the binding of Heiberg's Urania**] Refers to the third issue of J. L. Heiberg's (→ 160,*23*) yearbook *Urania* (→ 207,*15*) (Copenhagen, 1846), which was advertised in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*), no. 300, December 22, 1845, and the same day in *Berlingske Tidende* (supplement to no. 303) with the same text: "Ready from the press at C. A. Reitzel's Press: *Urania*, Yearbook for 1846, edited by Johan Ludvig Heiberg, with a Title Page Vignette and 14 Lithographs. Paper binding, 3 rixdollars; with gilt-edged pages and shirting, 3 rixdollars, 48 shillings." — **shillings**: → 163,*11*.

out of Vesterport this evening . . . narrow alleys] 30 251
When one went out by way of Vesterport one came to Vesterbro, a wide road with "narrow alleys" for pedestrians, on the far side of the city moat. See Sterm, *Statistisk-Topographisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavn* (→ 171,*5*), p. 90: "Both sides are flanked by attractive alleys for pedestrians; the paths along the sides are for those on horseback, and in the middle there is a broad, paved lane for coaches." — **Vesterport**: The western gate in Copenhagen's ramparts, situated at the terminus of Frederiksberggade *(see map 2, A1)*. Like the other city gates (excepting Nørreport, which was always open), Vesterport closed at midnight all year round, opening again at 3:30 A M. in midsummer, with the reopening time changing seasonally to as late as 7:30 A M. in midwinter.

Peblinge Lake] One of the three dammed-up lakes 35
which were a part of Copenhagen's fortifications on the landward side of the city *(see map 5, B2–C2)*. A very popular path, commonly called the Marriage Lane or Lovers' Lane, ran parallel to Peblinge Lake on the side closest the city; see the note to entry FF:137.

we do not hear him in the thunder] As in the OT 21 252
and in the Revelation to John in the NT, where God frequently makes his presence known in fear-inducing thunder; see, e.g., Ex 20:18, Job 37:4–5, and Rev 14:2.

Grimur Thomsen . . . does not cite] Refers to a 30 252
work by the Icelandic-Danish writer Grímur Thorgrímsson Thomsen (1820–1896) *Om Lord Byron. Udgivet for Magistergraden* [On Lord Byron, Published for the Degree of Magister] (Copenhagen, 1845). The Philosophy Faculty of the University, acting through its dean, H. C. Ørsted, judged the dissertation worthy of public defense, which took place on April 29, 1845; it was reviewed that day in *Ber-*

lingske Tidende, no. 103. In his (unpaginated) preface Thomsen writes that he "is indebted to such men as Goethe, Hegel, Hotho, Chateaubriand, et al., most of whom are cited here and there in the dissertation itself." During his treatment of Byron's principal work, *Don Juan*, Thomsen also refers to "an essay in *Either/Or*" (i.e., "The Immediate Erotic Stages, or the Musical-Erotic" in *Either/Or*, where Kierkegaard writes that Byron's *Don Juan* is not consonant with the idea of Don Juan), which Thomsen goes on to criticize because it "presupposes a certain idea; develops that idea and lays out in advance an entire argument stipulating the conditions for the satisfactory treatment [of the theme of Don Juan]; then it lists the various ways in which that theme has been presented, determining their fulfillment or nonfulfillment of those conditions; and, then, finally, pronounces its unappealable judgment of the worth of the various works, all according to whether or not they are in agreement with the critic's own fundamental idea" (*Om Lord Byron*, p. 211). Moreover, Thomsen cites neither *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*), *Fear and Trembling* (→ 170,*7*), nor *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,*7*), though he shares with Kierkegaard an interest in themes such as the demonic, the tragic, hypochondria, and presentiment.

252*m* 6 **putting his light . . . atop a mountain**] Allusion to Mt 5:15; see also Lk 11:33.

6 **—One cannot accuse . . . regions**] Variant: *added*.

253 20 **The Pioneer**] Fictional title; there was no journal or newspaper of that name.

253 26 **Goethe couldn't do it**] It is unclear whether Kierkegaard means that Goethe (→ 202,*2*) had not offered his greeting or that he had not "despaired of being able to bring to the two parties together." If the latter was the case, Kierkegaard might be alluding to the following anecdote, which stems from Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859): In 1812, while walking together in Teplitz with the composer Beethoven, Goethe met the imperial family; and while Beethoven would neither step aside nor be the first to offer his greetings, Goethe did not hesitate in stepping to the side of the road, where he doffed his hat, bowed, and offered his greetings. This anecdote was widely known in Kierkegaard's day.

Peter Rørdam] Danish theologian (1806–1883), cand. theol. 1829; during the 1830s he served as a teacher in Copenhagen, where he had contact with Kierkegaard. In 1841, Rørdam left Copenhagen to accept a call as parish priest in Mern in southern Zealand, and on July 10, 1841, there was a farewell party in his honor, which Kierkegaard attended. Peter Rørdam's nephew Holger Frederik Rørdam recounts: "Among those with whom he [Peter Rørdam] associated was *Søren Kierkegaard*, who frequently accompanied him out to his mother's home in Frederiksberg. With his lively talk and his uncommon talent for debating intellectual problems, he was a very stimulating element in the family circle. Of course he and P. Rørdam were in many respects complete opposites, but it is reasonable to assume that the latter's open and immediate nature was a good object for Kierkegaard's experimental psychological studies. Finally, however, the relationship between them was abruptly terminated. The occasion for this was that while on a walk with R., S. K. spoke of Grundtvig in mocking tones. This touched P. R. in his most sensitive spot, because he loved Grundtvig as his greatest benefactor. Instantly, the vehemence of his passion flared up against the mocker, so that the latter shrank back in fear. The relationship between them was ruptured and was never subsequently reestablished" (Kirmmse, *Encounters with Kierkegaard* [→ 211,*2*], p. 284). 13 254

Italian folktale . . . Eternity] It has not been possible to identify the source, but in a notebook from 1836–1837 Kierkegaard wrote: "A saying that is quite remarkable; I don't know its source, but it bears the inward stamp of the sort of utterance that, as it were, issues from the mouth of an entire people: A despairing sinner awakens in Hell and exclaims, 'What time is it?' The Devil replies, 'Eternity' " (Not3:12 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 110; *Pap*. I C 80). 26 254

somewhere in Either/Or] See the second part of *Either/Or* (→ 145,*26*), where Judge William says that the saying originated in the Middle Ages (*EO* 2, 131; *SKS* 3, 137). 30

plague, war . . . the uncertainty of everything] Perhaps a reference to a phrase which recurs in various forms in the prayers prescribed for various church services, e.g., in "The Prayer after the Ser- 32 254

mon on Fridays" in the *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog* (→ 204,3), p. 611: "May God graciously protect these kingdoms and lands from war, bloodshed, pestilence, and sudden death; hunger and scarcity; storm and bad weather; flood and fire, that we may laud and praise thy holy name for this and for thy fatherly grace."

255 4 **in "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" . . . on sympathetic repentance**] See the "Letter to the Reader" by Frater Taciturnus in " 'Guilty?'/ 'Not Guilty?' " in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,3), where, as an example of "the dialectic of repentance, tending toward the sympathetic," Taciturnus gives an account of a gambler who has given up all gambling and now lives a secluded life; one day he sees a corpse dragged up from a river; it was the body of a suicide who, like himself, had been a gambler, but who had struggled in vain against his desire; see *SLW*, 477; *SKS* 6, 439.

255 31 **Concluding Simple Postscript**] The printing of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* was completed at Bianco Luno's print shop on February 20, 1846, and the book was placed on sale, on a commission basis, at C. A. Reitzel on February 27, 1846. It was only at the last moment, on the printer's copy of the manuscript, which Kierkegaard delivered to the printer on December 30, 1845, that "simple" was changed to "unscientific" (*Pap*. VI B 98,1).

32 **the final passage . . . the appendix)**] This passage ended up as the final portion of Johannes Climacus's concluding appendix to *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, "An Understanding with the Reader" (*CUP* 1, 617–623; *SKS* 7, 560–566).

33 "**For, if I do say so myself . . . a devil of a fellow**] See the last two paragraphs of "An Understanding with the Reader" (*CUP* 1, 621–623; *SKS* 7, 564–566), where Climacus requests that he not be viewed as the teacher he himself is seeking in vain; see the next note.

256 7 **the ambiguous art**] See "An Understanding with the Reader," where Climacus writes that "the teacher of whom I speak and, in another way, ambiguously and doubtfully, is the teacher of the ambiguous art of thinking about existence and of existing" (*CUP* 1, 622; *SKS* 7, 565).

8 **this be . . . discouraging omen, . . . "far be it from me . . . such a teacher"**] Cited word for word from "An Understanding with the Reader" (*CUP* 1, 623; *SKS* 7, 565).

vain here in the biblical sense] See, e.g., the article "Eitel [vain] (*Vanus* [Latin, empty, hollow, vain])," § 1, in *Büchner's biblische Hand-Concordanz* (→ 166,18), vol. 1 (1840): "Empty, transitory, easily passed through, like a breath exhaled on a winter day; or like mist which disappears in an instant. In Ecclesiastes it is especially said that all that is transitory and belongs to this world has no inner worth and does not help one attain any true happiness and peace of soul, which is to be found in God Eternal. It is capable only of bringing lust or suffering. The visible things which, as created by God, are good and useful in accordance with God's purposes, become vain when a person hangs his heart upon them, or misuses them" (pp. 378f.). 13

so something must come of it] Cited loosely from "An Understanding with the Reader," where Climacus writes that "if he [the teacher, (→ 256,7)] did exist, then I would dare to guarantee that something would damn well come of it" (*CUP* 1, 622–623; *SKS* 7, 565). 1 256*m*

Concluding Postscript . . . Babylonian Captivity] In *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 255,31), Johannes Climacus denies that the sacrament of baptism can bring salvation independent of "faith's appropriation," and in this connection he cites Martin Luther (→ 246,35), *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche* [On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church] (1520), in *Luthers Werke* (→ 167,35), vol. 4, pp. 67–199, p. 195: "Yet our hair-splitting sophists say nothing of faith in these sacraments but rather chatter busily about the actual power of the sacrament (the objective), teaching this incessantly, and never come to knowledge of the truth" (cited in *CUP* 1, 366; *SKS* 7, 333). 19 256

Luther meant the 5 catholic ones] i.e., the five sacraments of the seven recognized by the Catholic Church, which Luther rejects in *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche*, namely confirmation, marriage, ordination, extreme unction, and penance, while he recognizes the eucharist and baptism as established by Christ; see *Luthers Werke* (→ 167,35), vol. 4, p. 197. 22

Now a man rushes forward and raises objections] Namely by noting that Climacus uses Luther's critique of the five so-called Catholic sacraments with 23

reference to one of the two Protestant sacraments, specifically baptism. The objection is moreover hypothetical, since the journal entry was written prior to the publication of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, February 27, 1846; the next dated entry in the journal is dated February 7, 1846 (see JJ:415).

28 **much more important . . . my copy (Gerlach's edition)**] Kierkegaard is referring to *Luthers Werke* (→ 167,35), vol. 4. Kierkegaard's copy is not known, and thus it has not been possible to identify the "much more important part."

256 32 **coachman who drove past at a rather fast trot**] This was forbidden by a police regulation of September 14, 1815, § 1: "No work wagon or sledge may drive faster than a walk, and all other traffic must be at a rather moderate trot or what is called a jog-trot."

257 1 **Concluding Postscript . . . mid-Dec. . . . end of 1845**] → 255,31.

4 **A First and Last Explanation . . . original manuscript**] Refers to "A First and Last Explanation" in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, where Kierkegaard acknowledges that he is the author of the pseudonymous works. See *CUP* 1, 625ff.; *SKS* 7, 569ff. Kierkegaard's draft of "A First and Last Explanation" is somewhat shorter than the printed version and was written in ink on a torn-off piece of notepaper under the heading "Anm.[ærkning]" [Comment]. Above and to the side of the heading he wrote twice in pencil, "*Nei*" [No] (see *Pap*. VI B 99). A fair copy of "A First and Last Explanation" does not survive. — **Explanation**: Danish *Forklaring*, translated here as "declaration," can also have the legal sense of "deposition."

8 **a note to a passage on the pseudonymous works**] On the flyleaf in his own copy of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (ASKB 2140), Kierkegaard wrote: "ad p. 217. / A comment that was not printed because composed only later, although it was sketched, and for certain reasons I wanted not to change or add the slightest thing to the manuscript, which was handed in safe and sound to Luno in the last days of Dec. 45 / . . . " (*Pap*. VII 1 B 83). The reference to "p. 217" (*CUP* 1, 288; *SKS* 7, 263) is to the passage where Johannes Climacus interprets the phrase "'Guilty?' / 'Not-Guilty?'" in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,3). In the first proof, Kierkegaard's secretary Israel Levin placed an asterisk in the margin at the appropriate place and wrote at the foot of the page: "NB. The enclosed comment belongs in this column—on line 2" (*Pap*. VII 1 B 81,1). Both the asterisk and the note are crossed out.

the Corsair nonsense] Refers to *Corsaren* (→ 236,11), which in 1846 published on the following dates a series of satirical articles about, allusions to, and caricatured drawings of Kierkegaard: January 2 (no. 276), January 9 (no. 277 [→ 270,20]), January 16 (no. 278 [→ 270,20 and → 280,4]), January 23 (no. 279, [→ 270,20]), January 30 (no. 280, [→ 280,4]), February 20 (no. 283), February 27 (no. 284), March 6 (no. 285, [→ 263,34, → 270,20, and → 280,4]), March 13 (no. 286), April 3 (no. 289, [→ 270,20]), April 17 (no. 291), May 1 (no. 293), May 29 (no. 297, [→ 270,20]), June 12 (no. 299, [→ 274,17]), June 19 (no. 300, [→ 274,17]), and July 17 (no. 304) as well as October 23 (no. 318) and December 24 (no. 327). On December 22, 1845, P. L. Møller (→ 271,33) had published an article, "Et Besøg i Sorø" [A Visit to Sorø], in the 1846 volume of his own *Gæa* (pp. 144–187), where he delivered a harsh criticism of *Stages on Life's Way*. Under his pseudonym "Frater Taciturnus, Author of the Third Part of *Stages on Life's Way*," Kierkegaard replied on December 27 in *Fædrelandet* (no. 2078, cols. 16653–16658) with the article "An Itinerant Aesthetician's Activity, and How He Still Came to Pay for the Dinner" (see *COR*, 38–46; *SV1* 13, 422–431). Kierkegaard identified Møller with *Corsaren* and then asked that he (Kierkegaard) might "appear in *Corsaren*," since he could not accept that he was the only writer so far not to be abused but only praised by the paper. After the first two articles in *Corsaren*, Kierkegaard replied, again as Frater Taciturnus, in *Fædrelandet* on January 10, 1846 (no. 9, cols. 65–68) with "The Dialectical Result of a Literary-Police Matter" (see *COR*, 47–50; *SV1* 13, 468–471). 3 257*m*

the acknowledgment of my authorship] See "A First and Last Explanation" (→ 257,4). 5

giving the dates] Neither Johannes Climacus's preface nor the final addendum (→ 255,32) is dated, but Kierkegaard's "A First and Last Explanation" (→ 257,4) is dated "Copenhagen, in February 1846." 8

good and perfect gift] → 161,35. 14

a firm and wise spirit] Presumably an allusion to the prayer "Om sand Bedring og Poenitentse" [On 17

True Improvement and Penitance] in *Evangeliskkristelig Psalmebog* (→ 204,3), pp. 629–632: "Give me a new wise spirit" (p. 631). Kierkegaard may also be alluding to Luther's translation of Psalm 51:12: "Create in me, O God, a pure heart and give me a new wise spirit"; see *Die Bibel* (→ 247,1).

257 15 **qualify myself for the priesthood**] i.e., apply for a position as a priest; Kierkegaard *was* already qualified (→ 230,3), since all he lacked was to be ordained.

20 **while doing the proofreading**] i.e., at the same time as he was reading the proofs of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 255,31), which must have been from mid-January to the beginning of February 1846.

21 **review of Two Ages**] Refers to Thomasine Gyllembourg (→ 137,21), *To Tidsaldre. Novelle af Forfatteren til "En Hverdags-Historie"* [Two Ages: A Novel by the Author of A Story of Everyday Life], ed. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 1563), which was advertised as published in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4) on October 30, 1845 (no. 255). Kierkegaard published a review of the book on March 30, 1846, titled *A Literary Review* [Danish, *En literair Anmeldelse*, translated in *KW* as *Two Ages*]. Kierkegaard presumably began writing the review around January 10, 1846. See *Journal NB*, where he indicates that it was written after his article in *Fædrelandet* dated January 10, 1846 (→ 257m,3, *KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 22; *Pap*. VII 1 A 104, p. 50). The manuscript was delivered to Bianco Luno's Printing Press on March 4. See *Erindringsbog for Bianco Luno 1846* [Memorandum Book for Bianco Luno], item no. 242 (in the archives of Bianco Luno's Printing Press, Copenhagen).

257 25 **that man . . . on the Jutland heath**] Refers to Kierkegaard's father, M. P. Kierkegaard (→ 165,35).

258 9 **educated only by possibility**] On "education through possibility" as an education through infinity to faith, see *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,7), chap. 5, *CA*, 155–162; *SKS* 4, 454–461.

257m 18 **the German saying: Gott richt't . . . p. 213**] The saying is quoted verbatim from a story in section 106, "Von viel Andern, welche gleicherweise vor Gottes Gericht geladen worden [Of Many Others Who in the Same Manner Are Called Before God's Judgment]," in *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* [German Fairytales and Legends], ed. J. W. Wolf (Leipzig, 1845; ASKB 1439), pp. 212–214. The story concerns a bishop who tries with great difficulty to reinstate discipline and order in a monastery. Its abbot was dismissed, but a monk by the name of Boso continued to breach the monastery's rules in spite of many warnings: "The bishop, agitated by such unruly behavior, summoned the godless monk before God's court, and said: 'You must account to God on high for these blasphemous deeds.' The monk paid no heed to such threats and only laughed at the bishop, who, however, was not mistaken in his accusation. For at the very moment that the bishop died, the monk Boso died as well, at the hand of the barber while having his beard trimmed. There is with us Germans an old saying: God judges when no one speaks" (p. 213).

Goethe . . . says somewhere . . . fast allein] Quoted from Goethe's "Zueignung" [dedication] in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 202,2), vol. 1, pp. 3–7, 5. 11 258

reviews in which my ideas developed out of some book or other] Allusion to *A Literary Review* (→ 257,21), on which Kierkegaard was working at the time. 18 258

escape being an author] See JJ:415. 19

God's co-knowledge] In its apposition here to the notion of conscience (*Samvittighed*), the Danish *Guds Samviden* ("God's co-knowledge") suggests the sense that conscience is a kind of knowledge shared with God. 29 258

Prof. Nielsen] Michael Nielsen (1776–1846), head of Borgerdydsskolen (The School of Civic Virtue) from 1811 until October 1, 1844; named titular professor in 1822; died February 11, 1846, and was buried on February 16; see *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4) of the same date (no. 39). Under his direction Borgerdydsskolen became the most respected private school in Copenhagen, and both Kierkegaard and his elder brother Peter Christian were pupils with Nielsen, both also working there later as teachers. 32 258

Sager] Hans Carl Sager (1808–1885), master baker and director of Copenhagen's relief system for the poor. 32

32 **out in Fredriksberg**] That is, at "Frederiksberg Smalleg.[ade] 13," where Michael Nielsen had moved in 1844, and where he lived until his death; see *Kiøbenhavns Veiviser* [Copenhagen's Guidebook] for 1845, p. 469, and for 1846, p. 482.

34 **easy, easy**] Kierkegaard writes "sinne, sinne" (properly *sindig*, *sindig*), appropriately to the dialect of Southern Jutland and of Michael Nielsen's hometown, Sønder Vilstrup, between Kolding and Fredericia.

259 3 **Mikkel**] Diminutive of "Michael."

259 8 **literary contemptibility . . . to be anonymous**] Refers to *Corsaren* (→ 236,11). In his *A Literary Review* (→ 257,21), Kierkegaard refers to *Corsaren* in terms of "literary contemptibility" (*TA*, 95; *SKS* 8, 90) and develops the themes of idea, life view, and anonymity. — **contemptibility**: The Danish term *Foragtelighed* is comparatively rare and has two distinct senses. One, now considered obsolete, would have it refer to the disdain or contempt shown by some writers to other writers, and the other (as the term more literally suggests) to the contempt in which the ill-treated hold those who have vilified them. It is possible to read Kierkegaard either way, as referring to vilification of the kind to which he was exposed in *Corsaren* or to the disdain felt by himself and others for this form of literary activity, but also perhaps in both ways. — **to be anonymous**: The introduction to the "freedom of the press ordinance" of September 27, 1799 (denounced because it curtailed the freedom originally established in 1770) suggests that "it has proved that treacherous and base maliciousness in general seeks to conceal itself under *anonymity*, but justice requires that everyone acknowledge what he allows be printed publicly as much as what he utters in writing privately or orally; and that accordingly he should be known by name no less in the former case as in the latter. Hence, He [the king] considers it most expedient to forbid all anonymity and to impose upon everyone who publishes any work in print the duty of giving his name." *Corsaren* resorted to strawmen as editors-in-chief (→ 260,20), for which reason it was normally these who were convicted for the paper's breaches of the ordinance. On June 7, 1843, however, M. A. Goldschmidt was convicted in the supreme court as the actual editor and publisher. Formally, with his pseudonymity, Kierkegaard was in breach of ordinance §§ 16–17, which required the author to give his or her true name in full on the title page, but in "A First and Last Explanation" in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 257,4) he writes that he is not aware of having been in breach of any law, since the censor as well as the printer have been kept informed as to who the author was (*CUP* 1, 627; *SKS* 7, 569). It was also common practice to write anonymously or under a pseudonym.

the dissolution of Greece and Aristophanes' comedy] See the treatise "Ancient Tragedy's Reflection in Modern Tragedy," in *Either/Or* (→ 145,26), *EO* 1, 141; *SKS* 2, 141. — **Aristophanes**: Greek comic dramatist (ca. 450–388 B.C.) who wrote forty-four comedies, eleven of which survive. Kierkegaard possessed them in a Greek edition, *Aristophanis Comoediae* [Aristophanes' Comedies], ed. G. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1830; ASKB 1051), in a German translation, *Des Aristophanes Werke* [The Works of Aristophanes], trans. Johann Gustav Droysen, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1838; ASKB 1052–1054), and in selection in Danish translation, A*ristophanes's Komedier* [Aristophanes' Comedies], trans. J. Krag (Odense, 1825; ASKB 1055). 12

represent the demagogue Cleon . . . the part in the play] The power of the dictator Cleon was so great that no actor dared impersonate him. Legend has it that the poet himself played the role in the *Knights*, his face smeared with wine lees in mockery of Cleon's bloated and alcoholic appearance. See Droysen's introduction to the comedy (as *Die Ritter*) in *Des Aristophanes Werke*, vol. 2 (1837), p. 307. — **Cleon**: Greek statesman and military leader (d. 422 B.C.), a tanner who rose to oppose and then succeed Pericles, made a career in the Peloponnesian War, acknowledged in his time as a brutal and unprincipled demagogue, ridiculed by Aristophanes in the above-mentioned comedy. 15

Socrates says in the Apology . . . grasp hold of . . . town gossip and man-to-man talk . . . like shadows] See Plato, *Apology*, 18b–d: "I have already been accused in your hearing by a great many people for a great many years, though without a word of truth, and I am more afraid of those people than I am of Anytus and his colleagues, although they are formidable enough. But the others are still more formidable. I mean the people who took hold of so many of you when you were children and tried to 20

fill your minds with untrue accusations against me, saying, There is a wise man called Socrates who has theories about the heavens and has investigated everything below the earth, and can make the weaker argument defeat the stronger. It is these people, gentlemen, the disseminators of these rumors, who are my dangerous accusers, because those who hear them suppose that anyone who inquires into such matters must be an atheist … and the most fantastic thing of all is that it is impossible for me even to know and tell you their names, unless one of them happens to be a playwright [in *The Clouds* Aristophanes had ridiculed Socrates' subtle philosophy through confrontation with the common farmer Strepsiades]. All these people, who have tried to set you against me out of envy and love of slander—all these are very difficult to deal with. It is impossible to bring them here for cross-examination; one simply has to conduct one's defense and argue one's case against an invisible opponent, because there is no one here to answer" (translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], pp. 4–5). Kierkegaard himself presumably translates from the Greek *Platonis opera* (→ 151,*21*), vol. 8, p. 100, since in his German translation Schleiermacher renders σκιαμαχεῖν (Greek, *skiamacheín*, "fight with a shadow") as "*in der Luft fechtend*" ("fencing in the air"); see *Des Sokrates Verteidigung* [The Apology of Socrates] in *Platons Werke* (→ 151,*21*), vol. 1:2, (1805), p. 191. The *Apology* was not among the works that Heise translated into Danish in *Udvalgte Dialoger af Platon* (→ 151,*21*).

25 **conjure forth a legion of shadows**] Alludes to Mt 26:53, where Jesus, having just been betrayed by Judas, says to one of them: "Do you think that I cannot appeal to my Father, and he will at once send me more than twelve legions of angels?" — **legion**: a division in the Roman army, comprising 3,000–6,000 soldiers; in the mid-1840s *Corsaren* had ca. 3,000 subscribers, but on November 21, 1845, the paper itself claimed that the number had reached nearly 5,000 (no. 270, col. 14). The term "legion" is now used to denote a multiplicity in general.

259 29 **one single thought through**] Se JJ:303.

31 **trifles … almost inviting ridicule**] Adverts to J. L. Heiberg's review of *Either/Or* in "Litterær Vintersæd" (→ 179,*5*), in *Intelligensblade*, in which he writes that "in respect of its [sheer] volume the book can be called a monster" (p. 288), while Scribe's one-act comedy *Den første Kjærlighed* (→ 180,*13*) is pointed up as a "a pretty little trifle (p. 290).

pamphlets and periodicals] Danish, *flyveskrifter* 32
and *blade*, that is, leaflets or pamphlets, known from the earliest times of the art of printing and which, until daily newspapers became common, were frequently used as "tracts" for polemical contributions to religious or political debate. During Grundtvig's fight with the church in the years after 1825 (→ 202,*10*) pamphlets came into their own once more. Likewise the Danish liberal theologian D. G. Monrad gave the genre something of a political renaissance with his *Flyvende politiske Blade* (→ 218,*31*). Along with all other "newspapers, journals, and periodicals," pamphlets were subject to prior censorship, unlike "larger books" of more than 24 sheets (i.e., 384 octavo—ca. 10 × 6¼ inch—pages); see the ordinance of September 27, 1799 (→ 259,*8*), § 26, which was made more restrictive in a royal mandate of May 13, 1814.

Bernard of Clairvaux … distractionibus subjacet] 1 260
See Bernard of Clairvaux, *In ascensione Domini* [In the Ascent of the Lord], sermon 3, chap. 7 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 183, col. 308A). Kierkegaard presumably quotes from *Opera* (Basel, 1566; ASKB 427). — **Bernard of Clairvaux**: St. Bernard (1091–1153), French theologian, reformer, and mystic, joined the Cistercian order in 1113 and in 1115 became the first abbot of Clairvaux.

metaphysics has replaced theology] Refers to 4 260
modern speculative philosophy in general.

modern statistical way of thinking of morals] Pre- 5
sumably a reference to the public debate on the state of popular morals, a debate which frequently relied on statistics, especially on illegitimate births, suicide, crime, and the mentally ill; see *Statistisk Tabelværk* [Statistical Tables], no. 6 (Copenhagen, 1842). See also the criticism of "tabular surveys" in "Letter to the Reader from Frater Taciturnus," in "'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?'" in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*4*), *SLW*, 478–481; *SKS* 6, 441f.

new paper "for amusement"] Refers in general to 8 260

literature for entertainment; see, e.g., *Den danske Bondeven, et Ugeblad til Nytte og Fornøielse* [The Danish Farmer's Friend, a Weekly for Benefit and Amusement], which was first published in 1836, and *Morskabslæsning for den danske Almue* [Reading for Amusement for the Danish Common People], which was published from 1839 to 1841 and again in October 1845.

10 **jumping into the sea**] Drowning was a common way of committing suicide, especially in Copenhagen, e.g., on Kalleboe Strand [beach] west of Langebro (*see map 2, A3*).

260 13 **new development . . . being represented**] The entry is closely connected to *A Literary Review* (→ 257,*21*), in which both representation and reflection are essential themes, and more particularly to the conclusion where Kierkegaard discusses present-day and future "formations" against the background of the "older formations" of the relationship between the generation and individuals (*TA*, 106–107; *SKS* 8, 101). — **representing individual**: In Kierkegaard's day this could have been a municipal representative (member of Copenhagen's municipal council, [→ 197,*17*]) or a parliamentary representative (member of one of the advisory assemblies [→ 273,*25*]). In the 1840s, interest in these political organs was waning because they failed to live up to expectations of their political influence. Instead, the liberal opposition demanded that the monarchy be bound to a popularly elected and representative assembly with the right to pass laws and impose taxes (→ 251,*1*).

260 19 **the fee . . . nowadays very small**] Kierkegaard himself received no fees for his publications, since (until 1847) he was his own publisher.

20 **literary hacks**] The English term "hack," derived from "hackney" or a horse let out for hire and used for work of the kind referred to as "drudgery" (hence "drudge": someone who takes on such work, hence also a literary drudge) has much of the same sense as Kierkegaard's term *Sjouere*, though the latter refers more directly to laborers, including and especially stevedores, hired for the day or the job, and perhaps carries more explicit connotations of crudity and lack of moral responsibility. Kierkegaard is referring especially to *Corsaren*'s anonymous and unaccountable "collaborators" (→ 236,*11*), since according to the front-page caption (permanently displayed starting on January 10, 1845, no. 225) these seemed to be hired on the same conditions as were *Sjouere*: "Contributions to the paper, which are paid with 1 to 3 Rigsbanksdaler [→ 163,*11*] per column, are received at Messrs. Booksellers Klein and Steen in sealed letters, addr.: *Corsaren*'s Editorial Management." This could also be a reference to the strawmen *Corsaren* used as editors-in-chief. Under his pseudonym Frater Taciturnus—and referring to the actual editor, M. A. Goldschmidt (→ 236,*11*)—Kierkegaard refers in "The Dialectical Result of a Literary-Police Matter" (→ 257*m*,*3*) to a "staff of day laborers [or hacks] who represent him, secured against literary polemic through the paper's contemptibility" (*COR*, 49; *SV1* 13, 434). The widespread use of strawmen gave occasion as early as 1841 to the transient editors being compared with day laborers and market porters (→ 271,*34*); thus on May 7, 1841 (no. 27), *Corsaren* observed that "people charge us with taking on workers and day laborers as editors-in-chief." See also *Corsaren* on September 24, 1841 (no. 47), and June 10, 1842 (no. 90), col. 8.

contemptible . . . writer] → 259,*8*. 21

Holberg uses such comic effects . . . people out there in the sticks assume the earth is flat] See Holberg's (→ 161,*5*) comedy *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg* (→ 142,*24*), where, referring to the fact that in Copenhagen people believe the earth is round, Jesper says: "Here in the sticks no one will believe that" (act 3, scene 2). — **in the sticks**: Equivalent of *paa Bjerget* (Danish, literally, "on the hill"). The expression *her paa bjerget* is used (usually in mock modesty) to refer to oneself as an out-of-town unsophisticate. 25 260

Concluding Postscript, p. 327 . . . to reach the individual] Quoted verbatim from *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 255,*31*), p. 327 (*CUP* 1, 428; *SKS* 7, 389). 29 261

Dr Bayer, der Begriff der sittlichen Gemeinschaft . . . pp. 80 and 81] K. Bayer, "Der Begriff der sittlichen Gemeinschaft [The Concept of Moral Fellowship]," in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* [Journal of Philosophy and Speculative Theology], ed. I. H. Fichte (after 1847 also by H. Ulrici and with the title, *Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 33

und philosophische Kritik [Journal of Philosophy and Philosophical Criticism], 27 vols. (vols. 1–20:1, Tübingen, 1837–1848; vols. 23–27:1, Tübingen, 1853–1855; ASKB 877–911), vol. 13 (1844), pp. 69–102. Bayer writes on p. 80 that the real solidarity of society is due not to an external necessity but to an inner one, since only a law of freedom can make it an association of love. He then divides society into three parts: "the area of connective community," which is the field of inanimate nature and where, e.g., the planetary interrelationships can be described as a metaphysical relationship (pp. 80f.); "the area of concerned community," which is the community of the living, insofar as they strive through self-sacrifice and self-respect to realize an ideal of perfect association (p. 81); and "the area of perfectly united community," which is that realizing unanimity and unity in which the independence of the totality depends on that of the elements, and where the mutual relationships of the latter are a relation of freedom and love as a personal and moral-spiritual society (p. 81). — **Dr. Bayer**: Karl Bayer (1806–1883), German philosopher. — **Fichte**: Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879), German philosopher; son of German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), and often referred as "the younger Fichte."

262 3 **De occultis non judicat ecclesia**] → 230,*8*.

5 **story of suffering**] → 220,*3*.

262 25 **funeral speech**] With the priest's approval this could be delivered by a layman; see writ of the Board of Justice and Home Department of June 21, 1817, to the bishop of Zealand (Denmark's primate).

263 2 **went in and shut his door and prayed to God**] Alludes to Mt 6:6: "But whenever you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret."

10 **Stoics**] Here the reference is to the Roman Stoic Seneca; see the next note and → 150,*18*.

11 **sapientem nulla re indigere … Fichte's journal, vol. 13 (1844), p. 86**] Paraphrases of Seneca's *Breve* [Letters], 9,14 and 9,8–10. With some deviations in punctuation, quoted verbatim from Bauer, "Der Begriff der sittlichen Gemeinschaft" (→ 261,*33*), p. 88 (not p. 86).

As far as literature and criticism go … (in its main field, politics … Berlingske Tidende] The full name of *Berlingske Tidende* was *Den Berlingske politiske og Avertissements-Tidende* [Berling's Political and Advertising Times], founded in 1748; in January 1845, it was published twice daily with politics, news, reviews, business material, a feuilleton, and advertisements. Until 1848 the paper enjoyed a royal monopoly on presenting political news. 19

wide circulation … by being in BT] In 1846 *Berlingske Tidende* had approximately 4,000 subscribers, but the number of readers was significantly higher. Kierkegaard never wrote in *Berlingske Tidende*, but in connection with the affair with *Corsaren* (→ 257*m,3*) he wrote in the daily *Fædrelandet*, which at the time had approximately 1,500 subscribers. As a rule, his own works came out in an edition of 500 copies. 29

I am criticized … his approval] In "A First and Last Explanation" in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 257,*4*), Kierkegaard asks the reader to forget him in connection with the books, "since I most sincerely thank everyone who has kept silent, and with profound veneration thank the signature Kts—that it has spoken" (*CUP* 1, 629; *SKS* 7, 572;). Under his usual signature "Kts." Mynster had praised Kierkegaard's *Four Edifying Discourses*, 1844 (→ 197,*22*), in "Church Polemics" in *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,*5*), vol. 4, nos. 41–42, pp. 97–114, 111–113. On the publication of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, *Corsaren* wrote (→ 236,*11*) on March 6, 1846 (no. 285) an article on "the great philosopher," in which it says that Kierkegaard "thanks everyone who has kept silent, but Bishop Mynster has a monopoly on praising him, and anyone who infringes upon that privilege will be summoned to court and charged and fined most heavily. All should accordingly keep their mouths shut. It is surely strange that one should have no control over a book one buys and pays 3 rigsbanksdalers and 64 shillings for (→ 163,*11*). It is as if Magister Kierkegaard invites a man home and gives him a cup of coffee, and says to him: Here you will taste the most delicious coffee you have ever tasted in your life. But you must keep your rapture all to yourself, you must not praise it—the only one allowed to praise my coffee is Bishop Mynster" (cols. 8f). 34 263

36 **Fædrelandet 1845 . . . Berlingske Tidende's praise**] As author of *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* and as presumed author of *Stages on Life's Way*, Kierkegaard was praised by *Berlingske Tidende* on May 6, 1845 (→ 237,20), under the signature "—n.," for "a profundity of thought that pursues its object to its most minute thread, and develops withal a rare beauty and elegance of language but in particular a fluency such that no living Danish writer can match this author." In "An Explanation and a Little More" in *Fædrelandet* on May 9, 1845 (→ 237,20), Kierkegaard would have none of this praise from "—n.," whose anonymity precludes any evidence of his literary authority, whereas "if, e.g., it is the legitimate ruler in Danish literature, Prof. Heiberg (→ 160,23) who speaks, if it is one of European rank like Prof. Madvig (→ 271,20) who speaks, if it is the authoritative, right reverend signature Kts. who speaks—yes, then a hint has its meaning, then a word of encouragement has its validity, then a friendly literary greeting has its joy" (cols. 15095f).

264 1 **the same thing . . . in my first writing**] Neither in *From the Papers of One Still Living* (1838), in *The Concept of Irony* (1841), or in *Either/Or* (→ 145,26) does Kierkegaard reject praise or "back Mynster." So he is presumably referring to an article, "Public Confession," in *Fædrelandet* on June 12, 1842 (no. 904, cols. 7245–7252; see *COR*, 3–12; *SV2* 13, 433–442), where he declines praise and lauds Mynster as "a tested, a serious, affected, right reverend voice" (col. 7248; see *COR*, 7; *SV2* 13, 437).

3 **the preface to Concluding Postscript . . . by Johannes Climacus**] See Johannes Climacus's "Preface" to *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, in which the author rejoices that his previous publication, *Philosophical Fragments*, has not been reviewed (→ 207,31 and → 238,19); *CUP* 1, 5; *SKS* 7, 9.

4 **at the end of the book . . . neither capable of nor wish for**] See "A First and Last Explanation" (→ 257,4), in which Kierkegaard writes: "My pseudonymity or polyonymity has not had an *accidental* basis in my person . . . but an *essential* basis in the *production* itself, which, for the sake of the [dramatic] lines and for the psychologically varied differences of the individualities, poetically required a recklessness with regard to good and evil . . . which is ideally limited only by psychological consistency, which no factually actual person dares to allow himself or can want to allow himself in the moral limits of actuality" (*CUP* 1, 625; *SKS* 7, 569, trans. modified).

the truly distinguished individual] See "An Explanation and a Little More" in *Fædrelandet* (→ 263,36), in which Kierkegaard reasons: "[B]aseless approval is just as objectionable as a baseless attack. Precisely in our time the former is so dangerous, because people try in so many ways to wrest from the few distinguished individuals of whom our native land can be proud—a renown earned through a rare excellence over a number of years—a claim to enjoy the respect of the younger generation and the authority to assign beginners their place in literature and to encourage them with beckoning acclamation" (col. 15095). See also *A Literary Review*, in which "the person of distinction" is a recurring theme. 11 264

he] Variant: *changed from* "I." 11

The Corsair . . . I . . . want to be reviled . . . contemptibility] → 257*m*,3. — **contemptibility**: → 259,8. 12

Spinoza's begins (de emendatione intellectus, p. 495)] Spinoza (→ 186,14) *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione et de via, qua optime in veram rerum Cognitionem dirigitur* [Treatise on the Improvement of the Understanding and the Way in Which It Can Best Be Directed to True Knowledge of Things], in *Spinoza opera* (→ 186,14), pp. 493–518; see p. 495. See "On the Improvement of the Understanding," Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* (→ 186,14): "After experience had taught me that all the usual surroundings of social life are vain and futile; seeing that none of the objects of my fears contained in themselves anything either good or bad, except insofar as the mind is affected by them, I finally resolved to inquire whether there might be some real good having power to communicate itself, which would affect the mind singly, to the exclusion of all else: whether, in fact, there might be anything of which the discovery and attainment would enable me to enjoy continuous, supreme, and unending happiness. I say 'I finally resolved,' for at first sight it seemed unwise willingly to lose hold on what was sure for the sake of something then uncertain. I could see the benefits which are acquired through fame and riches, and that I should be obliged to abandon the quest of 2 264*m*

such objects, if I seriously devoted myself to the search for something different and new" (vol. 2, p. 3).

265 15 **basement lard-seller**] Kierkegaard's term is *Spekhøker*, a retailer on the lowest rung, usually in basements, who dealt in lard (*Spæk*), as well as butter and eggs and a limited selection of groceries.

265 18 **Spinoza rejects ... constructs teleology**] See the appendix to pt, 1. (on God) of Spinoza (→ 186,*14*), *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata et in quinque partes distincta* [Ethics Demonstrated in Geometric Order and Divided into Five Parts] (abbreviated hereafter as *Ethica*), in *Spinoza opera* (→ 186,*14*), pp. 285–430, esp. 305–310. Kierkegaard is referring to a passage on pp. 307f: "We must not omit to notice that the followers of this doctrine, anxious to display their talent in assigning final causes, have imported a new method of argument in proof of their theory—namely, a reduction, not to the impossible, but to ignorance; thus showing that they have no other method of exhibiting their doctrine. For example, if a stone falls from a roof onto someone's head and kills him, they will demonstrate by their new method that the stone fell in order to kill the man; for, if it had not by God's will fallen with that object, how could so many circumstances (and there are often many concurrent circumstances) have all happened together by chance? Perhaps you will answer that the event is due to the facts that the wind was blowing, and the man was walking that way. 'But why,' they will insist, 'was the wind blowing, and why was the man at that very time walking that way?' If you again answer, that the wind had then sprung up because the sea had begun to be agitated the day before, the weather being previously calm, and that the man had been invited by a friend, they will again insist: 'But why was the sea agitated, and why was the man invited at that time?' So they will pursue their questions from cause to cause, till at last you take refuge in the will of God—in other words, the sanctuary of ignorance. So, again, when they survey the frame of the human body, they are amazed; and, being ignorant of the causes of so great a work of art conclude that it has been fashioned, not mechanically, but by divine and supernatural skill, and has been so put together that one part shall not hurt another" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 78). — **asylum ignorantiæ**: Kierkegaard writes *asylum ignorantiæ* for *ignorantiae asylum* (Spinoza *Opera*, p. 308); in *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* (→ 186,*14*), vol. 2, p. 78, it is translated as "the sanctuary of ignorance." — **causa efficiens**: Aristotle and the scholastics operate with a whole range of causal categories, among which the four main categories are *causa materialis* ("material cause"), *causa formalis* ("formal cause"), *causa efficiens*, and *causa finalis* ("final cause"). From Spinoza's and eternity's perspective, *causa efficiens* can be said to be an immanent cause insofar as the cause lies in the effect itself, since the effect has been determined by its own past, while *causa finalis* can be said to be a transcendent cause, insofar as the cause lies beyond the effect, as what determines it as its goal.

In the second part ... knowledge of the causa efficiens] See part 2 (On the Nature and Origin of the Mind) in Spinoza, *Ethica*, pp. 310–339. Spinoza claims that every phenomenon has its efficient cause (*causa efficiens*), regardless of the fact that, due to their limited powers of understanding, human beings, and thus Spinoza too, will be unable to acquire adequate knowledge of it; see the following in his note on proposition 35: "men are mistaken in thinking themselves free; their opinion is made up of consciousness of their own actions, and ignorance of the causes by which they are conditioned. Their idea of freedom, therefore, is simply their ignorance of any cause for their actions" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, pp. 108–109). — **immanence**: → 186,*32*. 23

ignorance ... Subjectivity Is Truth] See pt. 2, chap. 2, "Subjective Truth, Inwardness; Truth Is Subjectivity" in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (→ 255,*31*): "When subjectivity is truth, the definition of truth must include an expression of the antithesis to objectivity, a memory of that fork in the road, and this expression will at the same time serve as an indication of the tension of inwardness. Here is such a definition of truth: *the objective uncertainty maintained through appropriation with the most passionate inwardness is truth*, the highest truth there is for an *existing* person. At the point where the road turns off (and where that is cannot be said objectively, since it is precisely subjectivity), objec- 30

tive knowledge is placed in abeyance. Then all he has objectively is uncertainty, but precisely this tightens the infinite passion of inwardness, and truth is precisely this venture of choosing an objective uncertainty with the passion of the infinite. I observe nature in order to find God, and I indeed see omnipotence and wisdom, but I also see much else that troubles and disturbs. The *summa summarum* of this is the objective uncertainty, but the inwardness becomes so great precisely because it embraces the objective uncertainty with all the passion of the infinite. In the case of a mathematical proposition, e.g., the objectivity is given, but that is why its truth is also an indifferent truth" (*CUP* 1, 203f; *SKS* 7, 186f; translation modified).

265 35 **latere, bene latuit**] Error for *latere, bene vixit*: Latin, "the one who hides [lives unnoticed] has a good life." See Ovid's *Tristia*, bk. 3,4,25: "bene qui latuit bene vixit." Kierkegaard possessed Ovid's works in *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae supersunt*, (→ 136,*29*).

266 16 **the fine talk on the beginning of science**] Refers to the Hegelians' requirement that "scientific" philosophy be a "system" (→ 185,*17*) without presuppositions (→ 199,*14*).

17 **begin . . . humanly . . . whether I shall be a scientist**] Perhaps a reference to the introduction to Spinoza, *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* (→ 264*m,2*).

22 **wonder, just as in anc. times with the Greeks**] Refers to Plato and Aristotle's saying that philosophy begins with wonder. In a entry from 1841, Kierkegaard writes: "It is a positive point of departure for philosophy when Aristotle believes that philosophy begins with wonder and not, as in our times, with doubt" (Not7:21 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 211; *Pap*. III A 107). In the margin he cites Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, bk. 1, chap. 2 (982b 12f.): "δια γαρ το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι και νυν και το πρωτον ηρξαντο φιλοσοφειν" ["For it is owing to their wonder that men both now begin and at first began to philosophize"] (trans., *The Complete Works of Aristotle* [→ 137*m,4*], p. 1554), and from Plato's *Theaetetus* 155d: "μαλα γαρ φιλοσοφον τουτο το παθος, το θαυμαζειν. ου γαρ αλλη αρχη φιλοσοφιας η αυτη" ["This sense of wonder is the mark of the philosopher. Philosophy indeed has no other origin"] (Plato, *The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 860). Kierkegaard gives as his source K. F. Hermann, *Geschichte und System der Platonischen Philosophie* [History and System of Platonic Philosophy], vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1839; ASKB 576), p. 275, n. 5, where both quotations are given. See JJ:218.

Descartes notes . . . has no opposite] Descartes writes in *Tractatus de passionibus animæ* [Treatise on the Passions of the Soul] (French, 1649; Latin, 1650), pt. 2, art. 53, under the heading "Admiratio" [Admiration; wondering]: "Nec habet contrarium" (Latin, "It does not have its contrary"), *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 137,*29*), vol. 4, p. 27. In the manuscript for *Johannes Climacus eller De omnibus dubitandum est* (→ 212,*12*), Kierkegaard writes that "Cartesius teaches that wonder is the only passion of the soul that has no contrary—one sees therefore how right it is to make it the starting point of all philosophy" (*Pap*. IV B 13,23). Kierkegaard is presumably also referring to this same passage in the portion of *Notebook 13* titled "Philosophica," dated December 2, 1842 (Not13:7 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 386). It reads: "Cartesius (in his essay *de passionibus*) rightly notes that *admiratio* has no contrary (cf. art.: LIII.). Likewise that *cupiditas* ("desire," "urge") should not have its contrary in *aversio* ("repulsion," "disinclination") but should have no contrary (cf. artic. LXXXVII.). For me this is important for my theory of anxiety, cf. JJ. p. 3 from the end" [see JJ:511]; see *The Concept of Anxiety* (→ 196,*7*) (*CA*, 146n; *SKS* 4, 445n.). 24

Spinoza . . . in the third book . . . admiratio] See the fourth of the definitions of the emotions in pt. 3, "Of the Origin and Nature of the Affects," in Spinoza, *Ethica* (→ 265,*18*), p. 369 (underscored in Kierkegaard's own copy): "*Wonder* is the conception (*imaginatio*) of anything, wherein the mind comes to a stand, because the particular concept in question has no connection with other concepts" (*Ethica*, p. 369; Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 174). In the explanation of the definition, it is said that wonder is not an emotion but equivalent to the conception of a new and hitherto unseen thing: "the conception of a new object, considered in itself, is of the same nature as other conceptions; hence, I do not include wonder among the emotions, nor do I see why I should so include it, inasmuch as this distraction of the mind arises from no positive cause drawing away the mind from other objects, but merely from 25

the absence of a cause, which should determine the mind to pass from the contemplation of one object to the contemplation of another" (*Ethica*, p. 369; Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 175). — **admiratio**: → 266,*24*.

27 **cupiditas, laetitia, tristitia**] After defining these as the three basic emotions, Spinoza writes in the proof for proposition 57 in pt. 3 of *Ethica*, p. 366 (underscored in Kierkegaard's copy): "All emotions are attributable to desire, pleasure, or pain, as their definitions above given show" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 170).

28 **doubt as a beginning**] → 176,*1*.

32 **κινησις**] Greek (kínēsis), "movement," "change"; refers esp. to Aristotle's stamping of the concept κινησις as a transition from possibility to actuality; see *Physics*, bk. 3, chap. 1 (201a 10–11), (→ 145,*12*). In § 1 of "Interlude" in *Philosophical Fragments* (→ 207,*31*), Kierkegaard has rendered an account of his own understanding of the Greek concept as developed by Aristotle, that is, as a transition from not-being to being, or possibility to actuality (see *PF*, 72–86; *SKS* 4, 273–275).

32 **he says . . . p. 368**] See the second and third of the definitions of the emotions in pt. 3 of Spinoza, *Ethica* (→ 265,*18*), p. 368 (partially underscored in Kierkegaard's copy): "II. *Pleasure* is the transition of a man from a less to a greater perfection. / III. *Pain* is the transition of a man from a greater to a less perfection. / *Explanation*.— I say transition: for pleasure is not perfection itself. For, if man were born with the perfection to which he passes, he would possess the same, without the emotion of pleasure" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 174).

267 1 **suum esse conservare**] See proposition 6 in pt. 3 of Spinoza, *Ethica* (→ 265,*18*), p. 344 (partially underscored in Kierkegaard's copy): "Everything, insofar as it is in itself, endeavours to persist in its own being" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 136). In proposition 9, Spinoza writes that although the spirit, too, strives to *remain* in its (both spiritual and bodily) being, which it thus, put more pregnantly (in the note to proposition 9, *Ethica*, pp. 344f.), seeks to *preserve*: "This endeavour, when referred solely to the mind, is called *will*, when referred to the mind and body in conjunction it is called *appetite*; it is, in fact, nothing else but man's essence, from the nature of which necessarily follow all those results which tend to its preservation; and which man has thus been determined to perform" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 137).

intellectual love] In part 5, "Of the Power of the Understanding, or of Human Freedom," of *Ethica*, Spinoza writes of how, by knowing itself, the spirit knows God as its real cause; this knowledge gives rise to "pleasure," which is not, however, defined by a transition from a lesser degree to a greater degree of perfection but expresses perfection itself. Spinoza calls this perfection the "intellectual love of God," and in this God's love of man and the spirit's love of God appear as one and the same; see the corollary to proposition 32 together with the corollaries to the following propositions. In Kierkegaard's copy, the corollary to proposition 36 (*Ethica*, p. 427) is underscored: "Hence it follows that God, in so far as he loves himself, loves man, and, consequently, that the love of God toward men and the intellectual love of the mind toward God are identical" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 265). In the margin, Kierkegaard refers to proposition 19 (*Ethica*, p. 421), which is likewise underscored: "*He, who loves God, cannot endeavour that God should love him in return*" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, p. 256). 3

p. 430, end] See the note to proposition 42 in pt. 5 of Spinoza, *Ethica*, p. 430: "If the way which I have pointed out as leading to this result seems exceedingly hard, it may nevertheless be discovered. Needs must it be hard, since it is so seldom found. How would it be possible, if salvation were ready to our hand, and could without great labour be found, that it should be by almost all men neglected? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare" (Elwes, trans., *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,*14*], vol. 2, pp. 270–271). In his own copy, Kierkegaard has written below this: "But how can there be a question of a way at all in an immanent. Brain, one way is teleology." 6

immanence theory] → 186,*32*. 6

the way is indeed precisely the dialectic of teleology] See JJ:439. 7

267 11 **Today . . . an announcement . . . small friends**] See under the heading "Deaths" in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4), no. 72, March 26, 1846, col. 7: "That *Harald Christian Ludvig Jordan*, eight days before his eighth birthday, entered the mansions of light, where he finds again his younger brother taken there a year before—his few small friends are hereby informed."

267 18 **The other day . . . performed satisfactorily**] See *Lollands-Posten* [Lolland's Post], no. 28, March 5, 1846: "*Mariebo*. The sentence passed by the supreme court on Maren Jensdatter and her accomplice, manservant Hans Nielsen, at Falster, in which they were both condemned to death for murdering Niels Petersen Bækmand, was carried out yesterday. His Majesty had nevertheless most mercifully mitigated the sentence so that the placing of Maren's corpse on the wheel was dropped and the death sentence on Hans Nielsen altered to his being whipped at the post and then interned for life in the house of correction. Maren Nielsdatter [*sic*] faced death with apparent calm and the execution was performed with great precision by executioner Dyring. Afterwards Hans Nielsen was lashed at the whipping post by executioner Hylsen." With reference to *Lollands-Posten*, the article appeared in *Sorøe Amtstidende eller Den Vest-Sjællandske Avis* [Sorø District Times, or the West Zealand Newspaper] on March 10, 1846 (no. 39, pp. 154f.). It may be presumed it was in this paper that Kierkegaard read it, while visiting his brother Peter Christian in Pedersborg by Sorø, where he spent some days in April 1846; see an invoice from cabman P. S. Lassen in Lille Helliggeiststræde [Little Holy Spirit Lane]. — **flog**: → 180,32.

267 24 **a picture in a devotional work**] The picture is probably found in the edition of Johann Arndt's *Sämtliche geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (→ 221,12) that Kierkegaard had in his library. It has not been possible to obtain this edition, but the same picture is found in *Sechs geistreiche Bücher Vom Wahren Christenthum* [Six Insightful Books on True Christianity], ed. G. Ernsten (Stargard in Pommern, 1720), p. 828; see illustration 10.

267 28 **Spinoza in Præfatio . . . aliis obsint**] Quoted verbatim with some deviations in punctuation from "Praefatio" [Preface] in Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (→ 186,14), in *Spinoza opera* (→ 186,14), pp. 83–88; p. 88. — **reliquis autem . . . aliis obsint**: "To the rest of mankind [i.e., those who are not philosophers] I care not to commend my treatise, for I cannot expect that it contains anything to please them: I know how deeply rooted are the prejudices embraced under the name of religion; I am aware that in the mind of the masses superstition is no less deeply rooted than fear; I recognize that their constancy is mere obstinacy, and that they are led to praise or blame by impulse rather than reason. Therefore the multitude, and those of like passions with the multitude, I ask not to read my book; nay, I would rather that they should utterly neglect it, than that they should misinterpret it after their wont. They would gain no good themselves, and might prove a stumbling-block to others" (Elwes, trans. *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* [→ 186,14], vol. 1, p. 11).

Out in the graveyard . . . Now you have fought . . . an undertaker . . . the deceased was just that] The graveyard is presumably Assistens Cemetery (→ 201,20), where a gravestone of this description is not preserved. — **Man, my man, her man ... undertaker**: A pun. The Danish reads "*Mand, min Mand, hendes Mand ... Bedemand*". *Bedemand* means "undertaker". Five licensed undertakers enjoyed a much-resented monopoly in Copenhagen. 268 9

Der Neidige ist . . . compl. Wks. vol. X, p. 392] Quotation from *Abraham a St. Clara's Sämmtliche Werke* [The Complete Works of Abraham a St. Clara], 22 vols. (Passau, 1835–1854; ASKB 294–311), vol. 10. It contains the work (originally published in 1680) "Hui! und Pfui! der Welt. Hui, oder Anfrischung zu allen schönen Tugenden. Pfui, oder Abschreckung von allen schändlichen Lastern. Durch unterschiedliche Concept, Historien und Fabeln vorgestellt, worinnen der Poet, Prediger und waserlei Standespersonen für ihren Kram etwas finden können" [Hurrah and Fie upon the World! Hurrah, or Renewal to All Beautiful Virtues. Fie, or Deterrence from All Shameful Vices. Presented in Various Concepts, Histories, and Fables, wherein the Poet, Preacher, and any Persons of Rank Can Find Something for Their Trade], p. 392. In Kierkegaard's copy the sentence is underscored in pencil. 268 17


VI B.C.I.
Pag. 828
Die Liebe vertreibt die Furcht, sie regieret das böse Thier, ermahnet, etc.
Die Furcht regieret das böse Thier, ermahnet, etc.
580
698

10. Woodcut from a devotional work by Johan Arndt;
see JJ:446 in this volume (→ 267,*24*).

— **Abraham a St. Clara**: Ulrich Megerle (1642–1709), Austrian cleric and author known under his monastic name, Abraham a Sancta Clara.

268 21 **Letter to the Hebrews . . . are lost**] "But we are not among those who shrink back and so are lost." Kierkegaard's emphasis, but otherwise quoted verbatim from Heb 10:39. The quotation appears to have been written into *Journal JJ* after Kierkegaard had crossed out a passage that corresponds to the emphasized part of the quotation, together with the reference to it, in the fair copy of "An Occasional Discourse" in *Edifying Discourses in Various Spirits* (→ 269,13). See *Pap*. VII 1 B 192,7.

268 25 **In an old devotional work . . . if you have not wept at all**] Refers to Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* [Four Books concerning True Christianity] (Magdeburg, 1610). Most editions after 1610 contain six books, the two last being a summary of Arndt's writings; see *Sämtliche geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (→ 267,24), 2nd ed., (Tübingen, n.d. [presumably 1737]; ASKB 276). Kierkegaard also possessed an abbreviated edition in Danish translation, *Fire Bøger om den sande Christendom. Paa ny oversatte efter den ved Sintenis foranstaltede tydske Udgave* [Four Books concerning True Christianity, in New Translation according to the German Edition Prepared by Sintenis] (Christiania, 1829; ASKB 277). The place referred to is in bk. 2, chap. 44; see the Danish translation, p. 354. — **devotional work**: → 203,25 and → 226,19. — **verse: "God will wipe away your tears"**: See Isa 25:8: "the Lord God will wipe away the tears from all faces"; and Rev 21:4: "he will wipe every tear from their eyes."

269 2 **Anaxagoras . . . quæstiones academicæ 1, 12**] Translation quotation from Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit* (→ 217m,3), vol. 1, p. 339: "narrow be the mind, weak the spirit, and short the span of life." A note here contains a reference to Cicero, *Academici libri*, bk. 1, chap. 12,44.

269 13 **From an occasional discourse . . . hide it away unchanged**] Kierkegaard has crossed out a more or less identical passage in the fair copy of "An Occasional Discourse" in *Edifying Discourses in Various Spirits* (1847), *Pap*. VII 1 B 192,8. The preface to the discourse was originally dated May 5, 1846 (*Pap*. VII 1 B 148 and 150), but *Edifying Discourses in Various Spirits* was first delivered to the printer on January 25, 1847; see *Erindringsbog for Bianco Luno 1847*, no. 65 (→ 257,21). It cannot be determined when Kierkegaard crossed out the passage, though it is likely that having done so, he wished to preserve it by writing it in *Journal JJ* in May 1846. (Concerning the translation of *i forskjellig Aand*, it is debated whether "difference" [*forskjel*] pertains to the three discourses collectively in relation to preceding discourses such that these discourses have "a different spirit" collectively, or whether the difference applies to each discouse separately with regard to the other two, i.e., three discourses "in various different spirits." Also, the term "tenor" has been proposed as capturing the sense of "spirit" implied here.)

Empedocles supposed . . . Ritter, vol. 1, p. 571] Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit* (→ 217m,3), vol. 1, p. 571: "At the least we find that he [Empedocles (→ 138,23)] distinguished between two types of insanity: the first deriving from bodily illness and the second from the purification of the soul." 20 269

Coel. Aurel: . . . sive iniquitate] Quoted verbatim from Ritter's footnote to the passage referred to, p. 571. — **Coel. Aurel: de morbis chron. 1,5**: i.e., Cælius Aurelianus, *De morbis chronicis* [On Chronic Illnesses], bk. 1, chap. 5,145. — **Cælius Aurelianus**: Numidian physician (ca. 400 B.C.). During the Roman Empire, Numidia was a Roman province in North Africa. 24

Ritter's . . . intro. to vol. 1] Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit* (→ 217m,3), vol. 1, pp. 22f. 28 269

The idea of construction] Refers to a central idea in German idealism, especially in connection with Kant's (→ 182,25) claim that the understanding spontaneously constructs our experiences (ideas, representations) in accordance with its own categories; sensation is reconstructed or structured to present objects of experience. For Schelling (→ 178,4), the process of construction consists in deriving the particular from a formal principle whereby the universal is constructed, i.e., grasped in the particular; see, e.g., *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* [Lectures on the Method of Academic Study], 3rd ed. (Stuttgart and 3 270

Tübingen, 1830 [1803]; ASKB 764): "The presentation of the universal and the particular in their unity is generally called construction" (p. 92). Construction was also important for Kierkegaard's teacher F. C. Sibbern (→ 214,23), who discusses it in his *Logik som Tænkelære* [Logic as Theory of Thought] (Copenhagen, 1835 [1827]; ASKB 777), § 20. Hegel explicitly invokes construction in his philosophy of history. In the introduction to *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (→ 197,15), he says: "The most general definition that can be given is that the Philosophy of History means nothing but *the thoughtful consideration of it* . . . To insist upon Thought in this connection with history may, however, appear unsatisfactory. In this science it would seem as if Thought must be subordinate to what is given, to the realities of fact; . . . philosophy dwells in the region of self-produced ideas [which speculation brings to light] without reference to actuality. Approaching history thus prepossessed, Speculation might be expected to treat it as a mere passive material; and so far from leaving it in its native truth, to force it into conformity with an . . . idea, and to construe it, as the phrase is, 'a priori.' But as it is the business of history simply to adopt into its records what is and has been . . . , we seem to have in Philosophy a process diametrically opposed . . . [and] this contradiction, and the charge consequently brought against speculation, shall [here] be explained and confuted" (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 179,7], vol. 9, p. 12; J. Sibree, trans., *Hegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History* [→ 197,15], p. 22; translation modified).

270 10 **Being anonymous**] → 259,8.

10 **literary contemptibility**] → 259,8.

11 **subscribers are anonymous**] Until ca. 1840, it was common practice for journals to give the names and positions of the subscribers, who in that case were not anonymous; see, e.g., "other subscribers in Copenhagen," in *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur* [Journal of Foreign Theological Literature], ed. H. N. Clausen and M. H. Hohlenberg, no. 8, (Copenhagen, 1840), p. v: "Kjerkegaard, S., *Cand. theol.*"

12 **hacks**] → 260,20.

12 **even the subscribers let themselves be represented by farmhands**] Perhaps a reference to the verbal abuse Kierkegaard believed he was exposed to from farmhands as well as from street urchins and servant girls (→ 278,36). These, unlike large numbers of the citizenry, did not subscribe to *Corsaren* but might be understood as representing those subscribers who were content to let others target Kierkegaard; see *A Literary Review* (→ 257,21), where Kierkegaard introduces the idea of a third party, which serves literary contemptibility without those concerned needing to own up to it, (*TA*, 95; *SKS* 8, 90).

and improvement] Variant: *added*. 15 270

demands of the age] → 207,13. 17

sturdy or at least shapely . . . in style] Adverts especially to Klæstrup's sketches of Kierkegaard in *Corsaren* (→ 236,11), where on January 9, 1846 (no. 277, col. 4), January 23 (no. 279, cols. 1 and 2), and March 6 (no. 285, col. 9) we see his foppish clothes and trouser legs of differing length, as well as on January 16 (no. 278, col. 5), where his thin legs are shown in a pair of boots that are far too large. See also "Den nye Planet" [The New Planet] in *Corsaren*, January 9, 1846 (no. 277, cols.1–4), which stages a fictitious discussion between J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,23 and → 207,15), the astronomer C. F. R. Olufsen (1802–1855), and Kierkegaard. Referring to his *own* tailor, Olufsen explains to Kierkegaard that "the one trouser leg is for God's sake as long as the other if I don't explicitly demand otherwise so as to look like a genius" (cols. 2f.). See also the "Catalogue of a rich and considerable selection of the newest and prettiest choice dahlias available in the year 1846, ordered for exhibition from time to time in 'Corsaren's' flower garden," in *Corsaren*, April 3, 1846 (no. 289, cols. 13–14), where the third of nine flowers is described as: "*Beauty of Kierkegaard* [in English], isabelline, of excellent structure with two uneven stems below, brilliant and impressive posture; unsurpassable in every respect; the play of color on the stems is especially excellent" (col. 13); and "Selection from 'Corsaren's' absolute newest and altogether best dream book, published for the enjoyment and pleasant information for anyone who wishes reliable interpretation of their dreams," in *Corsaren*, May 29, 1846 (no. 297, cols. 7–8), where we read: "To see short trousers ..... means ..... Frater Taciturnus" (col. 7). 20

270 34 **write in Adresseavisen ... costs them money**] → 156,4.

271 7 **for when ... the poor man's modest contentment**] Presumably a variation of a passage in the fair copy of "An Occasional Discourse" in *Edifying Discourses in Various Spirits* (→ 269,13), which Kierkegaard wanted to remember and thus entered into the journal; see *UDVS*, 29; *SV2* 8, 158. — "**the mite in the poor man's modest contentment**": Alludes to the parable of the poor widow and the temple treasury, Mk 12:41–44 (→ 235,12).

271 15 **acoustic pattern**] Symmetrical figure made in dry sand spread on a horizontal pane of glass or metal sheet when stroked on the edge with a violin bow that makes it vibrate. The phenomenon was demonstrated in 1787 by the German physicist E. F. F. Chladni and was discussed by the Danish physicist H. C. Ørsted, who in 1808 received the silver medal of the Royal Danish Scientific Society [Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab] for his treatise, "Forsøg over Klangfigurerne" [Experiments on Acoustic Figures], in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter for Aar 1807 og 1808*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1810), pp. 31–64.

271 18 **communistic**] In the 1840s communist ideas were known in Denmark only from newspaper coverage of political discussions in France and Britain; see Meyer, *Fremmedord-Bog* (→ 244,37), p. 113: "*Communist*, an adherent of a political party in contemporary France and England, which preaches the 'community of goods.' " In Denmark the adjective *kommunistisk* was as a rule used disparagingly about attempts to limit landowners' rights to land cultivated by leasehold farmers; e.g., Balthasar Christensen's contribution to a debate on freehold at the regional assembly (→ 273,25) in Roskilde in 1844 was described by landowner Neergaard as a lecture on "*den communistiske Lære*" ("communist doctrine"), *Roskilde Stænder-Tidende* (→ 191,8), vol. 2 (1844), no. 186, col. 2969. See also *Fædrelandet*, no. 1849, March 29, 1845, col. 14818, where one reads that "Communism is the principle of equality carried to absurdity, developed in opposition to the principle of ownership carried to absurdity." See also the article, "Hvad er Communisme?" [What Is Communism?] in *Almuevennen* [The People's Friend], nos. 41–42, May 28, 1845, pp. 165–168.

unfavorable judgments] See letter in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, no. 122, May 30, 1846, under the heading "Letter to the Editor from Jutland." The sender, who signs himself "A.," refers to and cites two negative reviews of Madvig's *Latin Grammar* (see the following note), both appearing in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* [New Yearbook of Philology and Pedagogy] written by, respectively, W. Weisenborn, vol. 43 (Leipzig, 1845), pp. 310–356, and W. A. Varges, vol. 44 (Leipzig, 1845), pp. 3–24. See also *Kjøbenhavnsposten* for June 2 (no. 124), June 4 (no. 126), and June 13 (no. 134), 1846. — **Kiøbhposten**: *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [The Copenhagen Post], a radically democratic daily, founded in 1827; after July 1, 1845, edited by J. P. Grüne, who accentuated the paper's profile in a republican and antinationalist direction, which led to the paper being accused of communism. 19

Madvig's Latin Grammar] J. N. Madvig, *Lateinische Sprachlehre für Schulen* [Latin Grammar for Schools] (Braunschweig, 1844), trans. L. Oppermann from *Latinsk Sproglære til Skolebrug* [Latin Grammar for School Use], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1844 [1841]). — **Madvig**: Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804–1886), Danish philologist; professor at the University of Copenhagen. 20

bartenders] Ranked lowest of six classes according to which tradesmen in Copenhagen paid corporation dues and license fees (→ 208,30). See Høst, *Dansk Borgerret* (→ 209,4), p. 16. 23

opinion on ... Greek] See J. N. Madvig, *Græsk Ordføiningslære, især for den attiske Sprogform* [Greek Syntax, Especially for the Attic Language] (Copenhagen, 1846), which was praised in a review in *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 54, March 5, 1846, for being on a level with *Latinsk Sproglære til Skolebrug* (→ 271,20) and therefore recommended as a manual for teachers of Greek. 24

the caste system] Adverts perhaps to the estate society as it was before the Danish king Frederik III (1648–70) introduced absolute monarchy in 1660, making all his subjects in principle equal, with no special privileges for the nobility (→ 197,17). The allusion may also be to adscription, which was largely repealed in 1788, or to the existing guild system, which was strongly criticized by liberal 25

politicians, who argued for freedom of trade (introduced in 1857).

25 **high school fees . . . grammar school**] According to a decree of November 7, 1809, § 66, an annual school fee of twenty to thirty rixdollars (→ 163,*11*) was payable for a pupil in "the learned school" as the continental classical *gymnasium* was then called in Denmark (the "grammar school" in England), i.e., schools where pupils prepared for the university.

271 32 **Thus Madvig has Baden**] From the beginning of the 1830s, Danish theologian and philologist, emeritus professor Torkel Baden (1765–1849), had written several pedantic criticisms of J. N. Madvig (→ 271,*20*), the latest being *Kritiske Undersøgelser* [Critical Investigations] (Copenhagen, 1845) and *Palinodi* [Retractions] (Copenhagen, 1845).

33 **P. L. Møller**] Peder Ludvig Møller (1814–1865), Danish aesthetician, author, and critic, in 1843 edited a polemical paper, *Arena*, and in 1845–1847 published an aesthetic annual, *Gæa*, as well as contributing articles to various papers; thus the entry "In *Corsaren*, several satirical critical pieces and poems," in the reference work by T. H. Erslew, *Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon* [General Author Lexicon], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1843–53; ASKB 954–969), vol. 2 (1847), p. 406.

34 **market porter**] Could be found, e.g., at Gammeltorv (*see map 2, B1*), where in the morning, traders from the surrounding countryside came with their wares.

272 7 **The immediate person . . . simply attentive**] Kierkegaard had occupied himself with this same topic during his recent stay in Berlin, where he wrote a series of entries on loose sheets (*Pap*. VII 1 A 130–146), which he collected in a cover on which was written "Berlin, 5t Mai–13d 46" [Berlin, May 5–13, 1846] (*Pap*. VII 1 A 129); see esp. *Pap*. VII 1 A 131. Kierkegaard was back in Copenhagen on May 16.

272 18 **the garden of the dead . . . as a small-holder's plot**] i.e., Assistens Cemetery (→ 201,*20*).

272 23 **Children shall judge you . . . disobedient Israel**] Refers to Isa 3:4: "And I will make boys their princes, and babes shall rule over them." See also Eccl 10:16: "Alas for you, O land, when your king is a servant, and your princes feast in the morning."

Socrates . . . the children want it] See Socrates' description of the relation between parents and children in a democracy (→ 275,*25*) in Plato's *Republic*, bk. 8, 562e–563a: "the father habitually tries to resemble the child and is afraid of his sons, and the son likens himself to the father and feels no awe or fear of his parents . . . and such other trifles as these. The teacher in such case fears and fawns upon the pupils; and the pupils pay no heed to the teacher or to their overseers either. And in general the young ape their elders and vie with them in speech and action, while the old, accommodating themselves to the young, are full of pleasantry and graciousness for fear they may be thought disagreeable and authoritative" (translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,*21*], p. 791). 26

Wer Jemanden lobt . . . 1001 Nights, the 829th night] Quoted verbatim from *Tausend und eine Nacht. Arabische Erzählungen* [A Thousand and One Nights: Arabian Tales], trans. G. Weil, 4 vols. (vol. 1, Stuttgart; vols. 2–4, Pforzheim, 1838–1841; ASKB 1414–1417), vol. 4, p. 353. 2 273

my large edition] The edition cited is relatively large, i.e., quarto, with eight pages to the sheet rather than the more usual sixteen. 4

government has to justify itself in print] Can be assumed to refer to an "open letter" of July 8, 1846, on the order of succession in the Danish monarchy. The regional assemblies of estates (→ 273,*25*) in Roskilde and Viborg had expressed doubt as to whether, and to what extent, the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenborg were bound by the rules of succession laid down by The Royal Law (*Kongeloven* or *Lex regia*) (→ 251,*1*) and thus bound to the Danish crown. A commission on the succession was set up and, on the basis of its findings, the king concluded in the open letter that the law applied unconditionally in Schleswig and Lauenborg, while the right of succession to a part of Holstein could not be decided so certainly. The letter, contrary to custom, was signed by the king, the crown prince, the heir presumptive, together with the four privy counselors, who together formed the king's government. It was made public on July 11 and printed in *Fædrelandet* (no. 162, cols. 20 273

1289f.), *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (no. 158, p. 629), and *Berlingske Tidende* (no. 158).

22 **to demand faith and obedience . . . as well as that every . . . dare think only all that is agreeable**] Allusion to *Danske Lov* (→ 144,*16*), bk. 1, chap. 1, "On the Obedience One Owes to the Lawgiver and to the Law" (→ 156,*27*). See also *Kongeloven* [The Royal Law] (→ 251,*1*) (1665), § 2.

25 **elective king . . . Assembly of the Estates**] According to the Royal Law, royal power is absolute and hereditary, and the Danish "absolute hereditary king" (§ 2) could therefore not be deposed by the next "assembly of the estates," i.e., the regional assemblies in Roskilde and Itzehoe, which were both summoned by the king to meet on July 15, 1846. Before the introduction of absolute monarchy in 1660 the king was formally an elective king, who could be deposed by the assembled members of the state council. — **Assemblies of the Estates**: i.e., the advisory assemblies or regional parliaments, in which participants were organized according to estate, order, or class. In Kierkegaard's time, the assemblies met every second year to discuss the king's legal proposals and to formulate their own proposals, but they had no authority to impose taxes, to make ministerial appointments, or to depose the king.

30 **great household . . . millions**] According to the 1845 census, the Danish monarchy's population, including the duchies, amounted to 2,236,077.

33 **he that counts the hairs**] Refers to Jesus' words to the disciples about the hairs on their heads being counted; see Mt 10:30.

274 4 **Schelling . . . in the preface to Steffens's posthumous papers**] See Schelling, "Aus einem öffentlichen Vortrag zu H. Steffens Andenken gehalten am 24. April 1845. (Mit einigen Erweiterungen.)" [From a Public Lecture in Memory of H. Steffens, Held on May 24, 1845 (with Several Additions)] in *Nachgelassene Schriften von H. Steffens mit einem Vorworte von Schelling* [Posthumous Writings of H. Steffens, with a Foreword by Schelling] (Berlin, 1846; ASKB 799), p. xlvii, where Schelling asks polemically whether we may not expect that the state will oppose, "with all due energy," agitation for "despotic and illegitimate" changes in the established order "which can have no other intention than to leave the most important and profound decisions to *numbers* and the *crowd* (which is not that far from deciding them with fists)." The work was announced in *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,*4*) on June 23, 1846, as having "arrived" at H. C. Klein, but Kierkegaard had already acquired a copy during his stay in Berlin in May (→ 272,*7*). — **Schelling**: → 178,*4*. — **Steffens**: → 178,*10*.

One believes . . . that Socrates was so popular] 14 274
Refers to the general enthusiasm for Socrates' mixing with the common people in the streets of Athens, as various histories of philosophy have it. Kierkegaard did not think of Socrates as popular; see JJ:303 and the description in "Letter to the Reader from Frater Taciturnus" in "'Guilty?'/ 'Not Guilty?'" in *Stages on Life's Way* (→ 220,*4*): "Socrates, on the other hand, was the most unpopular man in Greece, just because he said the same as the most simple-minded person but meant infinitely much by it" (*SLW*, 415; *SKS* 6, 385).

he and the shoemaker] If Kierkegaard is referring 17
to his own Socratic activity in contemporary Copenhagen, "shoemaker" presumably adverts to the Jewish publicist Gottlieb Siesby (1803–84), a former master shoemaker who, from 1839, edited and published various papers and was mockingly referred to as "Shoemaker Siesby"; see in this respect "Siesby's Epistel" in *Corsaren* (→ 236,*11*) June 19, 1846 (no. 300), col. 11. The article in *Corsaren* was a response to Siesby's *Epistel til 'Corsaren' Meyer Adolph Goldschmidt* [Epistle to 'Corsaren' Meyer Adolph Goldschmidt] (Copenhagen, 1846), a criticism of the paper's editor in connection with its attack on Kierkegaard (→ 257*m*,*3*). In his "Efterskrift til Publikum" [Postscript to the Public], Siesby cites *A Literary Review* (→ 257,*21*) as a motto, and the topic and language bear witness to his having read Kierkegaard's work. In "Samtale imellem Jacob v. Siesby, eller den stortalende Skomager, og Jesper Oldfux" [Conversation between Jacob and Siesby, or the Big-Talking Shoemaker, and Jesper Oldfux] in *Corsaren*, no. 299, June 12, 1846, col. 6, a personal relationship is implied between Siesby and Kierkegaard, who is referred to as "Siesbys Kirkegaard" [Siesby's Cemetery].

as a polemicist H. Hertz . . . organizes a battle after it is all over] Refers to Danish poet and critic Henrik Hertz (1797–1870), who made his break- 22 274

through with *Gjenganger-Breve eller poetiske Epistler fra Paradis* [Ghost Letters, or Poetic Epistles from Paradise] (Copenhagen, 1830), which was a contribution to the literary controversy between Jens Baggesen and Adam Oehlenschläger. The article sides with Baggesen, who had been dead for four years. When on June 10, 1842, Hertz had *Perspectivkassen* [The Peepshow] performed at the Royal Theater, the piece was strongly criticized in the daily papers, a criticism that he replied to on July 1 in "Et Par Ord om Kritiken over Dyrehavsscenen 'Perspectivkassen' [A Few Words on the Criticism of the Dyrehave Show 'The Peepshow']," *Intelligensblade* (→ 179,5), no. 8, vol. 1, pp. 191–197. This occasioned a bitter dispute when Hertz's piece was then defended by J. L. Heiberg (→ 160,23) who carried on the debate in several newspapers until September 1. In a draft for *A Literary Review* (→ 257,21) Kierkegaard remarks concerning *Perspectivkassen* "that it was a mistake on Prof H's part to defend the piece almost apologetically by saying it was a trifle, instead of arguing boldly and consistently from the fact that it had been booed off stage" (*Pap.* VII B 125,3). — **on the common a maneuver**: Refers to Nørre Fælled (North Common), where both the military and Copenhagen's town militia held exercises (→ 243,37).

274 28 **Jewish peddler of pigtail ribbons . . . kick at the Jew**] Refers presumably to the editor of *Corsaren*, the Jew M. A. Goldschmidt (→ 236,11 and → 260,20), who in November 1845, under the pseudonym Adolph Meyer, had published *En Jøde* [A Jew] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 1547), which cost precisely 2 rixdollars (→ 163,11); see *Adresseavisen* (→ 156,4), no. 261, November 6, 1845. — **Jewish peddler of pigtail ribbons**: Or "ribbon Jew," a Jewish shopkeeper who sold ribbons, including those used for pigtails. Commonly despised and suspected, among other things, of widespread dealing in stolen goods.

275 9 **Socrates compare himself to a gadfly**] See the *Apology*, 31a, where Socrates warns his judges against sentencing him to death and suggests he be described as "a kind of gadfly"; see *Plato*: *The Collected Dialogues* (→ 151,21), p. 17 (where the translation reads "some stinging fly").

Plato's Republic . . . he describes democracy] In Plato's *Republic*, bk. 8, 544d–545c, Socrates develops the idea that types of human character, or "patterns . . . of souls," correspond to different forms of government: aristocracy as good; and timocracy, oligarchy and tyranny as bad. Democracy and the "democratic man" are described in bk. 8, 555b–561e (see *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* [→ 151,21], pp. 773–774 and 783–780). — **state higher than the individual . . . in the sense of the Hegelian nonsense**: Refers presumably to Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse* (→ 218,31). According to Hegel, the individual and the universal are reconciled in ethical behavior or morality, of which the state is the absolute expression. 25 275

unum noris omnes] Quotation from Terence's comedy *Phormio*, 265 (act 2, scene 3); see *P. Terentii Afri Comoediae sex* [Six Comedies by P. Terentius Afer (Terence)], ed. M. B. F. Schmieder and F. Schmieder, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1819; ASKB 1291), p. 431: "unum cognoris, omnes noris," and *Terentses Skuespil* [Terence's Plays], trans. F. Høegh Guldberg, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1293–1294), vol. 2, p. 264 (act 2, scene 4). 29

Themistocles . . . that's also what he became] Refers to Plutarch's life of Themistocles (ca. 524–459) in *Vitae parallelae*; Dryden, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* (→ 185,14), vol. 1, pp.164–190: "it is said that Themistocles was so transported with the thoughts of glory, and so inflamed with the passion for great actions, that, though he was still young when the battle of Marathon was fought against the Persians, upon the skilful conduct of the general, Miltiades, being everywhere talked about, he was observed to be thoughtful and reserved, alone by himself; . . . to those who wondered at the change and inquired the reason of it, he gave the answer, that 'the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep' " (p. 166). Later, Themistocles himself became a triumphant hero, when as commander of the Greek forces he defeated the Persians at the sea battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., but like Militiades (d. 489 B.C.), who after his victory fell into disgrace and died in prison, he too became an object of envy and was sent into exile. 5 276

The Greeks . . . the Beautiful (in the direction out- 9 276

ward)] See, e.g., Plato's *Symposium* (201c), where Socrates remarks that the good is also beautiful.

276 15 **The fact that several . . . has a far deeper reason than I had earlier thought**] In *The Concept of Irony*, Kierkegaard comments on Plato's dialogues that "many of these earliest dialogues end *without a conclusion*" (*CI*, 54; *SKS* 1, 115), citing as an example *Protagoras*, where "the method is dialectical not by virtue of questioning as such, but due to its being sustained by, emerging from, and returning to irony" (*CI*, 55–56; *SKS* 1, 115–116).

276 27 **for moralistic stories**] A reference to Aesop's fables, which ended with trivial expositions of the moral of each story.

277 6 **bellowing watchman**] In Copenhagen, as in Danish cities or towns in general, there was a corps of night watchmen who lit the streetlights, kept order, prevented people from putting filth in the streets, and gave alarms in case of fire. On their night rounds they were also required to shout the time and sing the prescribed (Christian) watchman's verses on the hour. The corps in Copenhagen was established in 1683, but in Kierkegaard's time the "bellowing" watchmen were strongly criticized for disturbing the citizens' night rest. The corps was disbanded in 1862.

277 15 **responsible for the spiritual side of things who should really take over the financial**] For example, by being their own publisher, as Kierkegaard was until 1847, so that he himself paid for the printing of his books, which were sold on commission.

29 **priest . . . money, tithes, offerings, etc**.] Danish citizens had a duty to contribute a mandatory sum to the minister, or *præstepenge* ("offering to the minister"), while farmers in country parishes had to contribute a certain percentage of their products, a "tithe." On church days the members of the congregation could offer their minister a voluntary offering. The minister also received some compensation for conducting church ceremonies such as marriages, baptisms, and burials.

31 **the steward is in the priest's service**] In the country it was common for some land to belong to the rectory, for which reason the minister might, in addition to farmhands and servant girls, require the services of a steward, i.e., someone to direct the work that pertained to the farm and not the ministry.

takings in the collection] Money for the church's officials or for the parish poor collected during the service. 39

the times and what the congregation demands] Presumably a reference to Grundtvig's and his supporters' demand for a loosening of the ties whereby parishioners were tied to their local parish and pastor (→ 202,*10*), a position supported in the Grundtvigian weekly, *Dansk Kirketidende* [Danish Church News], ed. R. T. Fenger and C. J. Brandt, 8 vols. (Copenhagen, 1845–1853; ASKB 321–325); see, e.g., T. Fenger's article "Om Nutidens Stræben efter Samvittighedsfrihed" [On the Present Day's Striving for Freedom of Conscience] in no. 43, July 5, 1846, which demands "freedom for the common man not to be bound to a cleric whose teaching or whose conduct does not edify him" (vol. 1, col. 705). 3 278

Everyone is a thief in his trade] Saying noted, e.g., as no. 1995 in Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* (→ 146,*29*), p. 76. 9

way of regarding money] See JJ:475. 14

Bishop Mynster . . . sermons . . . on the miracles] "On the Prayer: Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread]" and "Reflections on Jesus' Miracles" in Mynster, *Prædikener paa alle Søn- og Hellig-Dage i Aaret* (→ 153,*19*), vol. 1, pp. 255–265 and 154–167. 22 278

someday . . . your sins are forgiven you] In the first of the two sermons mentioned (on feeding the five thousand, the gospel for mid-Lent Sunday, Jn 6:1–15), Mynster writes: "If the consciousness of sin, sin's punishment, should lie heavily upon you, then you will not see Him step visibly toward you, [Him] whom God gave the power to forgive sins; yet that tale of the palsied one was written also for your sake; from it you will know who it is that receives sinners who turn to him in repentance and faith, know, that so far as you hold fast to him, you too shall at one time hear the voice: Your sins are forgiven you" (vol. 1, p. 257). In the second sermon (on the windstorm on the sea, the gospel for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, Mt 8:23–27), Mynster writes: "But a time will come when a person who suffered from the punishment for his sins—if he bore the wrath of God because he had sinned 24

against him, if he made use of the punishments for [his] improvement—shall hear the heavenly voice of atonement: Your sins are forgiven you, and the punishment shall be taken away" (vol. 1, p. 166).

28 **the new creation**] Refers to 2 Cor 5:17: "So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!"

28 **the priest ... merciful forgiveness of your sins**] After receiving a confession, the pastor (father confessor) should lay his hand on the confessor's head and say: "As you repent in your heart and regret your sins, and in a constant faith have recourse to God's mercy in Christ Jesus, promise withal with God's grace to apply yourself to a better and more proper life from now on, so on behalf of God and my office and the authority God himself has given me from above to forgive sins on earth, I promise you all your sins' forgiveness *in the name of God the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen*!" (*Kirke-Ritualet* [→ 166,*34*], pp. 146f).

278 33 **how Xt was misunderstood**] The same theme is suggested in one of Kierkegaard's Berlin entries (→ 272,*7*): "He who bore all the world's sin in sorrow over the fallen generation—around him flock a curious crowd: can a more dreadful misunderstanding be imagined than curiosity, street riots—and this earnestness over eternity" (*Pap*. VII 1 A 144, pp. 87f.).

34 **about being quite unnoticed**] See JJ:73.

36 **the street urchins ran ... out into the street**] Allusion to the *Corsair* affair (→ 257*m,3*), which gave Kierkegaard the impression of such a misunderstanding.

279 7 **Hegel**] → 179,*7*.

279 13 **Isaiah 46 ... Jehovah tells ... carry their idols**] Cf. Isa 46:3–4, in which God addresses Israel living in exile in Babylon: "Listen to me, O house of Jacob, all the remnant of the house of Israel, who have been borne by me from your birth, carried from the womb; even to your old age I am he, even when you turn gray I will carry you. I have made, and I will bear; I will carry and will save" (vv. 3–4). On the idol worshipers and their idol he says: "They lift it to their shoulders, they carry it, they set it in its place, and it stands there" (v. 7).

systems] → 185,*17*. 18 279

a hymn writer like Kingo ... corruptions of the Gospels] Refers to Kingo's many hymns based on gospel stories; see, e.g., "Historiske Psalmer" [Historical Hymns] in *Psalmer og aandelige Sange af Thomas Kingo* [Hymns and Spiritual Songs by Thomas Kingo], ed. P. A. Fenger (Copenhagen, 1827; ASKB 203), nos. 10–73, pp. 24–206. — **Kingo**: Thomas Kingo (1634–1703), Danish bishop and writer of hymns who achieved lasting importance with his *Aandelige Siunge-Koor*, *Morgen- og Aftensange* [Chorus of Spiritual Songs, Matins, and Vespers Songs], and his *Hjerte-Suk* [Cri de Coeur]; he contributed eighty-five hymns to the *Kirke-Psalme-Bog* [Church Hymnal] (1699) that he himself published, which is why it is most often called "Kingo's hymnal"; see *Kirke-Psalmebog* (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 204). 25 279

logic is quantitative dialectic or modal dialectic] While Hegel's (→ 179,*7*) logic also includes a judgment's quality (being and nonbeing, as well as determined being), Kierkegaard here limits logic to include a judgment's quantity (singularity, plurality, and universality) and its modality (possibility, actuality, and necessity). Concerning the quality, quantity, and modality of judgments, see, e.g., chap. 2 in C. Berg, *Grundtrækkene af en philosophisk Propædeutik eller Erkjendelseslære, tilligemed Poul Møllers kortfattede formelle Logik. Trykt som Manuskript til Brug for Elever af det kongl. Landcadetacademie* [Outlines of a Philosophical Propadeutic or Theory of Knowledge, together with Poul Møller's Formal Logic, Printed as a Manuscript for Use by Students at the Royal Military Cadet Academy] (Copenhagen, 1839; ASKB 426), pp. 103–114. 31 279

at The Corsair, on their best meal plan] i.e., committed to a mental hospital, with first-class care. In *Corsaren* (→ 257*m,3*), Kierkegaard, in the person of his pseudonym Frater Taciturnus, had been identified with "crazy Nathanson," a horse dealer who for years had manifested his madness in his journal *Corvetten* [The Corvette]; see *Corsaren*, no. 278, January 16, 1846, esp. col. 14, where Taciturnus is admitted to Bidstrupgård, i.e., the municipal insane asylum commonly known as St. Hans' Hospital, which was located at Bidstrupgård, northwest of 4 280

Roskilde. See also *Corsaren*, no. 280, January 30, 1846, cols. 9–11 and no. 285, March 6, 1846, col. 8.

280 11 **In the capital there are 100 hum. beings to one cow**] As of the census of February 1, 1840, Copenhagen was home to 120,819 human beings, and by the census of February 1, 1845, the human population had increased to 126,787, while in 1837 there were only 1,152 horned cattle in the city, and in 1861 only 2,906. See "Tabeller over Kreaturholdet i Kongeriget Danmark og Hertugdømmet Slesvig" [Tables of Livestock in the Kingdom of Denmark and the Duchy of Slesvig] in *Statistisk Tabelværk* [Statistical Tables], 3rd ser. vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1864), p. xxx.

15 **most hum. beings are crazy to get married, and the respective marriages are busy . . . even more hum. beings**] This is something Kierkegaard might have noticed by reading the weekly summaries in *Berlingske Tidende*, e.g., August 31, 1846 (supplement to no. 200): "*Copulated, born, and died*. In the week from the 15th to the 22nd of August, here in the city 19 couples were copulated, 78 were born, . . . "

280 22 **the Copenhagen pickpocket**] It has not been possible to identify the reference.

281 11 **Affectation is best translated into Danish**] See Meyer, *Fremmedord-Bog* (→ 244,37), p. 17: "constrained being, artificial deportment, assumed being, pretension." — **Affectation**: → 219,4.

281 28 **pupil at the Academy of Art**] i.e., one of the ca. 600 who studied at the Academy of Art (officially the Royal Academy of Fine Arts), which according to its charter of July 28, 1814, § 3, was supposed to be the guardian of "good taste." Since 1754, the academy had been housed in Charlottenborg on Kongens Nytorv *(see map 2, D3)*.

30 **take a walk in the sun with an umbrella**] On an undated loose paper Kierkegaard wrote that his umbrella had become "so cherished that I always take it when I walk, regardless of whether it is raining or the sun is shining" (*Pap*. III A 221).

33 **Cerberus**] In Greek mythology, Cerberus was a monstrous hound whose many (two, three, or fifty) heads kept watch, making sure that no one left the underworld.

that one has been saved in a miraculous fashion] 3 282
Refers to Adolph Peter Adler (1812–1869), onetime parish priest. Adler reported in the preface to his *Nogle Prædikener* [Some Sermons] (Copenhagen, 1843; ASKB U 9), that one evening, as he sat working on the idea of the origin of evil, he saw a flash of light and realized that an evil spirit was present; that same night a dreadful sound filled his room and the Savior commanded him to stand up and copy down a revelation about the first sin and the evil spirit. On January 19, 1844, Adler was suspended from his post, and on September 13, 1845, he was informed of his dismissal, after which he published his *Skrivelser min Suspension og Entledigelse vedkommende* [Papers Related to My Suspension and Dismissal] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB U 10); according to a receipt from Reitzel's Bookshop, Kierkegaard bought the book on August 25, 1846. In a piece dated May 10, 1845, Adler acknowledged that he had not had a revelation, but he also wrote that "the fact that people are saved in miraculous fashion is for me—as I have explained in the preface to the *Sermons*—something I cannot deny," (p. 18). Starting in mid-July through late September 1846, Kierkegaard wrote the first version of a book on Adler, in which this passage is cited (*Pap*. VII 2 B 235, p. 105).

the success of Either/Or] *Either/Or* (→ 145,26) was 19 282
published in a printing of 525 copies, and in 1845 it was already sold out; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 61.

written lock, stock, and barrel in 11 months: 22
→ 153,6.

only a page (of the Diapsalmata) was already in 23
existence: In the first edition of *Either/Or*, the "Diapsalmata" take up pp. 3–30; of the total of ninety diapsalmata, ca. one-third had their basis in older journal entries, so considerably more than one page of them was already in existence when Kierkegaard wrote *Either/Or*; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten-Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, pp. 49f.

written in only 2 drafts . . . I like to write 3] See an 25
entry from ca. April 1846 in *Journal NB*, in which Kierkegaard discusses his practice of writing multiple drafts of his works: "2 handwritten drafts of everything, much of it in 3 or 4 drafts, and—something people have no notion of—my meditating while I walk . . . I have said everything aloud to

myself many times before I have written it down" (NB:14 in *KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 25; *Pap*. VII 1 A 106, p. 54).

282 31 **fireworks**] All summer long Copenhageners could experience "fireworks bagatelles," "fireworks on poles," and "brilliant fireworks" at Tivoli, which had been established outside Vesterport in 1843.

283 3 **The Gospel story about the good Samaritan**] See Lk 10:25–37 (→ 248,*16*), the gospel for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, which fell on September 6, 1846.

5 **down that same way**] The NRSV has "down that road" (Lk 10:31).

283 9 **there is a panorama out beyond Vesterport**] It was on present-day Vesterbrogade, opposite St. Jørgens Allé, and thus somewhat outside Vesterport (→ 251,*30*); see *Flyve-Posten* [The Flying Post], no. 224, September 26, 1846, in which is advertised "a panorama at 9 Vesterbro, open all day." It is said that the panorama—i.e., a painted representation of a vista, arranged in a circle surrounding the viewer, so that it is experienced in perspective—had installed "new pieces," namely, views of Moscow from before the fire of 1812 and views of the great Rhine flood of 1846. There is also an advertisement for "the mechanical perspective or lucky star, where everyone receives a report on his or her temperament. Demonstrated every day at 10 o'clock in the evening."

283 21 **while Cicero was consul**] Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Roman statesman, jurist, and writer, was consul in the year 63 B.C.; Kierkegaard owned many of his works.

22 **while Pitt was prime minister**] Refers either to William Pitt the elder (1708–1778), who was a British cabinet minister 1746–1756 and subsequently prime minister several times (1756–1757, 1758–1761, and 1766–1768), or to his son, William Pitt the younger (1759–1806), who also served as a cabinet minister (1782–1783) and subsequently as prime minister (1783–1801 and 1804–1806).

24 **in the newspaper . . . the people from Funen arrived**] See the article "Festen paa Skamlingsbanken" [Celebration on Skamlingsbanken] in *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 180, July 6, 1844, in which the following is reported in connection with the celebration held there on July 4: "In the course of the day, during Grundtvig's speech, the guests from Funen arrived, numbering some 600 to 700, accompanied by music, and were received with general jubilation." See also Grundtvig, *Skovhornets Klang mellem Skamlings-Bankerne* (→ 202,*10*).

a French fleet put to sea and conquered Algiers] A 30
French fleet consisting of ca. 100 warships with 27,000 sailors and ca. 700 transport vessels with an army of 37,000 men left Toulon on May 25 and 26, 1830, bound for Algeria, where the army landed on June 14 and conquered the city of Algiers on July 5; see, e.g., J. L. Rohmann, *Skildringer af den nyeste Tids Historie* [Sketch of the History of Recent Times], 6 vols. (Odense, 1846–1855), vol. 1, pp. 12–21.

Disjecta Membra] Latin, "scattered body parts"; 2 284
from the Roman philosopher and author Seneca, *Phaedra*, v. 1256: "disiecta . . . membra laceri corporis" ("the scattered parts of a torn body"). See also Horace, *Satires*, bk. 1, no. 4, v. 62: "disiecti membra poetae" (literally, "the scattered limbs of a poet," i.e., poetic fragments, poetry dissolved in prose).

if the bitter chalice of suffering . . . taken from 3 284
me] Alludes to the prayer of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane before he is taken prisoner, Lk 22:42: "Father, if you are willing, remove this cup from me; yet, not my will but yours be done."

this holy place] i.e., the church. 25 284

deceived in my heart . . . deceive his heart] Al- 36 284
ludes to Deut 11:16: "Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them" (King James version).

I will not conceal myself] As Adam and Eve con- 8 285
cealed themselves from the Lord in the Garden of Eden, because they had disobeyed the Lord's order not to eat of the tree of knowledge; see Gen 3:8.

angels' cry of joy . . . who converts] Refers to Lk 28 285
15:7: "I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance."

what I have sought, I have found] Alludes to Mt 30
7:7: "Seek, and ye shall find" (King James version).

30 **took everything from me**] Presumably an allusion to Job, in the OT book of Job, from whom everything was taken.

286 1 **the nature of original sin**] → 166,*18*.

286*m* 1 **The woman . . . whom the serpent chose to attack**] See the account of the fall of man in Gen 3:1–24, where it is reported that the serpent tempted the woman (Eve) to eat from the tree of knowledge.

5 **In the 6th vol. . . . Hamann . . . Diese Angst . . . heilige Hypochondrie**] Cited word for word, with minor variants in punctuation and spelling, from *Hamann's Schriften* (→ 145,*15*), vol. 6 (1824), p. 194: "But this anxiety in the world is the only proof of our heterogeneity. For if we felt nothing lacking, we would not behave better than the heathen and the transcendental philosophers, who know nothing of God and like fools fall in love with the delightful world of nature, and we would not be beset with nostalgia. This impertinent unrest, this holy hypochondria . . . " Hamann continues the sentence as follows: "is perhaps the fire by which we sacrificial animals must be preserved [literally, 'salted'] and protected from the putrefaction of the current *seculi* [Latin, century]." — **hypochondria**: In Hamann's time, and even as late as Kierkegaard's time, "hypochondria," in addition to its present-day meaning—i.e., a continual fear of illness and an excessive concern for one's health—still had the older meanings of obsession with minor details and melancholia (see Ludvig Meyer, *Fremmedordbog* [Dictionary of Foreign Words], 3rd ed. [Copenhagen, 1853]; ASKB 1035), and Kierkegaard not infrequently used the word in these senses, both in his journals and notebooks and, e.g., in *The Concept of Anxiety* (*BA*, 162n; *SKS* 4, 460).

love God with all your heart] See Mt 22:37: "He [Jesus] said to him, 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.' " See also Deut 6:5. 29 286

"because there is nothing more for it to do"] Presumably a fictional quotation. 2 287

a mystery . . . in a man's heart] Alludes to 1 Cor 2:6–10, which speaks of "God's wisdom, secret and hidden" (v. 7), which "no human eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived" (v. 9). 15 287

speak with him . . . without having been announced] The king, on the other hand, only granted an audience to a subject after the latter had been announced. 18

The world passeth away, and the lust thereof] Cited from 1 Jn 2:17 (King James version). 4 288

the word of the Lord endureth forever] Cited from 1 Pet 1:24–25: "For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man is as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: But the word of the Lord endureth for ever" (King James version). 7

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JOURNAL KK

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NOTES FOR JOURNAL KK

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Journal KK is a bound book, written in from both the front and the back. It was inscribed "KK" by Kierkegaard and consists of sixty-one leaves (i.e., 122 pages). The entire journal has been preserved and is in the Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

The manuscript is half-bound in brown leather and brownish marbled cover paper. The spine is decorated with gold leaf. On the front cover a label has been pasted in the top right-hand corner with the inscription "K.K." The top left-hand corner of the inside front cover is marked "KK." The book's sixty-one leaves are in octavo format. Starting from the front of the book, the recto pages are numbered 23–75, and starting from the back the recto pages are numbered 1–21. The pages are folded vertically, with the inner column used for the main text, the outer column for additions. The handwriting is regular and easily readable. There are few corrections.

II. Dating and Chronology

As indicated, *Journal KK* is written in from both the front and the back. The first entry from the front, KK:1, indicates an unrealized plan to make excerpts from a treatise by K. Conradi in the *Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie* [Journal for Speculative Theology], edited by Bruno Bauer, vol. 3, no. 2 (Berlin, 1838; ASKB 357). The entry is undated but is presumed to have been written in July 1838. According to marginal note KK:2.a, the journal's first dated entry, KK:2, was written during the period July 23–August 21, 1838. KK:3 and KK:4 were finished on September 30 and November 9, 1838, respectively. The last dated entry is KK:5, which Kierkegaard completed on December 9, 1838. The remaining three entries written from the front of the book, KK:6–KK:8, together with the three entries written from the back of the book, KK:9–KK:11, are all undated. KK:6, which contains a short summary of F. C. Baur's *Die Christliche Lehre von der*

Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung [The Christian Doctrine of Atonement in Its Historical Development] (Tübingen, 1838; ASKB 423), was probably written immediately after KK:5, i.e., in December 1838. Entry KK:7, however, which contains exegetical notes on Romans, is probably connected with C. E. Scharling's lectures on Romans in the winter semester of 1839–1840.[1] The last of the entries written from the back, KK:11, consists of Kierkegaard's notes on H. L. Martensen's "Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics." The entry, which makes use of a summary of the lectures made by another auditor (see below), covers only the first twenty-three paragraphs of the lectures. If it can be supposed that Martensen covered §§ 1–59 in the summer semester of 1838, i.e., between May and September, and the remainder, §§ 60–99, in the winter semester of 1838–1839, then §§ 1–23 were presumably covered in May and June 1838. It is probable that Kierkegaard began writing out his own copy of the summary of the lectures shortly after that time, in order to familiarize himself with material that would be relevant to his examinations.

It appears, then, that *Journal KK* was first written in from the back. The shorter entries, KK:9–10, are undated, but KK:11 (the Martensen notes) was probably begun and finished in July 1838. Thereupon Kierkegaard turned the journal over and, on July 23, 1838 began to write in it from the front, with entries KK:1–6 keeping him occupied until mid-December of that year. Then he put the journal aside, but used it again in the winter semester 1839–1840, writing entry KK:7 and its continuation, KK:8. At some point after having started using the journal, Kierkegaard labeled the journal "KK,"[2] and in choosing the cover on which he pasted the label, Kierkegaard ignored the chronological sequence in which the entries had actually been written; thus, the later entries (those now numbered KK:1–8) are those he had written from what was now labeled as the front of the book,

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1) The list of the lectures offered at the University of Copenhagen, winter semester 1839-1840, records that "Dr. C. E. Scharling, Professor Ordinarius, will publicly interpret Paul's Letter to the Romans on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays at 9 o'clock, and again at 10 o'clock on Fridays." The winter semester ran from the first of November to the end of the March the following year. The summer semester ran from the first of May to the end of September.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Journal JJ*, in this volume, p. 459.

while the earlier entries (those now numbered KK:9–11), are those he had written from what was now the back of the book.

III. Contents

Journal KK consists chiefly of excerpts from theological and dogmatic works. Kierkegaard had planned to begin with excerpts from K. Conradi's article "Ueber die Präexistenz Christi, oder die Voraussetzung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit" [On the Preexistence of Christ, or the Presupposition for Human Personality] from Bauer's *Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie*, but he only got as far as writing out the title and leaving a couple of pages blank for this purpose (KK:1). The longest entry in the journal, KK:2, then follows, which consists of extensive notes on Julius Schaller's *Der historiche Christus und die Philosophie. Kritik der Grundidee des Werks das Leben Jesu von Dr. D. F. Strauss* [The Historical Christ and Philosophy: A Critique of the Basic Idea of the Study *The Life of Jesus*, by Dr. D. F. Strauss] (Leipzig, 1838; ASKB 759). Halfway through the entry Kierkegaard breaks off to interject two personal comments written across the whole page and both signed "K."

Of the subsequent excerpted passages, KK:4 and KK:5 are the longest. These are taken from Karl Rosenkranz's *Encyklopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* [Encyclopedia of the Theological Sciences] (Halle, 1831; ASKB 35), and Johann Adam Möhler's *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit, besonders im Kampfe mit dem Arianismus* [Athanasius the Great and the Church of His Time, Especially in Its Struggle with Arianism] (Mainz, 1827; ASKB 635–636). In the latter, Kierkegaard includes an enthusiastic remark concerning Möhler's treatment of Hilary's twelve-volume work on the Trinity (see illustration 11):

> It is remarkable that although I have been engaged with dogmatics for some years now I have never heard them mentioned — they are powerful, I am tempted to say of them what King Pyrrhus said of the Roman Senate, it is a realm of lapidary thoughts, where every single one gives the point de vüe or criterion for a speculative dogmatics — I absolutely have to read this work, right now I feel that I am flooded by it in the same way that Egypt is blessed by the waters of the Nile.

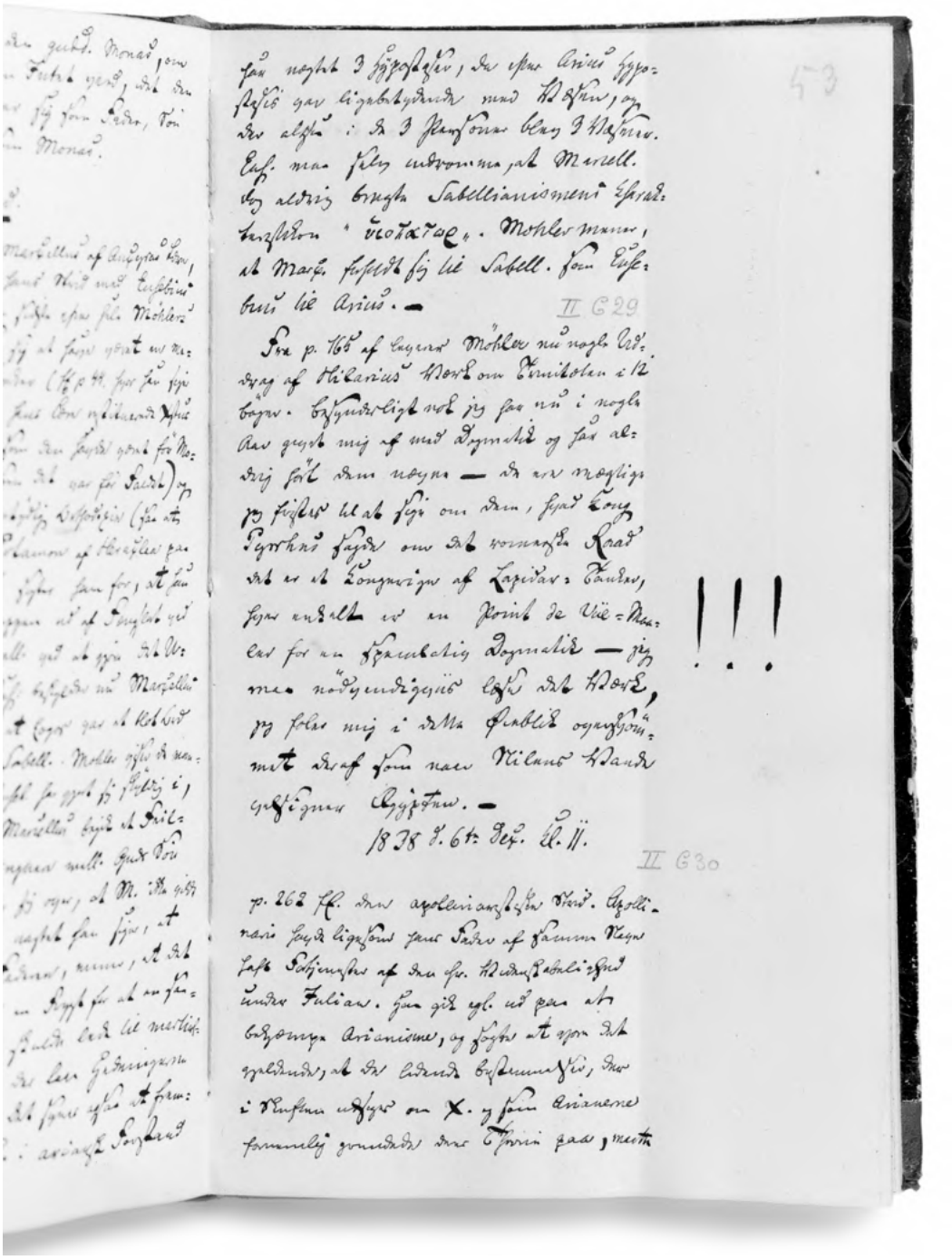
Alongside this, Kierkegaard inscribed three huge exclamation marks in the outer margin.

Two entries in *Journal KK* differ from the rest in character and deserve special mention. These are the exegetical notes on Romans (KK:7) and the summaries of Martensen's lectures on speculative dogmatics (KK:11).

KK:7 contains Kierkegaard's exegetical notes in Danish and in Latin on chapters 9–16 of Romans, partly dependent on F. A. G. Tholuck's *Auslegung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer nebst forlaufenden Auszügen aus den exegetischen Schriften der Kirchenväter und Reformatoren* [Exposition of Paul's Letter to the Romans, together with Excerpts from the Exegetical Writings of the Church Fathers and Reformers], 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1831 [1824]; ASKB 102). As previously indicated, this entry was probably occasioned by C. E. Scharling's lectures on the letter to the Romans, held in the winter semester of 1839–1840. How closely Kierkegaard followed Scharling's exegesis cannot, however, be determined, since the lectures, which were given in Danish, were never printed. On the other hand, it is clear that Kierkegaard made frequent use of Tholuck's German commentary. It might seem surprising that some parts of KK:7 were written in Latin, including some of Kierkegaard's own critical comments, translations of Old Testament passages, and notes taken from Tholuck. However, as *Journal CC* testifies,[1] Kierkegaard had earlier made competent translations of New Testament passages into Latin, and, in any case, the written examination in New Testament exegesis that he was to take in summer 1840 would be in Latin. As in *Journal CC*, here in KK:7 Kierkegaard also used K. G. Bretschneider's *Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti* [Greek-Latin Hand Lexicon of the Books of the New Testament], 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1829 [1824]; ASKB 73–74). The Latin passages clearly demonstrate Kierkegaard's considerable competence in the language.

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[1]) See *Journal CC*, entries CC:1–CC:11 in *KJN* 1, 139–188; see also ""Søren Kierkegaard and His Latin Translations of the New Testament" in *KJN* 1, 435–441. These translations did not, however, include Paul's letter to the Romans.



11. Journal KK:5, notes on and excerpts from Johan Adam Möhler's *Athanasius der Grosse;* see pp. 327 and 609 in this volume.

KK:7 also includes a number of citations in Greek from the New Testament and the Septuagint[1] and in Hebrew from the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature. On the whole Kierkegaard is very careful in writing the Hebrew consonants. There are only a few places where he makes actual errors, e.g., אם for עם. Incidentally, Kierkegaard consistently omits both the daghesh forte and the daghesh lene,[2] and does not distinguish between שׂ and שׁ. His use of vowel signs is more careless, and he often confuses patah (ַ) and qames (ָ), sometimes also sere (ֵ) and seghol (ֶ). His mistakes in vocalization are not such, however, as to disturb the meaning. As has been argued above, KK:11 can be dated to the summer semester of 1838. H. L. Martensen was appointed lecturer on the Theology Faculty of the University of Copenhagen on April 21, 1838, and he took over the lectures in moral philosophy that were to have been given by the recently deceased Poul Martin Møller. In his reminiscences Martensen says that:

> As I must now say something about my lectures, I have to note that at that time and for many years afterward, dogmatics was the subject closest to my heart. This is where my basic questions lay. I announced the lectures as "Speculative Dogmatics" in order to show what was to be expected, although I later changed this designation to the customary "Christian Dogmatics."[3]

However, the students were, in Martensen's view, lacking the basic presuppositions needed to understand the latest philosophy and its relation to theology—"I could assume nothing or as good as nothing," Martensen was to write.[4] He therefore held supplementary lectures on "The History of Modern Philosophy from Kant to Hegel

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1) The name given to an early (pre-Christian) Greek translation of the Old Testament.

2) Signs that affect the articulation of a word (i.e., making it "hard" or doubling the letter in question), indicated by a dot in the heart of the letter.

3) H. L. Martensen, *Af mit Levnet* [From My Life], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1882–1883), vol. 2, p. 3.

4) Ibid.

in Its Intrinsic Relation to Theology." These lectures were a repetition of his well-attended private lectures given in the preceding winter semester (1837–1838), "Prolegomena to Speculative Dogmatics." Notes in *Notebook 4* (Not4:2–12) suggest that Kierkegaard was among those who attended the lectures.[1]

Martensen's own view of his relation to Hegel and on the effect of these lectures is found, once more, in his reminiscences:

> Because I now presented Dogmatics against the background of the most recent philosophy and its influence on theology, I had to adopt a position vis-à-vis Hegel, who was the greatest and most renowned philosopher of the age, and who had been introduced here by J. L. Heiberg and who was, in many respects, the object of my admiration and affection. I had to lead my auditors *through* Hegel; we were not to remain fixated on him, but, as the saying goes, we had to go beyond him . . . The effect of my lectures can certainly and without exaggeration be described as great and exceptional.[2]

As stated, Kierkegaard attended Martensen's privately held "Prolegomena" lectures, or at least the early part of the series, in the winter semester 1837–1838. However, it is not certain that he attended Martensen's "Speculative Dogmatics" lectures in the following two semesters. Entry KK:11 contains only an incomplete résumé of Martensen's introductory remarks and the first twenty-three paragraphs of the series. Among Kierkegaard's papers there also exists a complete contemporary lecture summary, in a hand that is not Kierkegaard's, of all ninety-nine paragraphs; see illustration 12. The reason this anonymous document is of interest here is that it closely matches KK:11 in terms of both language and content. It is what we might call a set of subscription notes.

Regarding this practice, widespread at the time, M. G. G. Steenstrup has written:

> One should not, however, believe that those who used printed

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1) See *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 125–143; the entries are dated November 15–December 23, 1837, so Kierkegaard seems only to have attended the first ten lectures.

2) Martensen, *Af mit Levnet*, p. 4.

> sources and neglected lectures at the university did not benefit from the latter in any way. Examinations were strictly based on lectures, so every student had to know how each lecturer dealt with his subject. They therefore made use of transcribed notes . . . Thus the university was able to continue along its mechanical route in comfort, since even if the students were not exposed first-hand to the teaching that was offered, there were other means whereby they could familiarize themselves with it. Even though these subscription notes were not provided by the university, nor their production supervised by it, they nevertheless served to further its aims and thus, along with the University Library and other libraries, they facilitated study.[1]

Together with the professional tutors, these subscription notes seem to have played a significant part in student life. Taken together they constituted "the two influential institutions that provided a criterion by which to assess the extent to which the university was really satisfying the students' needs. They . . . [were] the two poles around which the university's circulatory system revolve[d]."[2] On the role of professional transcribers, Steenstrup makes the further comment:

> Transcribers are the important middlemen between the university and the students, and the previously discussed subscription notes are the libraries from which the various editions and annual versions of lecture material may be borrowed. More students learn what is being lectured about from these subscription notes than from the university's auditoriums.[3]

From the limited sources regarding this phenomenon, it thus appears that professional transcribers sold lecture notes to the students who "were unable to be present, or who could afford not to be there,"[4] and that, also on a private basis, there was some organized

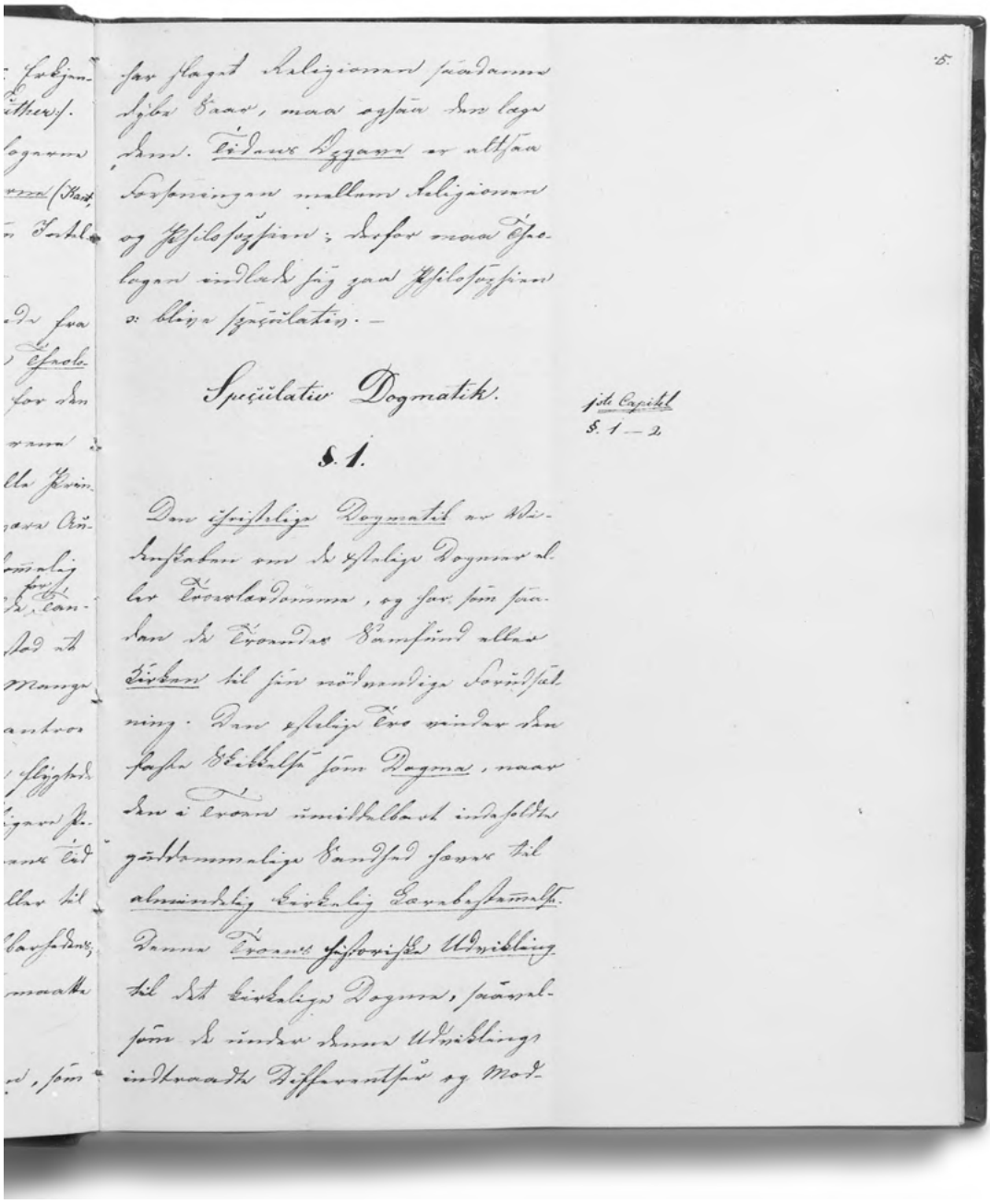
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1) M. G. G. Steenstrup, *Det theologiske Studium ved vort Universitet* [Theological Studies at Our University] (Copenhagen, 1848), pp. 12f.

2) Ibid., pp. 88f.

3) Ibid., p. 84.

4) Leif Grane (ed.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979, Det teologiske*



Speculativ Dogmatik.

1ste Capitel
S. 1 – 2.

§. 1.

12. Subscription notes for H. L. Martensen's Lectures on speculative dogmatics; see pp. 342 and 592–596 in this volume.

system for lending these lecture summaries. Little more than this is known, however.

The editors of the *Papirer* judged, correctly, that "The notebook written in Kierkegaard's hand and covering the early part of Martensen's 'Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics' [i.e., KK:11] is certainly copied."[1] It seems very probable that Kierkegaard's source was a set of subscription notes which he had simply borrowed prior to purchasing his own copy. Somewhat surprisingly, the copies Kierkegaard made cover only the beginning portion of the individual paragraphs. It may be assumed that in preparing for his examinations, Kierkegaard became aware of the inadequacy of his notes and therefore acquired a complete set. There are some discrepancies between Kierkegaard's notes and the extant set of subscription notes; for a detailed account of these differences, see the variants listed in *SKS* 18, 374–386 and *SKS* K18, 488.

Fakultet [The University of Copenhagen, 1479–1979: The Theology Faculty], vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 333.

[1]) See *Pap. II*, p. 375.

Explanatory Notes

291 *1* **Ueber die Præexistents . . . p. 348 et al.**] "Ueber die Präexistenz Christi, oder die Voraussetzung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit. Von Pfarrer K. Conradi" [On the Preexistence of Christ or the Presupposition for Human Personality, by Pastor K. Conradi] in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie in Gemeinschaft mit einem Verein von Gelehrten* [Journal for Speculative Theology in Collaboration with an Association of Scholars], ed. B. Bauer, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1836–1838; ASKB 354–357, vol. 3, pt. 2, 1838, pp. 348–403. — **K. Conradi**: Kasimir Conradi, German priest in Dexheim, dates unknown. — **Bauer**: Bruno Bauer (→ 340,*1*).

292 *1* **Der historische Christus . . . Leipzig 1838**] *Der historische Christus und die Philosophie. Kritik der Grundidee des Werks das Leben Jesu von Dr. D. F. Strauss. Von Julius Schaller. Dr. d. Philos. u. Privatdocent an der Universität Halle* [The Historical Christ and Philosophy: A Critique of the Basic Idea of the Study *The Life of Jesus*, by Dr. D. F. Strauss; by Julius Schaller, Dr. of Philosophy and Privatdocent at the University of Halle] (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1838; ASKB 759; abbreviated hereafter as *Der historische Christus*). *Der Historische Christus* consists of a preface and eight chapters. In the following notes it will be referred to by page and line numbers, preceded by *HC*. — **Strauss**: David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), German theological writer. His work, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, was published in 1835–1836 and immediately unleashed a massive debate in the theological world, leading to his dismissal from his post at the Tübingen theological seminary. In his book, strongly influenced by his reading of Hegel, Strauss sought to show that the text of the gospels was based on essentially mythical messianic expectations, rather than on historical facts. Positively, he argued that these myths nevertheless expressed a true idea, namely, that of the unity (reconciliation) of the divine and the human. What an earlier age could only represent in the form of myths and images, the modern age could grasp as pure concept, according to Strauss. — **Schaller**: Julius Schaller (1807–1868), German theologian, appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Halle in 1838. In the debate between Right and Left Hegelians, Schaller occupied a distinctive moderating position. Like other contemporary theologians, he criticized Strauss, but unlike many others he did so on the basis of a careful examination of the arguments and, in the preface to *Der historische Christus*, he expresses his respect for Strauss. He did not reject the Straussian-Hegelian attempt to reformulate Christianity in philosophical terms as the absolute religion, but he tried to show that this did not lead to the dismissal of the NT's historical elements as purely mythical.

5 **1. Die mythische Auffassung . . . zum Glauben**] Title of chap. 1 of *HC*. Orthographically inaccurate.

7 **"Faith is therefore . . . inwardness"**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 4:4–8. In the notes which follow, what is cited in English appears in Danish in Kierkegaard's journal; German words and phrases have been retained in the main text. See "Introduction" in this volume of *KJN*, p. xiii.

10 **"We must therefore . . . irrelevant to revelation**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 4:13–17.

15 **Tertullian**] Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullian(us) (ca. 155–ca. 240), born in Carthage, North Africa and one of the Latin Church Fathers. See EE:103 in this volume of *KJN*.

16 **p. 5. "The truth of revelation . . . natural subjectivity**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 5:6–9, omitting the umlaut in *Entäußerung*.

18 **If one were to . . . incorporate the believer within itself**] From *HC*, p. 5:16–25.

21 **Bayle said . . . not understanding"**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 5:25–31. — **Bayle**: Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), French philosopher whose chief work, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* [Historical and Critical Dictionary], was published 1695–1697. Bayle represents a skeptical view, opposing the unity of faith and reason.

26 **"Just as in genuine faith . . . given this position"**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 6:14–19.

31 **p. 6. [“]But Christ's person and life also belong to the positive content of Chr. doctrine”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 6:28–29.

32 **p. 7. “Sensuous individual . . . what is individual.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 7:3–8.

38 **“In being an object . . . self-consciousness.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 7:39–8:2.

39 **p. 9 “Purely historical knowledge . . . a mass of unrelated atoms.”**] From *HC*, p. 9:1–10.

293 5 **Thereby all facts . . . equally important**] From *HC*, p. 9:10–12.

6 **p. 10 “Thus it is Christ's person . . . and recognized by it as truth.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 10:19–27.

13 **Christ's teaching . . . yet also remain a Jew.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 10:33–11:1.

18 **p. 16 “If, then, the mythical conception . . . historical doubt.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 16:37–17:2. Where Kierkegaard has “historical doubt,” the original reads “religious doubt.”

23 **2. Durchführung . . . wesentliche Momenten**] Title of chap. 2 of *HC*. Orthographically inaccurate.

25 **The mythical conception . . . point of departure**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 17:9–15. The emphases are Schaller's.

30 **The two main instances . . . impossibility of the fact**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 18:1–35.

33 **It is this latter aspect . . . a spiritual vision of “The Redeemer.”**] From *HC*, pp. 19:5–20:25. — **Str.**: Strauss.

294 9 **“So it is dogmatic . . . united in one individual.”**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 21:9–17.

15 **p. 24. “But, inasmuch as sense . . . not for self-consciousness**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 24:1–8.

21 **Thus, even if . . . only accomplished by the God-Man**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 24:10–21.

30 **But the proof . . . the mythical element in the same**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 26:12–24.

32 **To explain the myth . . . a religious self-consciousness**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 26:32–37.

36 **If the mythical view . . . does not correspond to the object**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 29:18–36.

295 10 **p. 31 “But it has already been alluded to . . . thus forgotten**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 30:35–31:10.

20 **If the Chr. myth . . . its essential content**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 32:2–19.

35 **3. Die Entzweiung . . . der Versöhnung**] Title of chap. 3 of *HC*.

37 **If one is really to come to grips . . . the content itself**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 32:26–35. The emphasis is Schaller's.

2 296 **p. 35 “This separation . . . in addition a person**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 35:28–36:4.

8 **Self-consciousness . . . in indissoluble unity**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 36:21–26. Kierkegaard writes “mediation” for the German *Vermittelung*. — **mediation**: Mediation is not in fact a term used by Hegel, but it was widely used by, e.g., Danish Hegelians to translate such Hegelian terms as *Vermittelung*. See, e.g., J. L. Heiberg, “Det logiske System,” in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen, 1837–1838; ASKB 569), no. 2, pp. 18, 21, and esp. 30.

17 **If we apprehend the hum. being . . . historical continuity**] From *HC*, pp. 36:27–37:16.

22 **If on the contrary . . . not in accordance with its actuality**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 37:17–38:10.

3 297 **Hegel . . . not Christianly**] Précis of *HC*, p. 39:28–31. The emphasis on “one” is Schaller's; other emphases are Kierkegaard's. — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, privatdocent at Jena from 1801 to 1805, professor extraordinarius at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death.

5 **The separation of subject . . . universality and substance**] From *HC*, p. 40:8–19.

12 **God's revealed will . . . its actions**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 41:36–42:4. The subject matter here is Judaism.

19 **One cannot then say . . . fulfilling of the Law**] From *HC*, p. 43:22–33.

26 **Essntlly this “Entzweiung” . . . lost in his finitude**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 44:3–7. The emphases are Schaller's.

29 **Consciousness and self-consciousness . . . absolute essence**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 46:2–10.

35 **The consciousness of this division . . . remarkable favor**] From *HC*, pp. 46:37–47:32.

3 298 **But how are things . . . the negation of difference?**] From *HC*, pp. 52:18–53:9.

17 **On the other hand ... finite certainties**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 53:19–22.

20 **quite apart from the dialectical necessity ... the form of its "Fürsichsein."**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 54:34–55:15. Emphases are Schaller's. — **the dialectical necessity**: An idea drawn from Hegel's philosophy.

37 **4. Kritik der Straußischen Christologie**] Title of chap. 4 of *HC*.

38 **Its chief failing is its indeterminacy**] From *HC*, p. 57:16–17; "indeterminacy" is emphasized in Schaller's text.

39 **p. 65: It is incontrovertibly demonstrated ... personal God-humnty altogether**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 65:26–32.

299 4 **On the one hand ... the historical appearance**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 65:38–66:7.

12 **According to Strauss ... the hum. species**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 57:34–36. "According to Strauss" is an addition by Kierkegaard; the emphases are Schaller's.

14 **Now, it is essential ... the individual to the universal?**] From *HC*, p. 58:4–32. — **Christian doctrine**: Schaller has "Church doctrine." — **Luther**: → 317,10. Schaller wrote: "Thus the idea of the reformation was at first only present in Luther, and there thus occurred a hoarding of the idea in relation to others, if we might put the relationship in these terms."

26 **But what does it mean ... the finite non-Christian religions?**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 61:32–62:3.

34 **Furthermore, Strauss teaches that humnty is not sinful**] From *HC*, p. 62:30–33. "Strauss teaches" is Kierkegaard's addition.

36 **the shaky deployment ... is precisely the chief moment**] From *HC*, p. 64:13–15.

37 **No individual ... its personal infinity**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 64:18–65:4.

300 18 **5. Die Idee der Versöhnung**] Title of chap. 5 of *HC*.

19 **This reconciliation ... insight into sin**] From *HC*, pp. 66:9–68:13.

40 **The new knowledge ... its own domain**] From *HC*, p. 69:5–25. Schaller emphasizes only "life"; Kierkegaard also emphasizes "new."

301 1 **This is where the idea of reconciliation ... God's knowledge of himself**] From *HC*, p. 71:16–35. Emphases are Schaller's.

The Kantian philosophy ... and truth] From *HC*, p. 72:30–34. — **Immanuel Kant**: German philosopher (1724–1804), professor at Königsberg, 1770–1796. 13

The complete antithesis ... practical capability] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 73:8–31. The emphases are Schaller's. The term translated here as "capability" is based on the term *Færdighed* in the Danish text, Kierkegaard's mistaken transcription of the German *Freiheit* ("freedom"). 15

But this idealism ... never perfected] From *HC*, p. 74:11–16. 23

As in the Jewish religion, ... insuperable finitude] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 75:26–35. 28

Spinoza too ... to universality] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 76:18–31. Schaller emphasizes "Spinoza" and "theoretical." — **Spinoza**: Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Dutch Jewish philosopher whose rationalistic pantheism was an important source of inspiration to post-Kantian German idealism. 36

substance is ... can be derived and conceived] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 77:16–26. 5 302

Only God's personal immanence ... annihilated] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, pp. 80:29–81:7. 28

God no longer ... mediation with itself] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 81:7–13. — **meditation**: → 296,8. 6 303

6. Die Personlichkeit Christi] Title of chap. 6 of *HC*. Orthographically inaccurate. 12

The general idea of reconciliation ... God-man, is absolute Spirit] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 85:8–16. Schaller's emphases are as follows: "God's *essence*," "God-*Man*," and "absolute *Spirit*." — **the unity as such of God and the hum. being**: Schaller has "the spiritual unity of God and the human being." 13

What is the connection ... mediated by the Jewish] From *HC*, pp. 87:16–88:4. — **mediation**: → 296,8. The first italicized sentence reflects Schaller's emphasis, the second reflects Kierkegaard's. Schaller also emphasizes "conditioned" and "mediated" (German, *vermittelt*). 20

One could put it better ... returned to the beginning] From *HC*, pp. 88:27–89:11. Schaller emphasizes "a means." — **Xnty**: Schaller has "the Christian religion." 31

306 3 **p. 96. "But when the subjective necessity ... energy of individuality**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 96:12–33.

18 **This new principle ... the individuality of peoples**] From *HC*, pp. 97:16–98:9. Schaller's emphases are as follows: "a *single* point," "is *expressed*," and "the *spiritual* actuality of *consciousness*."

36 **The Church essentially brings to the fore the div. in Xt**,] From *HC*, p. 99:18–19.

37 **the hum**.] See *HC*, p. 102:13–14.

37 **and rejects the confusing ... God and hum. being**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 103:12–14. Schaller emphasizes "confusing" and "personal."

39 **That one person ... possesses and enjoys itself in its positive, i.e., personal negation**] From *HC*, p. 104:8–14.

307 5 **Every comparison ... more and more deeply**.] From *HC*, p. 105:28–38. Schaller emphasizes "faith" and "life." — **the mere recollection ... the eucharist**: i.e., the understanding of the eucharist associated with Calvinism and Zwinglianism, in which it is understood as an act of remembrance devoid of a real presence.

13 **7. Die Geschichte Christi**] Title of chap. 7 of *HC*.

14 **Here we have to investigate ... the miracles**] From *HC*, p. 108:8–20. Schaller emphasizes "miracles."

28 **Miracle is the occasion of faith**] From *HC*, p. 109:28–29. Schaller emphasizes only "occasion."

28 **but also the occasion of doubt**] See *HC*, p. 110:31–33.

29 **Miracle is a natural moment ... in truth Chr. faith**] From *HC*, pp. 108:21–109:23. — **mediation**: → 296,*8*.

38 **Thus self-negating externality ... nature by Spirit**] From *HC*, p. 114:18–34. On "unmediated," see notes on mediation (→ 296,*8*). The emphasis on "individual" is Schaller's, who also emphasizes "to itself" (German, *für sich*).

307*m* 5 **Das Auchandersseinkönnen ... sinnlichen Geschehens**] See *HC*, p. 124:19–20. With regard to the possibility of distinguishing the factual, the unhistorical, and the mythical in the gospels, Schaller writes: "It is nevertheless in the nature of the case that this investigation can only be carried through to a certain degree of probability, for the sensuous event remains singular, and it is this singularity which is the issue here, and which is as such subject to misreporting and therefore also to doubt; as an external event and as something finitely conditioned it can take various forms, and therefore the possibility of also being other lies directly in the concept of the sensuous event" (*HC*, p. 124:13–20).

7 **Miracle primarily appears ... become revelation**] From *HC*, pp. 117:24–118:21. — **Only after X's death ... the Holy Spirit**: See Jn 21:19–23. — **only thereby were their eyes opened**: See Lk 24:13–32 (the revelation to the two disciples at Emmaus). 308

19 **In any case ... is proved**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 119:6–9.

23 **8. Der Glaube ... und die Philosophie**] Title of chap. 8 of *HC*.

24 **It is certainly the case ... the spiritual life**] Kierkegaard's translation of *HC*, p. 135:23–35. Schaller emphasizes "subordinating" (first occurrence), and "as such."

1 **Christliche Polemik ... 1838**] *Christliche Polemik. Von Dr. Karl Heinrich Sack, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Bonn, Mitgliede der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig* [Christian Polemics, by Dr. Karl Heinrich Sack, Ordinary Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn, Member of the Historical-Theological Society of Leipzig] (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1838; ASKB 756; abbreviated hereafter as *Christliche Polemik*). As a follower of Schleiermacher, Sack (1789–1875) was among the opponents of speculative theology. The title is itself derived from Schleiermacher, whose *Kurze Darstellung des Theologischen Studiums* [Short Presentation of the Theological Curriculum] (Berlin, 1811; 2nd ed., 1830) divided dogmatics or philosophical theology into apologetics and polemics, the latter being understood as the refutation of erroneous doctrinal views. Sack also published a *Christliche Apologetik* [Christian Apologetics] (Hamburg, 1829; ASKB 755). *Christliche Polemik* consists of a preface, an introduction, and two parts. The first part, "General Polemics" (pp. 1–65), contains two chapters, while the second part, "Special Polemics" (pp. 65–364), is divided into five sections, each comprising two chapters. It is presented in the manner of many of the period's textbooks: each paragraph has a short introduction of several lines in which the principal thesis of the paragraph is set out, and this thesis is then substantiated at greater or lesser length. Kierkegaard's summaries constitute an almost word-for-word translation of the theses of all but two paragraphs of the second 309

part of the book ("Special Polemics"), where particular errors are discussed and refuted. In the notes which follow, references to *Christliche Polemik* are given by part, section, chapter, and "paragraph" (§), and occasionally also by page and line numbers, all preceded by *CP*.

6 **certain textbook ways of treating the material**] See the preceding note.

7 **in the introduction**] See *CP*, pp. 1–34.

8 **the investigation of indifferentism**] "On Indifferentism" is the heading of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, pp. 65–110, in "Special Polemics" (→ 309,1).

11 **The 2 main forms of indifferentism are naturalism and mythologism**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, § 3, p. 73.

15 **Naturalism**] "On Naturalism" is the heading of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 1, p. 74.

16 **Chr. N. . . . something indifferent**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 1, § 1, p. 74. — **N.**: Naturalism. — **naturalistic**: Sack has "anti-Christian."

19 **N. conceives of Xnty. . . . religion and nature**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 1, § 2, p. 76.

22 **N. is indifferent to miracles . . . whom he sent**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 1, § 3, p. 81. — **appearance**: Kierkegaard translates Sack's "*des Ansehns seiner Gesandten*" (the appearance of the one he sent) with the Danish "*hans Anseelse som han udsendte*."

25 **N. is indifferent . . . teaching and ordinances**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 1, § 4, p. 89.

28 **Mythologism**] "On Mythologism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 2, p. 100.

29 **M. is that form of indifferentism . . . as the divine in Xnty**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 2, § 1, p. 100. — **M.**: Mythologism.

32 **Since M. places . . . the worth of redemption**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 1, chap. 2, § 2, p. 106.

310 1 **Literalism**] "On Literalism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 111.

2 **L. is the error . . . clings to its husk**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, § 1, p. 111. — **L.**: Literalism.

4 **The historical development . . . highly cultivated hum. forms**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 113. — **by an accompanying lukewarmness**: Sack has "*durch eine demselben vorhergegangene Lauheit*" (by a preceding lukewarmness).

7 **The two main forms of literalism are ergism and orthodoxy**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, § 3, p. 116.

8 **Ergism**] "On Ergism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 116.

9 **The essence of E . . . attaining blessedness**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap 1, § 1, p. 117. — **E**: Ergism, a form of "synergism," a theological position which, unlike Luther, holds that works (Greek, *erga*, hence "ergism") as well as faith are necessary for salvation.

12 **In E. . . . means of justification**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 1, § 2, p. 119.

14 **E. . . . at all**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 1, § 3, p. 125.

16 **Orthodoxy**] "On Orthodoxy" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 2, p. 134.

17 **O. is the form . . . of the gospel**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 2, § 1, p. 134. — **O.**: Orthodoxy.

19 **O., in its not . . . an unwarranted respect**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 2, § 2, p. 136.

21 **O. develops . . . as absolute**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 2, § 3, p. 141.

24 **"The expression . . . reconciling himself with the world**] Citation from *CP*, p. 145:25–30.

26 **and it is impossible . . . Kirkenzeitung sees it."**] Citation from *CP*, the first part of note 2 on pp. 145f. — **the evangelische Kirkenzeitung**: *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* [The Evangelical (i.e., Lutheran) Church Times], ed. C. W. Hengstenberg, vol. 20, nos. 1–103 (Berlin, 1837); Sack refers to the article "Geschichtliches aus der Versöhnungs- und Genugthuungslehre" [Historical Remarks concerning the Doctrines of Reconciliation and Satisfaction], in no. 20, esp. p.156.

29 **Spiritualism**] "On Spiritualism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, p. 162.

30 **S. is the error . . . the divine word**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, § 1, p. 162. — **S.**: Spiritualism.

31 **The historical appearance of S. . . . brought about by Law**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, § 2, p. 165.

34 **The two . . . Gnosticism**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, § 3, p. 167.

35 **Rationalism**] "On Rationalism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, p. 168.

36 **R. consists . . . and the Chr. religion**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, § 1, p. 168. — **R.**: Rationalism.

38 **R. does not . . . real word of God**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, § 2, p. 178. — **God's word**: Sack has "the Word of Christ."

311 1 **By denying . . . God and hum. beings**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, § 3, p. 199.

3 **By denying . . . a moral exemplar**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, § 4, p. 211.

6 **The objectivity of reconciliation . . . damaging to morals**] Citation from *CP*, p. 228:2–9.

12 **Every secure basis . . . uses scripture**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 1, § 5, p. 244.

15 **Gnosticism**] "On Gnosticism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 2, p. 249.

16 **G. is . . . union with God**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 2, § 1, p. 249. — **G.**: Gnosticism.

19 **G. falsely . . . speculative knowledge**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 2, § 2, p. 258.

21 **Gnosticism comprises . . . standpoint of life**] Summary of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 2, § 2, pp. 258–274.

28 **Because G. . . . the world's self-development**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 3, chap. 2, § 3, p. 275.

30 **The remark . . . about Gnosticism**] This presumably refers to the comment: "Atonement can, in Gnosticism, be merely a symbol, and, indeed, not of that dying-away that every believer in Christ must undergo (this symbol is available in real reconciliation), but of that dying-away that every human being, by virtue of being human, actually undergoes in himself through the necessary process of the development of spirit in which the logical, psychological, and physiological aspects of human development are substituted for that divine work of grace, mediated through faith in the sinless mediator Jesus Christ who died for us" (p. 278:6–16). And, in lines 19–25: "For the mighty deeds of the one who showed and spoke of himself in his historic personality as being one with the Father are both obnoxious to Gnosticism, and are regarded by it as of no value in relation to the religious apprehension of Christ, for it hates having to recognize the concrete actuality of the essence of the Godhead only in this person, wanting to have in this [actuality] what is directly ascribable to the entirety of humanity."

this notebook] *Journal KK*. 32

in connection with Schaller] See Kierkegaard's comments in KK:2. 32

Separatism] "On Separatism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, p. 282. 34

S. consists . . . life in the Church] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, § 1, p. 282. — **S.**: Separatism. 35

The two main forms of S. are mysticism and pietism] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, § 2, p. 286. 37

Mysticism] "On Mysticism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 1, p. 288. 1 312

M. is . . . in the Church] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 1, § 1, p. 288. — **M.**: Mysticism. 2

M. places . . . cannot be maintained] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 1, § 2, p. 292. 4

In its nonecclesiastical . . . purely hum.] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 1, § 3, p. 300. 7

Pietism] "On Pietism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 2, chap. 2, p. 304. 10

P. is . . . by imagination] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 2, § 1, p. 304. — **P.**: Pietism. — **mediated**:→ 296,*8*. 11

P. sees . . . faith itself] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 2, § 2, p. 307. 14

P. promotes . . . in the Church] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 4, chap. 2, § 3, p. 312. — **spiritual gifts**: See, e.g., 1 Cor 12–13. 16

Theocratism] "On Theocratism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, p. 317. 18

T. is the error . . . of the Church] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, § 1, p. 317. — **T.**: Theocratism. 19

The two . . . Cæsaropapism] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, § 2, p. 320. — **Th.**: Theocratism. 21

Hierarchism] "On Hierarchism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 1, p. 320. 22

H. is . . . constrains faith] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 1, § 1, p. 320. — **H.**: Hierarchism. 23

H. teaches . . . on the cross] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 1, § 2, p. 333. 26

28 **H. confuses … particular actions**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 1, § 3, p. 337. — **div.**: divine.

31 **Cæsaropapism**] "On Cæsaropapism" is the title of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 2, p. 345.

32 **C. is … in the Church**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 2, § 1, p. 345. — **C.**: Cæsaropapism.

35 **C. suppresses … Church's constitution**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 2, § 2, p. 355. — **the presbyterian element**: i.e., the participation of the laity in the government and leadership of the church.

313 1 **C. paralyzes … discipline**] The introductory thesis of *CP*, pt. 2, sec. 5, chap. 2, § 3, p. 360.

314 1 **Encyklopaedie der theologischen Wissenschaften … Halle. 1831**] *Encyklopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften. Von Dr. Karl Rosenkranz, außerordentlichem Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Halle* [Encyclopedia of the Theological Sciences, by Dr. Karl Rosenkranz, Extraordinary Professor of Philosophy at the University of Halle] (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1831; ASKB 35; abbreviated hereafter as *Encyklopädie*). Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz (1805–1879), German philosopher, theologian and man of letters, appointed professor of philosophy at Königsberg in 1833, having studied under Hegel in Berlin. He was one of the so-called Right Hegelians and was much criticized by the Left Hegelians for his very dogmatic Hegelianism, but he was also criticized by other Right Hegelians for his Kantian tendencies. In his much-read textbook, this *Encyklopädie*, he attempted to establish theology as a speculative science based on Hegelian principles. The book consists of three main parts. Part 1 deals with speculative theology and portrays Protestantism as the absolute, i.e., ultimate religion, setting out its doctrinal content independently of the historical development of the religious consciousness. Part 2 turns to historical theology and traces the particular moments of the development of the religious consciousness up to and in Christianity. Part 3 deals with practical theology and shows how Christianity manifests itself as the absolute religion. Kierkegaard's excerpts consist almost exclusively of translations and occasional paraphrases of selected passages of Rosenkranz's book, and some of its section and chapter titles. The following notes refer to Rosenkranz's work by "paragraph" (§), page, and line, preceded by *ETW*.

3 **In the proofs … thought and being**] Cf. *ETW*, § 5, pp. 6–10. — **the historical**: Rosenkranz cites here the proof *e consensu gentium*, i.e., the proof based on the consensus among human societies that a God exists. — **the physico-theological … the teleological**: Proofs for God's existence that draw on the evidences of design in nature. — **the practical**: The practical or moral argument for the existence of God was especially associated with Kant. — **the ontological**: A proof put forward in various forms by Anselm of Canterbury and Descartes, arguing that God's existence is implied in the simple idea of God as the most perfect being.

9 **§ 7. Substance**] See *ETW*, pp. 12f.

10 **God's being … is substance**] From *ETW*, § 7, pp. 12:28–13:1, with omissions.

17 **pp. 66ff. We have seen … herein is evil**] Close paraphrase, with omissions, of *ETW*, § 41, p. 66:13–23.

27 **Either evil … or the opposite**] From *ETW*, § 41, pp. 66:31–67:11.

30 **Instinct … to itself**] From *ETW*, § 42, p. 69:29–33.

32 **Desire relates … itself universal**] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 42, p. 70:15–23. — **mediated**: → 296,8. The emphases are by Rosenkranz, who also emphasizes the first occurrence of "the individual."

38 **But the balance … is passion**] Excerpted, with omissions, from *ETW*, § 42, p. 71:21–32; Rosenkranz emphasizes "excluding."

8 315 **Evil chiefly … blessedness**] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 46, p. 76:25–28.

12 **The process … sanctification**] From *ETW*, § 47, p. 82:2–7. — **dogmatics**: Rosenkranz refers at this point to § 30, which deals with calling, conversion, and sanctification.

16 **2nd Division historical theology**] Title page for the second part of *ETW*, pp. 101–325, which is subdivided into "Biblical Theology" (pp. 103–175) and "Historical Theology" (pp. 176–325).

18 **Just as speculative … transformation of the same**] From *ETW*, § 55, p. 103:12–18. — **in the [second]**: Rosenkranz has "in its second or ethical."

25 **The Canon**] i.e., the doctrine concerning the canonical writings: title of *ETW*, pt. 2, sec. 1, (§§ 57–60), p. 104.

26 **Criticism**] Title of *ETW*, pt. 2, sec. 2, § 61, p. 119. Criticism here means the investigation of the original form and sources of the canonical writings.

27 **examinative — damnative — vindicative**] In *ETW*, § 61, pp. 119–122, three tasks are set for criticism: (1) compiling the relevant texts, together with their variants; (2) judging which of these are to be rejected as deficient or deviant; and (3) showing which texts are authentic and, therefore, justly included in the canon.

28 **Exegetics**] Title of *ETW*, pt. 2, div. 1, sec. 3 (§§ 62–76), p. 122.

29 **Hermeneutics**] Title of *ETW*, § 63, p. 124.

30 **has to pay heed . . . the writer**] From *ETW*, § 63, p. 125:26–32. Although the comment in parentheses is Kierkegaard's, it reflects Rosenkranz's comments on pp. 128–129. — **source of our religious knowledge**: Rosenkranz has "testimonies of the true religion."

315*m* 1 **The transition . . . of the latter**] Comment on *ETW*, § 62, pp. 122:31–123:8.

316 1 **Exegesis**] Title of *ETW*, § 64, p. 131.

2 **Hermeneutics can . . . commentary**] From *ETW*, § 64, p. 131:3–5.

5 **biblical Dogmatics**] Title of *ETW*, § 64, p. 132.

6 **The transition . . . in its form**] From *ETW*, § 65, pp. 132:32–133:10.

11 **The relationship . . . of the N. T.**] "Biblical Dogmatics" (*ETW*, pp. 132–175) is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 (§ 66, pp. 136–142) deals with Old Testament dogmatics; chapter 2 (§ 67, pp. 142f.), with the dogmatics of the Apocrypha; and chapter 3, with New Testament dogmatics (§§ 68–76, pp. 143–175).

15 **God is . . . in nature**] From *ETW*, § 66, p. 137:4–6.

17 **But this . . . the historical**] From *ETW*, § 66, p. 138:19–23.

20 **in the apocrypha . . . with good**] From *ETW*, § 67, p. 142:14–24.

23 **in Xt's life . . . his life**] From *ETW*, § 70, p. 150:29–35.

27 **The form . . . is universal**] From *ETW*, § 72, p. 154:13–26.

35 **Xt's death . . . as reconciling**] From *ETW*, § 73, p. 165:16–25.

40 **"it annihilates . . . is mediated."**] Cited, with minor variants, from *ETW*, § 73, "Christi Tod," p. 167:17–25. Rosenkranz emphasizes "to that extent" and "only" (second occurrence). — **without any sin**: See Heb 4:15.

Church-historical Theology] Title of *ETW*, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 176. 7 317

In the course . . . and science] From *ETW*, § 77, p. 176:11–15. 8

The Church's political history . . . manifests itself] From *ETW*, § 78, in the section "The Political History of the Church," pp. 178:36–179:24. — **Charlemagne**: Frankish king and Roman emperor (born 742 or 743; king 768–814; emperor, 800–814). — **Luther**: Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian; Augustinian monk; professor at Wittenberg; Reformation leader. 10

The Greek-Eastern Ch.] "The History of the Greek-Eastern Church" is the title of what Rosenkranz calls "The First Epoch" in *ETW*, §§ 79–81, p. 179. 15

1) At first . . . Roman State] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 79, p. 179. 16

2) It divides . . . heterodoxy] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 80, p. 181. 17

3) The identity . . . not proceed] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 81, p. 183; Rosenkranz has "ecclesiastical" for "dogmatic" and lists the two elements in reverse order, i.e., "the identity of the political and the ecclesiastical." 19

Justinian] Justinian I, Byzantine emperor (482–565 A.D.); see *ETW*, p. 185. 20

The Latin Church] Refers to the title of Rosenkranz's "Second Epoch": "The History of the Roman-Western Church" (*ETW*, §§ 82–91), p. 186. 21

1) The conflict . . . the Church] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 83, p. 187. 22

2) The conflict with the German Empire] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 84, p. 194. 23

3) Struggle within the hierarchy itself] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 88, p. 202. 24

The Roman Ch. . . . but also apostolic] Kierkegaard's comments on *ETW*, § 83, pp. 187–194. His account accords with that of Rosenkranz. — **The donation of Charlemagne**: On p. 191 of *ETW*, Rosenkranz describes the role of Charlemagne in strengthening the papacy's political and ecclesiastical power. — **not merely one, not merely universal and holy but also apostolic**: See the third article of the Apostles' Creed, which refers to one holy, catholic (i.e., universal), and apostolic church. 25

a) the abstract basis in canon law] See *ETW*, § 85, pp. 194–197. 39

318 1 **b) The investiture controversy**] See the title of *ETW*, § 86, p. 197. This refers to the controversy (1075–1123) between the papacy and a number of monarchs regarding the appointment of bishops.

2 **c) The crusades as the triumph of the hierarchy**] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 87, pp. 200–202, "Das Uebergewicht der Hierarchie über den Staat" [The Dominance of the (Ecclesiastical) Hierarchy over the State].

3 **b) The investiture controversy . . . the opposite direction**] → 318,*1*. A précis of *ETW*, § 86, pp. 197–200. — **Gregory VII**: Pope (1073–1085). — **simony**: The buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices. The name is based on a story found in Acts 8:9–25.

9 **3) The hierarchy's internal struggle**] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 88, p. 202, "Die Entzweiung der Hierarchie mit sich selbst" [The Division of the (Ecclesiastical) Hierarchy against Itself].

10 **a) the mendicant orders**] Title of *ETW*, § 89, p. 203.

11 **b) the schism**] Title of *ETW*, § 90, p. 206. This refers to the schism within the Roman Church ca. 1300, rather than to the Great Schism with the East.

12 **c) the dominance of the councils**] Cf. the title of *ETW*, § 91, p. 207, "Auflösung der unbedingten päbstlichen Autorität durch die allgemeinen Kirchenversammlungen" [The Replacement of Unconditional Papal Authority by General Councils of the Church].

13 **a) The mendicant orders . . . flight and death**] → 318,*10*. From *ETW*, § 89, pp. 203:18–204:4.

21 **The Protestant Church**] Cf. the title of Rosenkranz's "Third Epoch": "The History of the Protestant Church" (*ETW*, §§ 92–95), p. 209.

22 **The more specific categories . . . unified among themselves**] From *ETW*, § 92, pp. 211:32–212:3.

29 **After the 30 Years' War . . . to the Catholic**] From *ETW*, § 94, p. 216:3–5.

32 **R. is quite right . . . worldly life**] From *ETW*, § 95, p. 220:16–23. — **R.**: Rosenkranz. — **Hernhuters**: Misspelling of Herrnhuters, a Pietist community founded in 1722 and often known in English as the Moravian Brethren.

36 **Church Archaeology**] Title of *ETW*, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 221.

37 **In the Greek Church . . . religious existence**] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 96, p. 223:13–21. Kierkegaard omits Rosenkranz's final remark, "This is the element of Protestantism." — **R.**: Rosenkranz.

posits the finite . . . a moment] From *ETW*, § 89, pp. 203:28–204:4. 1 318*m*

R. is right . . . beauty] From *ETW*, § 101, p. 231:4–9. The parenthetical addition is Kierkegaard's. 4 319

Thus the whole cultus . . . inward] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 102, p. 234:24–27. 9

3rd Epoch the ideal Objectivity] Title of *ETW*, § 105–108, p. 240. The previous two epochs had been those of "substantial feeling" and "pure objectivity." 12

In its cultus . . . is not certainty] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 105, p. 240:21–33. — **pure objectivity**: Rosenkranz has "pure objectivity of art." 13

The Church's dogmatic History] Title of *ETW*, pt. 2, div. 2, sec. 3 in "Historical Theology," p. 246. 24

Analytic — synthetic — systematic knowledge] Cf. *ETW*, § 109, pp. 249f., where Rosenkranz characterizes Greek dogmatics as analytic, Roman as synthetic, and Protestant as systematic forms of knowledge. 25

Analysis is lacking . . . subjectivity of the concept] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 109, p. 250:1–4. 25

A. The Period of Analytic Knowledge] Title of *ETW*, §§ 110–121, p. 250. 29

a) The overcoming of the oriental worldview] Title of *ETW*, § 111, in the subsec. "The Trinity," p. 251. 30

By means of . . . created by Him] From *ETW*, § 111, p. 252:22–36. On "mediation," (→ 296,*8*). — **Ebionite**: The Ebionites are regarded by Catholic Christians as having overemphasized the humanity of Jesus at the expense of his divinity. — **Docetic**: The docetists, on the other hand, reduced the earthly form of Jesus to a mere form, lacking reality. — **Gnosticism**: A collective term covering a range of Christian and para-Christian movements in the first centuries of the Christian Church, often with an emphasis on initiation into a secret wisdom or "gnosis." As early as the 2nd century Irenaeus and Tertullian characterized the Gnostics as heretics. 31

The reason why . . . every concrete determinant] From *ETW*, § 111, p. 258:16–26. — **Manichaeism**: A syncretistic sect named after its founder, Mani (ca. 216–276), characterized by strong dualistic tendencies. 40

1. Trinity] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 1 (§§ 111–113) of "The Period of Analytic Knowledge," p. 251. 1 319*m*

320 11 **b.) The overcoming of the Hellenistic worldview**] Title of *ETW*, § 112, in the subsec. "The Trinity," p. 258.

12 **c). The Nicene Creed**] Title of *ETW*, § 113, p. 263. The Nicene Creed was adopted at the Council of Nicea in 325.

13 **a) Nestorianism**] Title of *ETW*, § 115, belonging to the subsec. "The Relationship between the Divine and Human Nature," p. 268. Nestorians held that although Christ possessed both a divine and a human nature, he had only one will.

14 **b.) Monophysitism**] Title of *ETW*, § 116, belonging to the subsec. "The Relationship between the Divine and Human Nature," p. 269. The Monophysites held that Christ had only one nature, namely a divine one.

15 **c) The Council of Chalcedon**] Title of *ETW*, § 117, belonging to the subsec. "The Relationship between the Divine and Human Nature," p. 269. The council (451) affirmed that Christ was one person in two natures, these being united unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, and inseparably, thus excluding both Nestorianism and Monophysitism.

16 **a) Augustine**] Title of *ETW*, § 119, in the sec. "The Freedom of God and the Freedom of the Human Being," p. 273. Saint Augustine, Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), a rhetorician, philosopher, and theologian, was made Bishop of Hippo in 395. Augustine is largely responsible for the doctrine of original sin—understood as transmitted through the act of conception—that has become a central part of Christian doctrine in the West.

17 **b) Pelagius**] Title of *ETW*, § 120, in the sec. "The Freedom of God and the Freedom of the Human Being," p. 275. Pelagius, a British monk, was an ascetic preacher, active in Rome ca. 400 and in Africa ca. 410. He denied the doctrine of original sin and argued that human beings had the freedom to live in accordance with the will of God. At Augustine's instigation, his teaching was condemned at two North African synods in 416 and 418, and later at the Council of Ephesus (431).

18 **c) Semi-Pelagianism**] Title of *ETW*, § 121, in the sec. "The Freedom of God and the Freedom of the Human Being," p. 275. Semi-Pelagianism, especially associated with John Cassian (d. ca. 435), argued that God offers saving grace to all human beings, but that they have freedom not to accept it.

19 **B. The Period of Synthetic Knowledge**] Title of *ETW*, §§ 122–131, p. 277.

20 **The conflict ... substance as such**] From *ETW*, § 123, in the subsec. "The Concept of Theological Science," p. 279:6–24. — **filioque**: Latin, "and from the Son": an additional phrase inserted into the Nicene Creed that acquired official recognition at the Council of Toledo (589), but was rejected by Eastern Orthodox churches. Its meaning is that the Holy Spirit is understood as proceeding from the Son as well as from the Father.

25 **a) The sacrificial theory of the West**] Title of *ETW*, § 124, in the subsec. "The Concept of Theological Science," p. 280.

26 **b) Faith and knowledge**] Title of *ETW*, § 125, in the subsec. "The Concept of Theological Science," p. 282.

27 **A monk called Gaunilo ... own activity**] From *ETW*, § 125, p. 285:3–14. Rosenkranz emphasizes "merely thought" (German, *nur gedachtes*). — **Gaunilo from Marmoutier**: French Benedictine monk (11th cent.) who criticized Anselm's ontological proof for the existence of God.

1 320*m* **2. The Relationship ... Hum. Nature**] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 2 (§§ 114–117) of "The Period of Analytic Knowledge," p. 266.

4 **3. The freedom of God and of Humnty**] See the title of *ETW*, subsec. 3 (§§ 118–121) of "The Period of Analytic Knowledge," p. 270.

6 **1. The Concept ... Science**] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 1 (§§ 123–126) of "The Period of Synthetic Knowledge," p. 278.

1 321 **c) The concept**] Title of *ETW*, § 126, in the subsec. "The Concept of Theological Science," p. 286.

2 **Nominalists and realists**] See *ETW*, § 126, p. 286:11–12. The realists maintained the real existence of universal concepts, whereas the nominalists denied this.

3 **a) Magister Sententiarum**] Title of *ETW*, § 128, in the subsec. "Church Dogmatics," p. 288. The title was used to refer to Peter Lombard, "The Master of Sentences," (ca. 1100–ca. 1160), after his work *Sententiarum Libri quatuor* [Books of Sentences].

4 **b) Islam and Aristotelian philosophy**] Title of *ETW*, § 129, in the subsec. "Church Dogmatics," p. 289.

5 **c) Thomists and Scotists**] See the title of *ETW*, § 130, in the subsec. "Church Dogmatics," p. 290.

6 **Aristotle's acute ... questions and responses**] From *ETW*, § 129, p. 290:7–20.

16 **C. The Period of Systematic Knowledge**] Chapter title of *ETW*, §§ 132–137, p. 296.

17 **The course ... of philosophy**] From *ETW*, § 132, pp. 296:24–297:7. — **the symbolic books**: Doctrinal confessions of the Protestant churches (e.g., the Augsburg and Westminster Confessions).

27 **a) Catholicism**] The title of § 133 in the subsec. "The Principle of Symbolic Orthodoxy," p. 297.

28 **b) Protestantism's symbolic books**] Title of *ETW*, § 134, in the subsec. "The Principle of Symbolic Orthodoxy," p. 301.

29 **c) Supernaturalism**] Title of *ETW*, § 135, in the subsec. "The Principle of Symbolic Orthodoxy," p. 302. The supernaturalists regarded faith in revelation as the source of religion.

30 **Protestant theology ... scholastic theology**] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 135, p. 303:2–5. Rosenkranz emphasizes "minor controversies," while the first occurrence of "finally" is Kierkegaard's addition.

321*m* 1 **2. Church Dogmatics**] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 2 (§§ 127–129) of "The Period of Synthetic Knowledge," p. 288.

2 **3. The Church Dogmas' internal Conflict**] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 3 (§ 131) of "The Period of Synthetic Knowledge," p. 292.

4 **1. Symbolic Orthodoxy**] See the title of *ETW*, subsec. 1 (§§ 133–135) of "The Period of Systematic Knowledge," p. 297.

5 **2. Subjective Faith and the Principle of Unbelief**] See the title of *ETW*, subsec. 2 (§ 136) of "The Period of Systematic Knowledge," p. 304.

7 **3. The Idea of Speculative Theology**] Title of *ETW*, subsec. 3 (§ 137) of "The Period of Systematic Knowledge," p. 322.

322 1 **Practical Theology**] Title of *ETW*, pt. 3, pp. 327–370, which is divided into "The Service of the Church" (§§ 139–142, pp. 330–354) and "Church Government" (§§ 143–146, pp. 355–370).

2 **Speculative theol. ... the phenomenon**] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 139, p. 330:7–13. In the final sentences Rosenkranz emphasizes "Idea" and "in the phenomenon." — **hist. theol.**: historical theology.

7 **The Service of the Church**] → 322,*1*.

8 **a) Cathechetics**] Title of *ETW*, sec. 1 of "The Service of the Church," p. 331. Cathechizing is a means of instruction involving the learning of answers to prescribed questions.

b) Liturgics] Title of *ETW*, § 141, sec. 2 of "The Service of the Church," p. 336. Liturgics involves the study of the worship of the church. 9

c) Homiletics] Title of *ETW*, § 142, sec. 3 of "The Service of the Church," p. 343. Homiletics is the theory of preaching. 10

Church Government] → 322,*1*. 11

The service ... spiritual life] Kierkegaard's translation of *ETW*, § 143, p. 355:5–12. 12

a) symbolical theology] The title of *ETW*, § 144, sec. 1 of "Church Government," p. 357. Symbolical theology is the study of the confessional texts of the church. 18

b) canon law] Title of *ETW*, § 145, sec. 2 of "Church Government," p. 359. 19

c) theology] Title of *ETW*, § 146, sec. 3 of "Church Government," p. 364. 20

Athanasius ... Mainz 1827] *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit, besonders im Kampfe mit dem Arianismus. In sechs Büchern. Von Joh. Adam Möhler, ausserordentlichem Professor der kath. theolog. Facultät an der Universität zu Tübingen* [Athanasius the Great and the Church of His Time, Especially in Its Struggle with Arianism, in Six Books, by Joh. Adam Möhler, Extraordinary Professor at the Catholic Theological Faculty at the University of Tübingen] (Mainz, 1827; ASKB 635–636; abbreviated hereafter as *Athanasius der Grosse*). Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), German Catholic theologian, appointed professor at the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Tübingen in 1826, professor at Münich in 1835, and Dean of Würzburg in 1838. (Kierkegaard often omits the umlaut in Möhler's name.) Möhler was one of the most progressive Catholic theologians of the 19th century, and his book on Athanasius, studied by both Catholic and Protestant scholars, was one of the most important 19th-century historical contributions to Christology. The work is in two parts, each containing three books, which are not divided into chapters or paragraphs, but which have separate pagination. The work is introduced by an overview of the contents in which the subject of each book is identified by reference to a number of key words. References in the following notes will be to *AG*, book number, page number, and, when relevant, line number. Kierkegaard's 1 323

own copy of the book is now in the library of Sorø Academy and has his pencil annotations in the margins. — **Athanasius the Great**: Athanasius or Athanasios the Great (ca. 297–373), Greek bishop and church father, often called the "Father of Orthodoxy." He is especially known for his insistence (against Arius) that the Son was of the same substance or being (ὁμοούσιος, homooúsios) as the Father — **Arianism**: The Arians, named for Arius (d. 336), who argued that, although the Son preexisted the Incarnation, "there was when he was not," i.e., that he was created, in time, by the Father.

3 **Prior to proceeding ... Holy Spirit**] See *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, pp. 1–56.

5 **on that basis establishes ... a div. person**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, p. 56:8–17. — **in the fullness of time**: See Gal 4:4.

14 **But for this reason ... the univrsl doctrine of the Church**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, p. 56:18–24.

17 **In this connection ... finite reason**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, pp. 58:21–69:19, esp. pp. 58:21–59:22. In his copy of *Athanasius der Grosse*, Kierkegaard has drawn a line down the margin of p. 58:21–22. — **a rational soul**: Möhler has "a sensible [*sinnliche*] soul (ψυχην)." — **Clement**: Bishop of Rome, ca. 100 A.D. Möhler refers to the First Letter of Clement (to the Corinthians). — **λογος**: Greek (logos), "word," "concept," "principle." Used of Christ in Jn 1:1–14 and a key term in early Christian apologetics. — **says to Peter**: A reference to Mt 16:17. — **your own finite reason**: Möhler does not use this expression but speaks of "the spiritual powers of man," when the latter is left to himself without the assistance of revelation.

31 **The views of those ... unity of essence**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, pp. 69:20–84:3. — **Ebionitism**: → 319,*31*. — **Gnostics**: → 319,*31*. — **demiurge**: According to some Gnostic doctrines, the demiurge, the maker of the world, was subordinate to the ultimate divine being. — **Sabellianism ... Hypercatholicism**: Quotation from pt. 1, bk. 1, p. 71:3–4. The Sabellians were named for Sabellius (3rd cent. A.D.), who is generally regarded as having maintained that the three divine "persons" of the Trinity are different modes of one divine person. Möhler calls this idea hypercatholic because he sees it as an extreme form of Trinitarianism. — **Tertullian**: → 292,*15*. Tertullian was strongly opposed to Gnosticism. — **Praxeas**: Christian martyr (ca. 200), whose insistence on the unity of the godhead led him to argue that the Father himself was born and suffered on the cross (a view known as Patripassianism). He is chiefly known through Tertullian's polemical work "Adversus Praxean." — **Light of Light**: A reference to the second article of the Nicene Creed, where the Son is said to be "God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God."

The expression ποιημα ... his orthodoxy] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 1, p. 107:14–32. Kierkegaard has marked lines 14–19 with a vertical line in the margin. — **Dionysius Alex**: Dionysius Alexandrinus, i.e., Dionysius of Alexandria (d. ca. 265), a pupil of Origen; bishop of Alexandria from 247 or 248. In designating Christ as created he seems to have denied the equality of substance between the Father and the Son. See pt. 1, bk. 1, p. 109:5–9, which Kierkegaard has marked with a vertical line in the margin. — **Dionys. Romanus**: Dionysius Romanus, bishop of Rome, 259–268. 9 324

There is now ... of the argument] A reference by Kierkegaard to the discussion in *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, dealing with the Council of Nicea and Athanasius's defense thereof (pp. 246–297). 16

The exposition ... well-known discussion] Möhler's treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is begun in *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, p. 297:30–33, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a line in the margin. — **Sabellius**: → 323,*31*. — **Schleiermacher's well-known discussion**: F. Schleiermacher, *Ueber den Gegensatz zwischen der Sabellianischen und der Athanasianischen Vorstellung von der Trinität* [On the Conflict between the Sabellian and Athanasian Ideas of the Trinity], in *Theologische Zeitschrift* [Theological Journal], ed. F. Schleiermacher, W. M. L. de Wette, and F. Lücke, 3 parts (Berlin, 1822), pp. 295–408. — **Schleiermacher**: Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian, philosopher of religion, and classical philologist; pastor in Berlin in 1796, extraordinary professor at Halle in 1804, professor of theology at Berlin beginning in 1810. 22

Schl. thinks ... is transcendent] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 305:29–307:4. Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin next to pp. 306:27–307:4. — **Alex.**: Alexandria. — **the Church's theory**: The church's doctrine of the Trinity. 24

37 **Möhler portrays . . . relation to the world**] Kierkegaard's translation of *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, p. 313:11–16.

42 **Sabell. cannot explain . . . in the Church**] Kierkegaard's translation of *AG*, pt.1, bk. 3, p. 313:22–29, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin. Möhler emphasizes "only."

325 6 **Sabellius does indeed . . . its revelation was different**] Kierkegaard's translation of *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, p. 315:20–36, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a square bracket in the margin. Möhler's emphases are as follows: "*the same* One," "self-*revealing* God," and "*revelation*." — **Logos**: → 323,17. — **John says**: See Jn 1:3 and, e.g., Jn 3:16ff.

19 **The Son and the Holy Spirit . . . spiritual power of the individual"**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 316:1–319:22. — **the least . . . greater than they**: See Mt 11:11. — **the Spirit active already in Xt's baptism**: See Mt 3:16. — **Schl. says**: Möhler cites Schleiermacher on p. 318:12–14, although the citation is more a précis than an exact quote.

38 **But in this way . . . then the Church**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 320:20–322:4.

326 7 **But apart from these . . . not as Monad**] From *AG*, pt. 1, bk. 3, p. 322:4–17, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a square bracket in the margin. The parenthetical comments are Kierkegaard's own. — **Gregory of Nanzia**: Gregory of Nazianzus, leading Greek Doctor of the Church (d. ca. 394).

19 **2nd Vol**.] Books 4–6 of *AG*, in vol. 2 of Kierkegaard's copy.

20 **From this one sees . . . Eusebius is to Arius**] From *AG*, pt. 2, bk. 4, pp. 22–44. — **Marcellus of Ancyra**: Marcellus (4th cent.), bishop of Ancyra. — **Eusebius of Cæsarea**: Eusebius (ca. 270–340), bishop of Cæsarea. His best-known work is his history of the church, in which he attacks Marcellus. — **p. 44**: Part 2, bk. 4, p. 44:15–17, which Kierkegaard has underlined in pencil. — **at the Council . . . Bishop Potamon**: From p. 36:27–30. Potam(m)on (d. 341 or 345), bishop of Heraclea in Egypt, participated in the Council of Tyre as an enthusiastic defender of Athanasius. The Council of Tyre took place in ca. 335 and played an important role in the Arian conflict. It was here that Athanasius was deposed, prior to his subsequent vindication. — **Eus**: Eusebius. — **lies in the fear . . . to paganism**: From p. 34:15–19. — **hypostases**: See pp. 30ff. Hypostasis (pl. hypostases) was a key term in Christological and Trinitarian debates. Whereas the orthodox party held that the Trinity had one being (*ousía*) and three hypostases or persons, Arius held that only the Father had a true hypostasis (→ 323,1). — **υἱοπατωῳ**: Greek, (hypiopátōr), "unity of the son and the father"; see p. 30, where Möhler renders this "*Sohnvater*."

From p. 165 . . . on the Trinity] See *AG*, pt. 2, bk. 5, pp. 165–202. — **Hilary**: also known as Hilarius (ca. 300–367), bishop of Poitiers and a significant figure in Western theology. His main work was the *De Trinitate* [On the Trinity], which Möhler mentions here. 3 327

what King Pyrrhus said . . . lapidary thoughts] According to Plutarch, an envoy of King Pyrrhus reported to him that the Roman senate appeared to him to be "a numerous assembly of nothing but kings." See *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* [Plutarch's Lives], trans. S. Tetens, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1800–1811; ASKB 1197–1200), vol. 4, p. 95. 7

point de vüe . . . dogmatics] i.e., a measure for determining the standpoint from which a speculative dogmatics has been developed. 9

pp. 262 f. . . . Luther's doctrine of ubiquity with this] From *AG*, pt. 2, bk. 6, pp. 262–271. — **the Apollinarian conflict**: Apollinarius (d. ca. 390), bishop of Laodicea in Syria, at one time a friend and ally of Athanasius, maintained Christ's essential unity with the Father, but denied that he had a human soul. This view was rejected as heretical at the Council of Constantinople in 381. — **Julian**: (331–363), Roman emperor from 361 to 363, also known as Julian the Apostate, who attempted to reverse Christianity's newly won official status. — **A dual attitude . . . from heaven**: From pp. 264:27–265:1, which Kierkegaard has underlined in pencil. — **They appealed to . . . hum. soul**: From pp. 266:26–267:14, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin. — **Jn 14:30**: "The ruler of this world is coming. He has no power over me." — **To justify . . . God's having come**: From p. 267:15–20. — **imputative justification**: See p. 267:22–23. — **They thus thought . . . sin as a substance**: From pp. 267:35–269:4, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin. — **their attitude with Luther's view**: See *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession], art. 2. — **Mathias Flaccius Illyricus**: Matthias Flacius of Illyria or Matthias Vlacich of Istria (1520–1575), Lutheran theologian, professor of 13

Hebrew at Wittenberg beginning in 1544, and at Jena from 1557 to 1561. He argued that original sin was not merely an attribute of humanity but constituted its substance, so that the fall had led to its complete ruin and the divine image had become a satanic image. — **The idea of the imitation . . . not for salvation**: From pp. 269:5–270:5, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin. — **It was further said . . . of the λογος itself**: From p. 270:6–12. On λογος, → 323,17. — **For this reason . . . —uncreated**: From p. 271:1–7, next to which Kierkegaard has drawn a vertical line in the margin. — **Mohler compares . . . with this**: See p. 271:12–17. The doctrine of ubiquity concerns Christ's omnipresence, especially as a means of explaining his presence as flesh and blood in the eucharist.

328 14 **δια τουτο θεολογειται . . . ανθρωπος**] From Athanasius, quoted on p. 278:14–15, which Kierkegaard has marked with a bracket in the margin.

329 1 **Die christliche Lehre . . . Tübingen 1838**] *Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die neueste. Von D. Ferdinand Christian Baur, ordentlichem Professor der evang. Theologie an der Universität zu Tübingen* [The Christian Doctrine of Atonement in Its Historical Development from the Earliest Times to the Most Recent, by Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, ordinary Professor of Evangelical Theology at the University of Tübingen] (Tübingen, 1838; ASKB 423; abbreviated hereafter as *Die christliche Lehre*). — **Ferdinand Christian Baur**: (1792–1860), German theologian, appointed professor at Tübingen in 1826, was the founder of the Tübingen School of theology. Kierkegaard's notes refer only to the first few pages (pp. 118–120) of Baur's treatment of John Scotus Erigena's doctrine of atonement (pp. 118–141) and to pp. 136–138, which treat the question of his historical placement.

4 **p. 118. John Scotus Erigena**] Title of *Die christliche Lehre*, chap. 3, pp. 118–141. — **John Scotus Erigena**: Scottish Christian theologian and philosopher (ca. 800–ca. 877), whose work draws both on the Neoplatonic mystical tradition and on Saint Augustine. His chief work is the *De divisone naturae* [On the Division of Nature], written ca. 867.

The more the concept of atonement . . . touch one another] From *Die christliche Lehre*, pp. 118:21–120:13. 4

Baur thinks . . . in intellectu negatione pollet] From *Die christliche Lehre*, note 1, pp. 136–137. — **Staudenmayer**: Franz Anton Staudenmaier (1800–1856) professor of dogmatics at the Catholic Faculty of Gießen beginning in 1830, and author of *Johannes Scotus Erigena und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit* [John Scotus Erigena and the Learning of His Time], vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1834; vol. 2 never appeared). Baur refers to Staudenmaier on pp. 298 and 447f. — **P. Hiorth**: Peder Hjort (1793–1871) Danish philosopher, linguist, and writer; lecturer in German at Sorø Academy beginning in 1822; author of *Johan Scotus Erigena, oder von dem Ursprung einer christlichen Philosophie und ihrem heiligen Beruf* [John Scotus Erigena, or On the Origin of a Christian Philosophy and Its Holy Vocation] (Copenhagen, 1823). Baur refers to p. 90 of Hjort's book. — **explanation . . . more recent philosophy**: Baur writes that although Erigena stands at the end of an era, one ought not underestimate the points of contact between his thought and that of modern philosophy, esp. Hegelianism. — **element**: Baur uses the expression "moment." — **Essentia est, . . . negatione pollet**: Kierkegaard writes "*superesentialis*" for "*superessentialis*." Baur is referring to *Joannis Scoti Eriginae De divisione naturae, libri quinque, diu desiderati. Accedit Appendix ex Ambiguis S. Maximi græce et latine* [John Scotus Erigena, On the Division of Nature, Five Books Which Have Long Been Wished For, to Which Is Added an Appendix from the Greek and Latin of St. Maximus], ed. Thomas Gale (Oxford, 1681), p. 12 (bk. 1, chap. 14 [Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 122, col. 462C]). The passage offers Erigena's defense of negative theology. 20

Epistola ad Romanos] Latin, "letter to the Romans." KK:7 consists of exegetical notes on Romans 9–16, partly on the basis of F. A. G. Tholuck, *Auslegung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer nebst fortlaufenden Auszügen aus den exegetischen Schriften der Kirchenväter und Reformatoren* [Exposition of Paul's Letter to the Romans, together with Excerpts from the Exegetical Writings of the Church Fathers and Reformers], 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1831 [1824]; ASKB 102; abbreviated hereafter as Tholuck), and drawing on K. G. Bretschneider, 1 330

Lexicon manuale graeco-latinum in libros novi Testamenti [Greek-Latin Hand Lexicon of the Books of the New Testament], 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1829 [1824]; ASKB 73–74; abbreviated hereafter as Bretschneider). — **Friedrich August Gotttreu Tholuck**: German theologian (1799–1877); appointed professor at Berlin in 1823 and at Halle in 1826; his New Testament commentaries were less philologically oriented than those of some contemporaries, laying more stress on the religious content. They were very influential in the study of the Bible among theological students at the time. Kierkegaard also had Tholuck's *Das alte Testament im neuen Testament* [The Old Testament in the New Testament] (Hamburg, 1836; ASKB 832). References to the biblical text are to the *Biblia hebraica. Secundum editiones* [Hebrew Bible, 2nd ed.], ed. A. Hahn, stereotype ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1839; ASKB 1; abbreviated hereafter as *Biblia hebraica*); *Vetus Testamentum graecum iuxta Septuaginta interpretes ex sixti qvinti pontificis maximi editum* [The Old Testament in Greek according to the Seventy Translators, edited by Sixtus V, Supreme Pontiff], ed. L. van Ess, facsimile ed. (Leipzig, 1824; ASKB 12; abbreviated hereafter as LXX); and *Novum Testamentum graece* [Greek New Testament], ed. C. G. Knapp, 2 vols. (Halle, 1829; ASKB 14–15; abbreviated hereafter as NTG). See also "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal KK* " in this volume of *KJN*, pp. 589–592.

3 **αναθεμα = חֶרֶם**] Greek (anáthema), "curse, (subject to) excommunication," = Hebrew (ḥæræm), "curse." See Tholuck, p. 352:23–25.

3 **אִשׁ חֶרְמִי ... ανηρ οληθριος**] Hebrew (ʾiš ḥæræmî), properly אִישׁ חֶרְמִי (ʾiš ḥærmî) "a man on whom there is a curse," 1 Kings 20:42 in *Biblia hebraica*. — **Reg.**: Abbreviation for Liber Regum, the Latin title of the book of Kings. — **ανηρ οληθριος**: Properly ανηρ ολεθριος, Greek (anēr oléthrios), "an unhappy, bad, or unworthy man," an expression found in LXX. See Tholuck, p. 337:36–38.

4 **The later Rabb. ... social intercourse**] From Tholuck, p. 354:4–16, commenting on Rom 9:3. — **נִדּוּי**: Properly נִדּוּי (niddûj). — **seclusio**: Latin, "exclusion." — **חֶרֶם**: (ḥæræm) "curse." — **שַׁמַּתָא**: Properly שַׁמַּתָא (šammattāʾ).

10 **R. Salomo says ... never appears again**] From Tholuck, p. 354:16–18, on Rom 9:3. — **R. Salomo**: Rabbi Salomo has not been identified.

δοξα כָּבוֹד] Greek (dóxa), "glory"; see Rom 9:4 in NTG, and the Hebrew equivalent (כָּבוֹד, kābôd). See Tholuck, p. 359:13–15. 13

arca foederis dicitur: כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל] Latin, "The ark of the covenant is called": כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. — **מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל כְּבוֹד**: Hebrew (kᵉbôd mijjiśrāʾel), combination of כָּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל (kābôd mijjiśrāʾél), "glory from Israel" (see 1 Sam 4:21–22 in *Biblia hebraica*), and כְּבוֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל (kᵉbôd jiśrāʾel), "Israel's glory," cited in Tholuck, p. 359:13–15, with reference to 1 Sam 4:21–22. 13

שָׁכְנָתָה s. שָׁכְנָתָה] Hebrew, (šᵉkināh) or (šᵉkintāh), "to dwell," "dwelling," "to be present." The word "šᵉkināh" is used in the rabbinic literature for God's presence in space and time. According to Tholuck, the *Targum* (the Aramaic translation of the OT) uses שָׁכְנָתָה יהוה ("Yahweh's dwelling") as a designation of God. See Tholuck, p. 360:6–7. — **s.** For Latin, *seu* (*sive*), "or." 14

διαθηκαι Eph. 2:12] Greek (diathēkai), "the covenants" (Rom 9:4 in NTG); see Eph 2:12, where the word also appears in the plural in the expression "covenants of promise." See Tholuck, p. 360:30–31. 15

λατρειa = עֲבוֹדָה] Greek (latreía), "divine service," "worship," from Rom 9:4 in NTG, and the Hebrew equivalent (ʿᵃbôdāh). See Tholuck, p. 361:3–5, referring to Ex 35:24 and 30:17. 16

εκπιπτειν = נָפַל] Greek (ekpíptein), "to fall off or away," here in the sense of fail, from Rom 9:6 in NTG, and the Hebrew equivalent (nāpal). See Tholuck, p. 368:18–20, where it is said that LXX translates נָפַל as ἐκπίπτειν in Josh 21:45, 1 Kings 8:56, and 2 Kings 10:10. 17

In the light of Paul's argument ... in God's wisdom] From Tholuck, p. 370:19–34, on Rom 9:7. — **Esau and Jacob**: The twin sons of Isaac and Rebecca, of whom Esau (→ 331,*32*) was the firstborn; see Rom 9:10–13. — **Calvinists**: A reference to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination (→ 331,*39*). — **P.**: Paul. — **extrnl**: External. — **dec. absolutum**: For Latin, *decretum absolutum*, "the absolute decision." 18

the O. T. theocratic constitution] A reference to the theocratic tendency of ancient Hebrew society. 31

the example of Pharaoh] See Rom 9:17. 39

Nova sectio ab initio cap. 9 ... oblatam accepturi] Latin, "There is a new section from the beginning of chap. 9 through chaps. 10 and 11. The way of salvation achieved by Christ having been shown, there remained certain things concerning the prom- 1 330*m*

ises given to the Jews, by means of which they hoped for certain possession of divine grace. The following are significant here: (1) these promises do not pertain to all those born Jews, but truly depend entirely on divine grace; (2) this divine grace pertains to the pagans, indeed it will come to them much more easily than to the Jews, due to the Jews' unbelief; (3) he adds a more joyous expectation and calls for hope that one day the Jews will understand more truly and return, that they might accept the salvation offered to them" (see Tholuck, pp. 346f).

331 5 **insofar as admittance . . . hum. competence**] From Tholuck, p. 371:4–22 (Rom 9:7).

13 **Okeanos**] In Greek mythology, the god and ruler of the world oceans; here used in the sense of "ocean" or "sea."

16 **As far as the figure . . . part of hum. beings**] See Rom 9:7. From Tholuck, p. 374:25–35. — **his being called . . . by the promise**: See Gen 18:1–15.

22 **instead of κατα . . . εις ωραϛ**] From Tholuck, p. 374:19–21 (Rom 9:9). — **κατα τον καιρον τουτον**: Greek, "about this time" (Rom 9:9 in NTG). — **חַיָּה כָּעֵת**: Properly כָּעֵת חַיָּה, Hebrew (kāʿet ḥajjāh), "in due season" (see Gen 18:10, 14 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **LXX**: Common designation for the Septuagint. — **κατα τ. κ. τουτον εις ωραϛ**: Properly κατα τον καιρον τουτον εις ωραϛ, "At this time next year" (Gen 18:10, 14 in LXX).

24 **the most probable . . . redeunte**] From Tholuck, p. 374:21–23. — **חיה**: Hebrew (ḥajjāh), "living." — **foem. gen.**: Abbreviation of *foeminei generis*, Latin, "feminine." — **hoc tempore . . . redeunte**: Latin, "the living that is, returning, time."

27 **κοιτη . . . מִשְׁכָּב**] Greek (koítē), "bed, sexual relations" (Rom 9:10 in NTG and the Hebrew equivalents [šᵉkābāh and miškāb]); see the article "κοίτη" in Bretschneider, vol. 1, p. 680.

28 **μενῃ = עָמַד**] Greek (ménē), "might continue, might stand fast" (Rom 9:11 in NTG) and the Hebrew equivalent (עָמַד, ʿāmad). See Tholuck, p. 378:13–14.

29 **Mal 1:3**] See Tholuck, p. 380:7, who gives this reference in expounding the Greek expression κατ' ἐκλογήν (kat' eklogēn), "concerning election" (see Rom 9:11 in NTG). Kierkegaard's interpretation of Mal 1:3 also extends over verses 2–5.

32 **Edomites . . . common ancestor**] According to Gen 36:9–43, Esau, Jacob's older twin brother (→ 330,*18*), is the ancestor of the Edomites, Edom being the country that stretches from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba. Edom is frequently mentioned in the OT, variously as an ally, competitor, and enemy of the kingdom of Judah. See G. B. Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studirende, Kandidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger* [Dictionary of the Bible for the Use of Students, University Graduates, Preparatory School Teachers, and Preachers], 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1833–1838 [1820]; ASKB 70–71; abbreviated hereafter as *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*), vol. 1, pp. 345ff.

μισειν . . . "to hate"] From Tholuck, p. 384:22–25 (Rom 9:13). — **μισειν**: Greek (miseín), "hate." According to Tholuck, μισειν means to love less (therefore privative) rather than actively to hate (positive). 34

Ex 33:19] Quoted by Paul in Rom 9:15. 36

Moses sibi expetit . . . illa verba dicens] Latin, "Moses begged for the sight of his glory, which Jehovah granted him speaking thus"; from Tholuck, pp. 386:36–387:1 (on Rom 9:15). Kierkegaard's "*apparitionem solennem*" is a rendering of Tholuck's "*außerordentliche Erscheinung*." See Ex 33:18. — **Jehova**: A name often used to translate the OT "JHWH," which, in the original Hebrew text, was not written with vowels and can thus be rendered both as "Jehova" and, in more recent versions, as "Yahweh" (the transliteration of "J" and "Y" also being variable). Many translations, such as the King James version and the Danish OT 1740, use "the Lord." 36

The apostle wants . . . Synod of Dordrecht] From Tholuck, pp. 389:23–390:8 (Rom 9:17). — **6 plagues**: A reference to the first six of the ten plagues God sent upon Egypt because Pharaoh would not let the Israelites go. These included the turning of the rivers to blood, as well as the plagues of frogs, gnats, flies, cattle disease, and boils (Ex 7:14–9:12). — **v. 22**: Rom 9:22, a reference taken from Tholuck. — **Synod of Dordrecht**: A general synod of the Calvinist and Reformed Churches held at Dordrecht in Holland from November 1618 to May 1619 in order to resolve the issue of predestination. 39

It is further . . . not let them go] From Tholuck, pp. 391:37–392:3 (Rom 9:17). 9 332

One must also remember . . . this being given] From Tholuck, p. 396:32–38 (Rom 9:17). — 16

hardened himself: See Ex 8:15–28; 9:34. — **his heart was hardened**: See Ex 7:13–22; 8:15; 9:7.

21 **Origen's interpretation ... thorns in another**] From Tholuck, pp. 397:20–398:9 (Rom 9:18). Kierkegaard gives only a part of the citation from Origen, quoted by Tholuck in German. It is from Origen's *De principiis*, bk. 3, chap. 1. — **Origen**: church father (ca. 185–ca. 255), leader of the Alexandrian School, dismissed because of charges of heresy. He was among the first to use textual criticism in relation to the biblical sources, and he wrote commentaries on many biblical books, including Romans.

30 **σκληρυνει**] Greek (sklērýnei), "harden" (Rom 9:18 in NTG). See Tholuck, p. 398:32–37.

30 **the preceding μισειν**] → 331,*34*.

33 **הֶעֱמַדְתִּךָ ... διετηρησα**] From Tholuck, p. 392:14–15 (Rom 9:17). — **הֶעֱמַדְתִּךָ**: Hebrew (hæʿᵉmadtikā), "I have let you stand up," from Ex 9:16, quoted by Paul in Rom 9:17. — **διετηρησα**: Greek (dietērēsa), "I have let [you] stand up." — **LXX habent**: Latin, "The LXX has." But the LXX does not have διετήρησα, as cited by Kierkegaard, but διετηρήθης (dietērēthēs), "you have been preserved," as explained by Tholuck.

34 **οπως ενδειξωμαι**] Greek (hópōs endeíxōmai), "that I may show" (Rom 9:17 in NTG; see Tholuck, pp. 393f).

34 **הַרְאֹתְךָ אֶת־כֹּחִי**] Hebrew (harʾotækā ʾæt-koḥî), "show your power" (Ex 9:16 in *Biblia hebraica*, quoted by Paul in Rom 9:17).

34 **ut faciam te videntem ... potestas mea**] Latin, "In order that I might make you to see my power, that is, that I can have you experience my power, so that my power may be made manifest by your example."

37 **וּלְמַעַן ... בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ**] Hebrew, "And to proclaim my name over all the earth" (Ex 9:16 in *Biblia hebraica*, quoted by Paul in Rom 9:17).

38 **הִקְשָׁה**] Hebrew (hiqšāh), "harden," equivalent to the Greek σκληρυνει (→ 332,*30*); see Tholuck, p. 398:34, on Rom 9:18.

39 **Eastern peoples conceived of God ... αφορμητικως**] From Tholuck, p. 395:7–21 (Rom 9:18). — **συγχωρητικως**: Greek (synchōrētikōs), "as a concession." — **αφορμητικως**: Greek (aphormētikōs), "causative."

42 **ὁ θεος ... τον λαον**] Greek, "God has blinded the people and turned them to stone." This seems to be Kierkegaard's own paraphrase of Isa 6:10, possibly based on Jn 12:40. Tholuck, p. 397:17, refers to Jn 12:40 and to Isa 6:10.

ελεειν] Greek (eleeín), "to feel mercy" (Rom 9:15 in NTG). 8 333

ελεος] Greek (éleos), "compassion." 9

σκληρυνειν] → 332,*30*. 16

μισειν] → 331,*34*. 16

πλασμα יֵצֶר] Greek (plásma), "what is molded" (Rom 9:20 in NTG; see Isa 29:16 in LXX, from which Paul quotes in Rom 9:20); Hebrew (jæṣær), "what is molded" (see Isa 29:16 in *Biblia hebraica*). 18

יוֹצֵר] Hebrew (jôṣer), "he who formed," "potter" (see Isa 29:16 and the preceding note). 19

πηλος חֹמֶר] Greek (pēlós) "clay" (Rom 9:21 in NTG and Isa 45:9 in LXX, which Paul alludes to in Rom 9:21); Hebrew (ḥomær), "clay" (Isa 45:9 in *Biblia hebraica*). 20

κατηρτισμενα] Greek (katērtisména), "made" (Rom 9:22 in NTG; see Tholuck, pp. 406ff.). 21

Some have taken this ... "fertige, fitted for"] From Tholuck, pp. 407:2–408:2 (Rom 9:22). — **middle-voiced**: A form of speech which may be passive in form but with an active meaning, implying a reflective relation to the subject of the action. — **τελικως**: Greek (telikōs), "ultimate." — **εκβατικως**: Greek (ekbatikōs), "collateral." — **ὁσοι ησαν τεταγμενοι**: Greek (hósoi ēsan tetagménoi), "all who were destined," i.e., to eternal life (see Acts 13:48 in NTG). — **ὑλικως**: Greek (hylikōs), "materially." — **διατακτικως**: Greek (diataktikōs), "by ordaining." — **οἱ προγεγραμμενοι ... το κριμα**: Greek, "Those who were long ago designated for this condemnation" (Jude 4 in NTG). — **fertige**: German, "qualified." 21

At in illo loco Hoseæ ... populum meum vocabo] Latin, "But at this point in Hosea it is not the pagans who are being talked about but the Israelites. Hosea promises divine grace: you who were previously faithless, worshipped idols, and were therefore shunned by Jehovah will one day return to worship Jehovah; as soon as you return you will be restored to Jehovah's grace. But the words are not written clearly: I will have mercy on him to whom I was not merciful before; those who are not my people, I will call my people." The first sentence is from Tholuck, p. 410:20–22. The reference is to Hos 2:25 (in *Biblia hebraica*; 2:23 in LXX and 34

NRSV), quoted by Paul in Rom 9:25. On Jehova (→ 331,*36*).

41 **ηγαπημενην ... to have pity on**] From Tholuck, p. 410:11–17 (Rom 9:25). — **ηγαπημενην**: Greek (ēgapēménēn), "the beloved" (Rom 9:25 in NTG and Hos 2:23; see the preceding note). — **exstat in textu heb**: Latin, "In the Hebrew text there stands." — **רֻחָמָה**: Hebrew (ruḥāmāh), "found mercy" (Hos 2:1, 25 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **ελεημενην**: Greek (eleēménēn), "he who finds mercy" (see 1 Peter 2:10 in NTG). — **רִחַם**: Hebrew (riḥam), "love" and "have mercy on."

333*m* 4 **the gracious election ... what they were**] This refers to God's election of Israel, shown in his covenants with Abraham and, at Sinai, with the people as a whole. See Tholuck, p. 108.

334 3 **As in the preceding verse ... messianic glory**] From Tholuck, pp. 410:31–411:1 (Rom 9:26). — **verse**: Hos 1:10 (LXX and NRSV) or 2:1 (*Biblia hebraica*). Paul quotes from the Hebrew Bible.

8 **καλεισθαι is often = to be נִקְרָא**] From Tholuck, p. 411:5–6 (Rom 9:26). — **καλεισθαι**: Greek (kaleísthai), "is called" (Rom 9:26 in NTG, quoting from Hos 1:10/2:1; see the preceding note). — **נִקְרָא**: Hebrew (nikrāʾ), "is called."

9 **Non loquitur propheta ... in καταλειμα**] Latin, "The prophet is not speaking of the messianic age, but of political defeat, and says that only very few will be able to escape untouched from the very great grace of Jehovah; what sort of misery is not described in detail. The emphasis is on the word καταλειμα." — **καταλειμα**: Greek (katáleima) properly καταλειμμα (katáleimma), "a remnant" (Rom 9:27 in NTG; Paul quotes from Isa 10:22 in LXX).

13 **heb. exstant ... λογον decretum**] Latin, "In the Hebrew text there stands: Destruction is decreed, it runs forward, bringing justice, for Jehovah will cause devastation and judgment on the earth. But Paul has not followed the text but οἱ ο′. The Hebrew text says כְּלָיוֹן annihilation, from כלה (1) to be accomplished, (2) to be lost. The piel accomplished the matter, lost something, and therefore annihilation is the original meaning; however LXX took the other meaning and rendered it with λογον." This is Kierkegaard's own exegesis of Rom 9:28, where Paul quotes from Isa 10:22. — **Jehova**: → 331,*36*. — **P.**: Paul. — **οἱ ο′**: Greek (hoi o, since the numerical sign o′ indicates 70). The seventy are, namely, the seventy (strictly speaking, seventy-two) translators who gave their name to the LXX. — **כְּלָיוֹן**: Properly כָּלָיוֹן, Hebrew (killājôn), "annihilation" (Isa 10:22 in *Biblia hebraica*; see Tholuck, p. 412:13–16. — **כלה**: Hebrew (kālāh, here as verb); on the meaning offered here see the article "כָּלָה" in W. Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros* [Hand Lexicon of the Hebrew and Chaldaean of the Books of the Old Testament] (Leipzig, 1833; ASKB 72; abbreviated hereafter as *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*), p. 483. — **Piel**: Inflected form in Hebrew grammar, which gives intensive or causative meaning to a verb. — **λογον**: Greek (lógon), "word"; see Tholuck, p. 399, where it is translated as "*Beschluß* (resolve)."

συντεμνω חָרֵץ ... to resolve] From Tholuck, p. 412:24–30 (Rom 9:28). — **συντεμνω**: Greek (syntémnō), "cut short, bring about swiftly," "resolve" (see Rom 9:28 in NTG and Isa 10:22 in LXX, from which Paul quotes here). — **חָרֵץ**: Hebrew (ḥāraṣ), "resolve," "hasten." 20

Sermo est ... quodnam incertum est] Latin, "The Hebrew text speaks of some war, but it is uncertain which" (see Isa 1:9, quoted by Paul at Rom 9:29). 21

However, this passage ... redemption] From Tholuck, p. 413:24–28 (Rom 9:29). — **this passage of Isaiah**: Isa 1:9 (see the preceding note). 22

יהוָה צְבָאוֹת] Hebrew (jᵉhowāh ṣᵉbṣ̌ôt), "Jehovah Sabbaoth," "The Lord of Hosts"; see Isa 1:9 in *Biblia hebraica*. 26

hæc verba ... quod deum cognoscebant] Latin, "One cannot read these words anywhere in the Old Testament; the verse is made up of two Bible verses. 28:16: In Zion I (Jehovah) laid a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious and well-formed cornerstone, and those who trust in it will not flee. 8:14: Jehovah will be a sanctuary, a rock one stumbles over and a cliff that each of the two kingdoms will stumble over. The first passage has a historic content, concerning a time of wars, when the Jews were threatened by war with Assyria. The prophet disapproved of the political party that, against the Law, sought a pact with Egypt against the Assyrians; he forbade fleeing to Egypt but counseled having confidence in the King Hezekiah, a king of proven piety and courage; therefore it is good that this stone was laid. The second passage: here it is Jehovah who is spoken of, but how is he a stone to stumble over? Because the Jews often turned away from Jehovah and thus had to undergo punish- 27

ment, and so much the more because they knew God." — **V. T.**: For *Vetus Testamentum*, Latin, "The Old Testament." — **28:16**: Isa 28:16, quoted by Paul in Rom 9:33. — **8:14**: Isa. 8:14, quoted by Paul in Rom 9:33. — **Judæis cum Assyria bellum imminebat**: Reference to the rebellion under King Hezekiah (726–679 B.C.) of the Southern Kingdom of Judah against Assyria, in which Judah was supported by Egypt (ca. 705 B.C.). Hezekiah's father, Ahaz, had accepted paying tribute to Assyria as the price of peace. Isaiah strongly opposed the alliance with Egypt. But, according to 2 Kings 19, when the Assyrian King Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem (701 B.C.), Hezekiah put his trust in God and, as a result, the city was miraculously delivered. Afterward Hezekiah introduced centralizing and iconoclastic religious reforms. — **Alter locus**: Latin, "the second passage," in this case, Isa 8:14. The historical context of this verse was the threat from Assyria that led Ahaz, who would not put his trust in God's help in such a war, to seek to avoid war by paying tribute to Assyria (see above).

335 1 **אֶבֶן נֶגֶף . צוּר מְכְשׁוֹל**] Hebrew, "A stone one stumbles over, a rock that will cause a fall" (Isa 8:14 in *Biblia hebraica*; quoted by Paul in Rom 9:33. See Tholuck, p. 415.

2 **λιθος προσκομματος. πετρα σκανδαλου**] Greek, "A stone one stumbles over, a rock that will cause a fall" (Rom 9:33 in NTG; see the preceding note).

3 **αισχυνθησεται … ex בּוֹשׁ**] From Tholuck, pp. 417:30–418:4 (Rom 9:33). — **αισχυνθησεται**: Greek (aischynthēsetai), "be put to shame." In NTG Rom 9:33 reads καταισχυνθήσεται (kataischynthēsetai), which has the same meaning as αἰσχυνθήσεται. — **in textu heb: … fugam capere**: Latin, "In the Hebrew text it stands: he who trusts in it הוּא לֹא יָחִישׁ (1) to tremble, (2) to escape, to take flight." — **יָחִישׁ הוּא לֹא**: Hebrew (hû loʾ jāḥîš), "He shall not be disturbed." See Isa 28:16 in *Biblia hebraica*, which has הַמַּאֲמִין (hamma^{a}mîn), "he who trusts" instead of הוּא (hû). Paul quotes from Isa 28:16 in Rom 9:33. — **Sed LXX legisse … ex בּוֹשׁ**: Latin, "But the LXX, it seems, has read יָבֹישׁ in place of בּוֹשׁ." — **יָבִישׁ**: Hebrew (jābîš), "shall be put to shame." — **בּוֹשׁ**: Hebrew (bûš) or בּוֹשׁ (bôš), "become ashamed."

7 **Lev 18:5. αυτα … h. l. de æterna**] Latin, "Lev 18:5 αυτα i.e. προσταγματα where the Hebrew text says מִשְׁפָּטַי. Moses was speaking about a long life, but here it concerns an eternal life." In Rom 10:5, Paul quotes from Lev 18:5. — **αυτα i.e. προσταγματα**: Greek (autá), "these things," i.e., (prostágmata) "commandments" or "ordinances." Rom 10:5 (NTG) has αὐτά, where Lev 18:5 (LXX) has προστάγματα. — **מִשְׁפָּטַי**: Hebrew (mišpāṭaj), "My commandments, my ordinances" (Lev 18:5 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **h. l.**: For Latin, *hoc loco*, "at this place."

Deut 30:12. ultima Mosis oratio … תְּהוֹם] Latin, 10
"This is Moses' last speech in which (1) he sets before the Israelites the benefits of the Law, (2) commends the Law and adds the promises and warnings that deter from disobedience, and then says: The Law, which I have commanded you today, is neither difficult for you nor far off; it is not in heaven, that you should say, 'Who will go up to heaven and get it for us so that we may hear it and observe it?' Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say, 'Who will cross to the other side of the sea for us and get it for us so that we may hear it and observe it.' Behold, the commandments are very near, in your mouth and in your heart, so that everyone can observe them. Paul has not followed the text accurately, nor the LXX. The words μη ειπης εν τη καρδια σου have been added by Paul. Nor are the words καταβησεται εις αβυσσον accurately reproduced. LXX: τίς διαπερασει εις το περαν της θαλασσης מֵעֵבֶר הַיָּם, but in the poetic books יָם often means תְּהוֹם." Paul quotes from Deut 30:12 in Rom 10:6. — **comendat**: i.e., *commendat*. — **μη ειπης εν τη καρδια σου**: Greek, "Do not say in your heart" (Rom 10:6 in NTG; see Tholuck, p. 415). — **καταβησεται εις αβυσσον**: Greek, "Will go down into the abyss" (Rom 10:7 in NTG, which has a definite article preceding ἄβυσσον). — **τίς διαπερασει εις το περαν της θαλασσης**: Greek, "Who will cross to the other side of the sea." However, Deut 30:13 in LXX has ἡμῖν "for us" after the verb. Paul quotes from Deut 30:13 in Rom 10:7; see Tholuck, p. 426. — **מֵעֵבֶר הַיָּם**: Properly מֵעֵבֶר הַיָּם, Hebrew (me^{ʿ}ebær hajjām), "from the other side of the sea" (Deut 30:13 in *Biblia hebraica*); see Tholuck, p. 426. — **libris poeticis**: Latin, "the poetic books," a traditional category referring to Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. — **יָם**: Hebrew (jām), "sea." — **תְּהוֹם**: Hebrew, (t^{e}hôm) "abyss," as in the Greek ἄβυσσος.

Being accustomed … in parallel] From Tholuck, 26
p. 429:4–6 (Rom 10:10). — **parallelism**: A striking stylistic feature of Hebrew poetry, where identical

or analogous phrases or sentences are repeated. — **these two verses**: In Rom 10:10.

28 **for, notwithstanding . . . the other**] From Tholuck, p. 429:10–14 (Rom 10:10).

33 **Joel 3:5 . . . of the Messiah**] From Tholuck, p. 430:28–29 (Rom 10:13, where Paul quotes from Joel 3:5).

36 **The Jews could perhaps . . . proclaimed to them**] From Tholuck, p. 430:34–35 (Rom 10:14).

39 **in a refined sorites**] Tholuck has "in an enthusiastic sorites." A sorites is a sophistic question in which, e.g., one asks how many grains it takes to make a pile. In logic it is a chain of syllogisms in which the conclusion of one syllogism forms the beginning of the next.

336 7 **Isa 52:7. alius sensus . . . doctoris christiani**] Latin, "Isa 52:7. The meaning is another. What is being talked about there is the misery of the Babylonian exile, after which the people are encouraged by being consoled; and they are given promises of help and a return to the fatherland, a return that is represented as being in the present; and prophets are announced who will proclaim the return. In this verse these prophets are the apostles of Christian teaching." (See Rom 10:15, where Paul quotes from Isa 52:7.) — **n. l.**: For Latin, *nostro loco*, "at our place" (i.e., "here").

12 **Isa 53:1. Esaias conqueritur . . . prophetarum attendere**] Latin, "Isa 53:1. Isaiah is complaining about the unbelief of the Israelites who are unwilling to attend to the teaching of God and the warnings of the apostles, i.e., the prophets." See Rom 10:16, where Paul quotes from Isa 53:1. — **Isaiah**: Prophet in the southern Israelite kingdom of Judah, active ca. 745–701 B.C.; the book of Isaiah is ascribed to him, and he is reckoned as the greatest of the OT prophets.

14 **מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ . . . etiam Jn 12:38**] Latin, "לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ מִי הֶאֱמִין from שְׁמוּעָה is also cited in Jn 12:38." — **מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ**: Hebrew (mî hæʾᵉmîn lišmuātenû), "Who has believed what we heard" (Isa 53:1 in *Biblia hebraica*; see the preceding note). הֶאֱמִין is wrongly vocalized, and should read: הֶאֱמִין. — **שְׁמוּעָ:** An error for שְׁמוּעָה, Hebrew (šᵉmûʿāh), "What is heard, the message." See Tholuck, p. 423. — **Jn 12:38**: Isa 53:1 is also cited here; see Tholuck, p. 433:13–14.

16 **ψ 19:5. est hymnus . . . per totam terram exit**] Latin, "Ps 19:5 is a hymn which celebrates the majesty of God in the appearance of visible things. Day to day pours forth speech, and night to night declares knowledge. There is no speech, nor are there words; their voice is not heard, yet their voice goes out through all the world." — **ψ**: Greek, psi, a letter of the Greek alphabet often used as an abbreviation for "Psalms." See Rom 10:18, where Paul quotes from Ps 19:5.

εις πασαν γην hyperbolice] Greek (eis pásan gēn), "To all the earth"; from Rom 10:18 in NTG, which, however, has a definite article before γῆν. — **hyperbolice**: Latin, "hyperbolical, overstated"; here, it is suggested, "to all the earth" is a hyperbolical expression for "to many people." 21

ita et Philo de lege: . . . της οικουμενης εφθασε] From Tholuck, p. 425:15–19 (Rom 10:18). — **ita Philo de lege**: Latin, "Thus also says Philo concerning the Law." — **Philo**: Philo of Alexandria, Hellenistic Jewish philosopher (ca. 25 B.C.–ca. 50 A.D.). — **αχρι των τερματων . . . εφθασε**: Greek, "They came to the ends of the earth": from a longer citation given by Tholuck from the second book of Philo's *De vita Mosis* [On the Life of Moses]. 21

εγνω] Greek (égnō), "understood" (see Rom 10:19 in NTG). 23

so Tholuck . . . not instructed?"] See Tholuck, p. 436:2–4. 23

Deut 32:21. Moses . . . ideo alio sensu] Latin, "Deut 32:21. In his last speech Moses added words of warning to the promises: they have aroused my ζηλοτυπιαν by adhering to a god who is not a God, i.e., to idols, therefore I will arouse your ζηλοτυπιαν by supporting a people who are not my people, but an alien people, i.e., by allowing them the victory over the Israelites. He is not speaking about the messianic realm and the admission of the Gentiles thereto, but of victories, therefore it is to be taken in another sense." See Rom 10:19, where Paul quotes from Deut 32:21; see Tholuck, p. 436. — **ζηλοτυπιαν**: Greek (zēlotypían), "jealousy"; the word appears in Rom 10:19 in NTG and in Deut 32:21 in LXX in the verbal form παραζηλόω (parazēlóō),"to arouse jealousy or to make jealous." — **sc.**: Latin, *scilicet*, "that is to say." 26

אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם . . . קְנֵא ex provocavit] אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם af קְנֵא from קְנֵא "I will arouse," "called to wrath." — **אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם:** Hebrew (ʾaqnîʾem bᵉloʾ-ʿām), "I will arouse their wrath by means of a non-people" (Deut 32:21 in *Biblia hebraica*; see the preceding 34

note). See Tholuck, p. 436:23. — **קִנֵּא**: Properly קִנֵּא (piel perfectum), Hebrew (qinneʾ), "to be jealous," "to arouse (another's) wrath." — **piel**: → 334,*13*.

36 **ευρεθην נִדְרַשְׁתִּי**] Greek (heuréthēn), "I was found," "I was to be found," from Rom 10:20 in NTG and Isa 65:1 in LXX; Hebrew (nidrašt͡î), "I was sought" in Isa 65:1 in *Biblia hebraica*; see Tholuck, p. 437:12–15. Paul quotes Isa 65:1 in Rom 10:20.

36 **נִמְצֵאתִי pro Hitpoel: inveniendum præbui me**] נִמְצֵאתִי for hitpoel: "I let myself be found." — **נִמְצֵאתִי**: Hebrew (nimṣeʾt͡î), "I was found" (Isa 65:1 in *Biblia hebraica*; see the preceding note); see Tholuck, p. 437. — **Hitpoel**: Form of inflection in Hebrew grammar that gives reflexive meaning to a verb.

38 **ζητειν, επερωταω = שָׁאַל בִּקֵּשׁ**] Greek, (zēteín), "seek," (eperotáō) for επερωταω (eperōtáō), "ask (about)," equivalent to the Hebrew words בִּקֵּשׁ (biqqeš) and שָׁאַל (šāʾal). See Rom 10:20 in NTG; see Isa 65:1 (→ 336,*36*) in LXX and *Biblia hebraica*; see Tholuck, p. 437:29–32.

39 **פֵּרַשְׂתִּי יָדַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אֶל־עַם סוֹרֵר**] Hebrew, "I held out my hands all day long to a rebellious people" (Isa 65:2, from which Paul quotes in Rom 10:21). פֵּרַשְׂתִּי is a wrongly vocalized rendering of פֵּרַשְׂתִּי , as is יָדַי of יָדַי.

40 **αντιλεγειν de populo contumace = מוֹרֶה v. סוֹרֵר**] **αντιλεγειν**: Greek (antilégein), "to speak against," "to be rebellious," in Rom 10:21 in NTG and Isa 65:2 in LXX (see the preceding note). — **de populo contumace**: Latin, "on the rebellious people." — **מוֹרֶה v. סוֹרֵר**: Two Hebrew equivalents (moræh) and (sôrer), in the sense of "to be rebellious." סוֹרֵר occurs in Isa 65:2 in *Biblia hebraica*. — **v.**: For Latin, *vel*, "or."

41 **P. verba Esaiæ … eos ego ad me vocavi**] Latin, "Paul expounds the first words of Isaiah as applying to the Gentiles. Everything that Isaiah said actually concerned the Jews and is to be understood thus: I have been very favorably inclined to the Israelites, for while they turned to other gods, I called them to me." See Tholuck, pp. 437:4ff. — **verba Esaiæ priora**: Isa 65:1, quoted by Paul in Rom 10:20. — **Esaiæ**: Isaiah (→ 336,*12*).

336*m* 2 **μη ουκ ηκουσαν?**] Greek (mē ouk ēkousan), "Have they not heard?" Rom 10:18 in NTG. See Tholuck, p. 434:34.

337 4 **1 Reg. 19:10. Ibi sermo est … וַיְבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי**] Latin, "1 Kings 19:10. What is being spoken about here is the persecution by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab. Isaiah fled to a cave at Hebron, and called to God and said: וַיְבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי." Paul quotes from 1 Kings 19:10 in Rom 11:3. — **Reg.**: → 330,*3*. — **Jesabelis**: Latin, "of or by Jezebel," who was the daughter of a Phoenician king; she was married to King Ahab of Israel, whom she tempted away from the service of Yahweh. — **Achabi**: Ahab, king of the northern kingdom of Israel (874–851 B.C.), generally treated in the OT as a betrayer of the religion of Yahweh, and as the one who introduced the cult of Baal into Israel. — **Esaias**: Isaiah, confused with Elijah, who was a leading prophetic voice opposing the malpractices of Ahab and Jezebel. — **Hebronem**: Hebron, confused with Horeb, the place to which Elijah fled when being persecuted by Jezebel. — **וַיְבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי**: Hebrew (wajᵉbaqᵉšû ʾæt-napšî), "they sought my soul" or "they sought to take my life"; 1 Kings 19:10 in *Biblia hebraica*.

7 **Baal, i.e., dominus … conceptivam esse conjunctam**] Latin, "Baal, i.e., Lord, was a Phoenician god, called by them βασιλευς ουρανου = Molok מֶלֶךְ among the Babylonians, and spoken of as Bel by Daniel. The Romans and Greeks called him Hercules Tyrius. The power of the sun, i.e., the power of procreation, was signified in [the figure of] this god, since the ancients gathered to worship the sun as the symbol of the creator. To the masculine form of this god, the Phoenicians added the goddess Baaltis, i.e., Astarte-Aphrodite, who is the image of the moon or the earth, that is, the receptive power, since the moon gets its light from the sun and the powers of the earth are called forth by the heat of the sun. What is the meaning of using the feminine? Some assume εικων, which seems arbitrary; others think that it is a means of defaming the god and indicating that he is a fiction. Paul was rather thinking of the goddess Baaltis, since it was common in ancient times for a god and a goddess to be united, such that from this union there was born a new god ανδρογυνος, indicating the generative and conceiving powers are connected with each other." From Tholuck's commentary on Rom 11:4, pp. 443:27–445:17. — **Baal**: or Baʻal, "Lord," the Canaanite (western Semitic) god of rain, thunder, and fertility. — **deus Phoenicum**: See Tholuck, p. 443:26–27, which states that Baal was the Phoenician name for the sun, which they worshipped as a male deity. — **βασιλευς ουρανου**: Greek (basileús

ouranoú), "the King of Heaven." The source has not been identified, though cf. Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* (→ 331,*32*), vol. 1, p. 138, which states that the Phoenicians called the sun the "one Lord of Heaven." — **Molok**: Greek form for the Hebrew Molech or English Moloch, a contemptuous version of the Hebrew word for "king"(see below), the god to whom the Israelites sacrificed children at Tophet in the valley of Himmon, south of Jerusalem, and sometimes identified with Baal. See Tholuck, p. 443:27–28. — **מֶלֶךְ:** Hebrew (mælæk), "king." — **Bel**: A name given to the Babylonian god Marduk, and an Akkadian form of Baal. See Bel and the Dragon, an apocryphal addition to the book of Daniel. See also Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 138. — **Hercules Tyrius**: Hercules (Greek, Herakles), a Greco-Roman hero and deity, whose cult at Tyre is mentioned in 2 Macc 4:19–20. See Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 564. On the identification of Hercules of Tyre with Baal, see Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 138, and Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum* (→ 334,*13*), p. 162. — **vis solis**: Latin, "the power of the sun." See Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 138. — **gen. masc.**: For Latin, *generis masculini*, "of masculine gender." — **Astarten**: A goddess associated with Baal. She generally appears in the plural in the OT rather than the singular Astarte. See Tholuck, p. 445. — **αφροδιτη**: Greek (aphrodítē), "Love." Aphrodite (Latin, Venus) was the Greek goddess of love, sometimes identified with Astarte. See Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 125. — **εικων**: Greek (eikōn), "image," "image of god," perhaps referring to the representation of Baal in cultic statuary that was the object of worship. See Tholuck, p. 444:7ff. Here the point is that since εἰκών is feminine, the attribution of the feminine article to Baal is explicable as an ellipsis. — **ανδρογυνος**: Greek (andrógynos), "androgyne," "of two genders." Baal was possibly an androgynous deity at some point (see following note). See Tholuck, p. 444:38.

22 **Sæpe LXX η Βααλ pro ὁ Βααλ . . . Zeph 1:4**] Latin, "LXX often has ἡ Βααλ in place of ὁ Βααλ." From Tholuck, p. 443, 28–32, commenting on Rom 11:4 with references to Hos 2:8, Jer 2:8 and Zeph 1:4. — **η Βααλ pro ὁ Βααλ**: Greek (hē Baal) for (ho Baal); ἡ and ὁ are the feminine and masculine articles, respectively, showing that Baal can appear in both female and masculine forms (see the preceding note).

24 **Isa 29:10 in textu . . . specialius verbum: πεποτικεν**] Latin, "εδωκεν does not stand in the text, but the more special verb πεποτικεν." From Tholuck, p. 447, 5–8 (Rom 11:8). — **εδωκεν**: Greek (édōken), "gave," "has given," from Rom 11:8 in NTG, quoting from Isa 29:10. — **πεποτικεν**: Greek (pepótiken), "has given to drink," "poured out"; Isa 29:10 in LXX.

25 **κατανυξις ex κατανυσσω . . . secutus est LXX**] Latin, "κατανυξις comes from κατανυσσω, 'to pierce,' from which 'piercing' is derived, but Paul derives it from κατανυσταζω, 'I nod my head,' and thence 'sleep' = רוּחַ תַּרְדֵּמָה. He follows LXX." — **κατανυξις**: Greek (katányxis), "to pierce," i.e., cause pain, but in Rom 11:8, "sleep." See Tholuck, p. 447: 8–11. — **κατανυσσω**: Greek (katanýssō), "to pierce." — **κατανυσταζω**: Greek (katanystázō), "to doze," "to fall asleep." — **רוּחַ תַּרְדֵּמָה**: Hebrew (rûaḥ tardemāh), "spirit of sleep"; Isa 29:10 in *Biblia hebraica* (see the preceding note); see also the article "κατάνυξις" in Bretschneider, vol. 1, p. 644.

28 **Deut 29:3 exstant verba: . . . quæ audiunt**] Latin, "In Deut 29:3 are the words: 'God did not give the Israelites eyes to see or ears to hear.' " Paul quotes from Deut 29:3 (NRSV 29:4) in Rom 11:8.

29 **Since the negative . . . were from Deut**.] From Tholuck, p. 447:13–17 (Rom 11:8). — **εως της ημερας ταυτης**: Greek, "until this day," from Deut 29:4 in LXX (29:3 in *Biblia hebraica*); the quotation from LXX is Kierkegaard's. The NTG has ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, "until this day."

34 **ψ 69:23–24. David wishes his enemies harm**] From Tholuck, p. 447:23–24 (Rom 11:9). Paul quotes from Ps 69:23–24 in Rom 11:9–10. — **ψ**: → 336,*16*.

34 **He regards the enemies . . . the theocracy**] From Tholuck, p. 447:25–28 (on Rom 11:9). — **the theocracy**: → 330,*31*. — **economy**: A reference to God's οἰκονομία (Greek, oikonomía, "householding," "way of ordering the world").

38 **θηρα appears neither . . . LXX**] From Tholuck, p. 448:12–13 (on Rom 11:9). — **θηρα**: Greek (thēra), "trap." The word appears neither in the Hebrew nor in the LXX.

39 **"Let their table be a snare . . . least expect it**] From Tholuck, p. 448:13–15 (on Rom 11:9).

41 **In the other hemistich . . . שְׁלוּמִים**: retribution] From Tholuck, p. 448:19–21, (on Rom 11:9). — **שְׁלוּמִים**:

Hebrew (šᵉlûmîm), Tholuck has the correct form: שְׁלוּמִים (šillûmîm). — **hemistich**: From the Greek "half-verse."

337*m* 1 **thus Tholuck**] See Tholuck, p. 445:7–8.

338 2 **from שִׁלּוּם retribution**] Kierkegaard's addition. — **שִׁלּוּם**: For Hebrew שִׁלּוּם (šillûm); see the preceding note.

3 **רֵאשִׁית תְּרוּמוֹת and רֵאשִׁית בְּכוּרִים**] Hebrew (reʾšît bᵉkûrîm) and (reʾšît tᵉrûmôt), the equivalents of the two Greek words ἀπαρχή (aparchē), "first portion," and φύραμα (phýrama), "lump of dough," found in Rom 11:16 in NTG. The connection is pointed out by Tholuck, pp. 457f.

4 **εκκλαω defringo, abscindo v. exscindo**] Greek/Latin, "εκκλαω, 'break off,' 'tear off or cut off.' " A quotation from the article "ἐκκλάω" in Bretschneider, vol. 1, p. 377.

5 **וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל**] Hebrew, "A redeemer will come to Zion" (Isa 59:20, in *Biblia hebraica*, quoted from LXX in Rom 11:26).

6 **αποστρεψει etc. . . . וְלִשָׁבֵי**] The Greek passage abbreviated here reads in full: ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας Ἰακώβ, Greek, "He will banish ungodliness from Jacob" (Rom 11:26 in NTG, from Isa 59:20, following LXX). — **וְלִשָׁבֵי פֶּשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב**: Hebrew, "And to those in Jacob who turn from transgression" (from *Biblia hebraica*). See Tholuck, p. 468:16, where the Hebrew text is quoted.

7 **Veniet Zioni vindex . . . εκ pro ενεκα**] Latin, "There will come to Zion a redeemer and to those in Jacob who turn from transgression. Paul followed the LXX, which read וַיָּשִׁיב as 'he makes to turn back,' i.e., he put them at a distance. In the LXX ενεκα is read as 'Zion,' for Zion's salvation. Paul says 'out of Zion,' but ενεκα gives a more appropriate meaning in the context. We often find that Paul treats Old Testament texts somewhat freely, when it suits his purposes, but he does not do so here. One may therefore doubt as to how it is to be read. Perhaps Paul wrote an abbreviation of ενεκα." See Tholuck, p. 468:11–13. — **Jacobitos**: i.e., the descendants of Jacob, here meaning the inhabitants of the southern kingdom of Judah. — **וַיָּשִׁיב**: Properly וַיָּשֶׁב, Hebrew (wᵉyāšîb), "He makes them to turn back"; on the LXX's deviation from the Hebrew text of Isa 59:20 see Tholuck, p. 468:17–18. — **ενεκα**: Greek (héneka), "Because of," "for the sake of." — **h. l.**: → 335,*7*. — **εκ**: Greek (ek), "from."

συγκλειω = . . . or אֶל] From Tholuck, p. 471:34–35 (on Rom 11:32). — **συγκλειω**: Greek (synkleíō), "imprison" (in NTG). — **הִסְגִּיר בְּיַד or לְ or אֶל**: Hebrew (hisgîr bᵉjad), "to give into the hands of," or (lᵉ), "in," or (ʾæl), "to." 14

in the Zohar . . . the depths of wisdom] From Tholuck, pp. 474:36–475:1 (on Rom 11:33). — **עוּמְקָא דְחָכְמְתָא**: Aramaic (ʿûmᵉqāʾ dᵉḥåkmᵉtāʾ), "the depths of wisdom." — **Zohar**: The Book of the Zohar, or *Sefer ha-Zohar* [The Book of the Heavenly Radiance], a comprehensive pseudepigraphic book from the 1280s by Rabbi Moses of Leon of northern Spain, which gave classic expression to the mystical doctrines of the Cabala. 15

Job 41:3] Paul cites Job 41:3 in Rom 11:35, following the Hebrew text (see Tholuck, p. 475:35). 17

נָתַן מָקוֹם לְחֵמָה] Hebrew (nātan māqôm lᵉḥemāh), "make room for wrath," corresponding to the Greek expression δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ, used in Rom 12:19 in NTG. See Tholuck, p. 490:30. 19

in textu hebr: sunt . . . לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם] Latin, "In the Hebrew text there are two substantives: נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם לִי." — **לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם**: Properly לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם, Hebrew (lî nāqām wᵉšillem), "vengeance and retribution belong to me" (Deut 32:35 in *Biblia hebraica*, quoted in Greek in Rom 12:19, where there is one noun, ἐκδικησις [ekdíkēsis], "vengeance," and one verb ἀνταποδωσω [antapodōsō], "I will repay"). 20

cf. Prov 25:21–22] Prov 25:21–22 is quoted in Rom 12:20 after the LXX. See Tholuck, p. 491:15–16. 22

חָמַד . . . לֹא תִנְאָף] Hebrew, "You shall not commit adultery, you shall not kill, steal, covet." See Ex 20:13–15, 17 and Deut 5:17, 19, 21 in *Biblia hebraica*, quoted in Greek from the LXX in Rom 13:9. 25

נָפַל עָמַד] Hebrew (ʿāmad), "stand," and (nāpal), "fall," corresponding to the Greek στήκει (stēkei), "stand" and πίπτει (píptei), "fall" in Rom 14:4 in NTG. See Tholuck, p. 503:20–27. 30

πληροφορεισθω] Greek (plērophoreísthō), "to accomplish," "to gain certainty," here in the sense of "to be fully convinced" (NRSV Rom 14:5). 31

מָלֵא לֵב] Hebrew (māleʾ leb), "fill the heart." The expression is mentioned in connection with πληροφορέω in Bretschneider, vol. 2, p. 295. 31

Isa 45:23. nec consentit auctor . . . ut omnes me adorent] Latin, "The author is neither in agreement with the LXX nor with the Hebrew text, but is quoting from memory. Instead of ζω εγω, he reads בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי κατ᾽ εμου ομνυμι. The sense is the same. 32

Jehovah is introduced as speaking and as swearing both by himself and by his life. As truly as I am God, so will it surely be done, that all may worship me." Paul quotes from Isa 45:23 in Rom 14:11. — **ζω εγω**: Greek (zō egō), "I live," here in the sense of "as truly as I live" (Rom 14:11 in NTG and Isa 49:18 in LXX, which here corresponds to the passage in *Biblia hebraica*). N. B., Paul here splices the two quotations from Isaiah, 49:18 and 45:23. — **בִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי**: Hebrew (bî nišbaʿtî), "I swear by myself" (Isa 45:23 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **κατ εμου ομνυμι**: Greek, "I swear by myself," Kierkegaard's rendering of the Hebrew expression. LXX has κατ ἐμαυτοῦ ὀμνύω, "I swear by myself."

37 **πλησιον is an adverb: . . . proximus, proximi**] A compound quotation from the article πλησίον in Bretschneider, vol. 2, pp. 298f. — **πλησιον**: Greek (plēsíon), "near" (see Rom 15:2 in NTG). — **prope, juxta**: Latin, "near to," "close to." — **ὁ, ἡ, το . . . οἱ αι, τα πλησιον**: The possible nominal forms of the adverb πλησίον with the definite article given in masculine, feminine, and neuter, both singular and plural forms, meaning "the nearest,"usually translated as "the neighbor." — **proximus, proximi**: Latin, "the nearest" (singular and plural).

339 1 **ψ. 69:10. חֶרְפּוֹת חוֹרְפֶיךָ נָפְלוּ עָלָי**] Hebrew, "The insults of those who insult you have struck [me]" (Ps 69:10 in *Biblia hebraica*; in Rom 15:3 Paul quotes from the LXX, where the Psalm is numbered 68 (the resonance of Rom 15:3 and Ps 69:10 is lost in the NRSV). — **ψ.**: → 336,*16*.

1 **Queritur psalmista . . . in Jehovam fidem**] Latin, "The psalmist complains about the vexations of the enemies and says that he will bear them for Jehovah's sake, although he is innocent, because of his pious faith in Jehovah." — **Jehovam**: → 331,*36*.

4 **ψ 18:50. Commotus est auctor voce: . . . qui sic erupit**] Latin, Ps 18:50. "The author is moved by the word εν εθνεσιν, but in this verse of the psalm it is not the future happiness of the peoples that is being talked about but the liberation of David himself, who thus speaks out." — **εν εθνεσιν**: Greek (en éthnesin), "among the peoples/Gentiles/pagans." Rom 15:9 in NTG and Ps 18:50, following the LXX (where it is Ps 17). This psalm is quoted by Paul in Rom 15:9. — **Davidis**: "of or by David," the second king of Israel (ruled ca. 1000–960 B.C.) who was historically believed to have been the author of the psalms, although this is not now widely held by biblical scholars.

Deut 32:43. Hebraice sensus alius: . . . inde hæc versio] Latin, "Deut 32:43. The Hebrew has a different sense: 7 הַרְנִינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ Praise, you nations, His people!—i.e., the Israelites. It shows that salvation belongs to the Jews and that the heathen are compelled to praise this salvation of the Jews. Before עַמּוֹ the LXX has אֶת which is the sign for the accusative, and the preposition μετα, thus this translation." Paul quotes from Deut 32:43 in Rom 15:10, following the LXX. — **הַרְנִינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ**: Hebrew (harnînû gôjîm ʿamô), "Praise, you nations, his people" (Deut 32:43 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **עַמּוֹ**: Properly עַמּוֹ, Hebrew (ʿammô), "his people." — **אֶת**: Hebrew (ʾæt), "together with." — **μετα**: Greek (metá), "together with."

ψ 117:1. Sensus communis . . . ad deum celebrandum] Latin, "Ps 117:1. At numerous places the reasonable idea is expressed that all the inhabitants of the earth should gather to praise God." Paul quotes from Ps 117:1 at Rom 15:11.

Isa 11:10. ριζα Ιησσαι . . . quam verba expresserunt] Latin, "Isa 11:10. ριζα Ιησσαι. שֹׁרֶשׁ יִשַׁי root, but at this place what arises from the root, its issue, or shoot, as appears in Isa 11:1 [is as follows]: A shoot shall come out from Jesse's stump, and a branch that shall grow out of his roots shall bear fruit. The argument of these verses promises future salvation to the Israelites, as (1) it is said that this salvation belongs to future ages; (2) a heavenly king is said to be the ruler of this world; (3) the spirit of God will rest upon him, [the spirit] of wisdom, of counsel, of might; (4) his rule will extend to all peoples; (5) he will exercise judgment most justly over the peoples. A common peace will be established between all brutes and wild animals and human beings without discrimination, and they will have the knowledge of God. Thus a golden age is described. Some have thought this applied to Hezekiah, who restored the political power of the state of Judah in the late 8th century B.C.; others to Zerubbabel, who restored the Jewish congregation in the late 6th century B.C. But it rather concerns the messianic time, and it must therefore be counted among the messianic verses, since (1) it describes the time of the age to come; (2) of the golden age; (3) as the founder of this realm he is installed as the king of heaven, endowed with

all eminent faculties. These characteristics make these verses messianic. They are not accurately quoted, [and] the Hebrew has: He will stand as a sign to the peoples, i.e., that all the attention of the peoples is directed to him. The Alexandrians expressed the meaning rather than the words." Paul quotes from Isa 11:10 in Rom 15:12, following the LXX. — **ῥιζα Ιησσαι**: Greek (rhíza Iēssai), "The root of Jesse" (Rom 15:12 in NTG and Isa 11:10 in LXX). — **שֹׁרֶשׁ יִשַׁי**: Hebrew (šôræš jišaj), "The root of Jesse" (Isa 11:10 in *Biblia hebraica*). — **h. l.**: → 335,*7*. — **seculum aureum**: Latin, "the golden age." See Kierkegaard's notes on H. N. Clausen's "Dogmatiske Forelæsninger" [Lectures on Dogmatics], § 48, where Isa 11:6 and 60:17 are discussed as "the more poetic passages . . . depicting the Messianic period as a golden age" (see Not1:7 in *KJN* 3; *SKS* 19, 46). — **Hezekiah**: → 334,*27*. — **Zerubbabel**: A descendant of David, leader in reestablishing the Jewish congregation at the end of the 6th century B.C. and in the rebuilding of the temple, ca. 520 B.C.; subsequently viewed as a messianic figure. — **Alexandrini**: The Alexandrians, i.e., the seventy-two translators of the LXX, from the Jewish schools of Alexandria (→ 334,*13*).

32 **Isa 52:15. ex interpretatione Pauli . . . a genuino loci sensu**] Latin, "Isa 52:15. According to Paul's interpretation περι αυτου = περι Χριστου, but in the verse quoted the context has another meaning. What is being talked about is the return from Babylon to Palestine: The most distant peoples will hear of the glory of the restoration of Israel. Therefore αυτου here means λαος. Thus the application is quite remote from the original meaning of the verse." Paul quotes from Isa 52:15 in Rom 15:21, following the LXX. — **περι αυτου = περι Χριστου**: Greek (perí autoú), "concerning him" = (perí Christoú), "concerning Christ." — **λαος**: Greek (laós), "people," i.e., the people of Israel.

38 **Φοιβη modo h. l. nominatur**] Latin, "Φοιβη is mentioned only at this place." — **Φοιβη**: Greek (Phoíbē), Phoebe, recommended here as "our sister" and "benefactor" and "a deacon of the church at Cenchreae." — **h. l.**: → 335,*7*.

39 **respicitur Gen 3:15: . . . (יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ)**] Latin, "The reference is to Gen 3:15: You will bite its heel and it shall crush your head יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ" (i.e., God's words to the serpent, for having seduced Eve). See Tholuck, p. 520:26. — **יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ**: Hebrew (jᵉšûpᵉkā rôʾš), "It [or he] shall crush your head" (Gen 3:15 in *Biblia hebraica*).

Timotheus et Sosipatrus . . . Achaiam facto] Latin, 41
"Timotheus and Sosipater, cf. Acts 20:4 on the same journey through Macedonia and Achaia." — **Timotheus**: Timothy, a close fellow worker of Paul, named as coauthor of several letters (2 Cor, Phil, Col, 1 and 2 Thess, Philemon) and named as addressee of two letters from Paul (although Paul's authorship of the latter is widely disputed today). — **Sosipatrus**: Sosipater, a Jewish Christian, mentioned only once in the NT (Rom 16:21). Kierkegaard seems to have confused him with the Sopatrus mentioned at Acts 20:4. — **Achaia**: From 27 B.C. the official name of a Roman province, which had Corinth as its capital and which included large parts of central and southern Greece.

Die Urgeschichte . . . p. 125ff.] "Die Urgeschichte 1 340
der Menschheit nach dem biblischen Berichte der Genesis, kritisch untersucht v. Lic. B. Bauer" [The Primordial History of Humankind according to the Biblical Report of Genesis, Critically Investigated by Lic. B. Bauer], in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* (→ 291,*1*), vol. 3, pt. 1, 1837, pp. 125–210. — **B. Bauer**: Bruno Bauer (1809–1882), German theologian and follower of Hegel. At first he was among the Right Hegelians but later became a Left Hegelian. Bauer was a privatdocent in Berlin before becoming professor at Bonn (1839–1842), but in 1843 he was forbidden to function as a priest because of his religious views. Bauer's treatise consists of a preface and three sections divided into twenty-four "paragraphs" (§§). Section 1 (§§ 1–11), which deals with the account of the creation and the fall, consists of two parts, §§ 1–5 dealing with the creation, and §§ 6–11 with the fall. Section 2 (§§ 12–18) deals with the beginnings of humankind's historical development, and section 3 (§§ 19–24) with the flood and the division of humankind into peoples with diverse languages. Bauer presents the biblical contribution to the prehistory (*Urgeschichte*) of humanity as a myth that is viewed in the light of a later revelation. Kierkegaard deals only with § 1, pp. 131–134. The following notes refer to Bauer's work by section, paragraph, and page numbers, without repeating the title of the section, "Die Urgeschichte" [Prehistory].

4 **1 The Account of Creation in Gen I, II**] Title of sec. 1, div. 1, p. 131.

6 **§ 1 The Literal Interpretation**] Title of § 1, p. 131.

7 **This is complicated . . . were present**] Summary of § 1, p. 131:9–22. — **II, 5–7**: Gen 2:5–7.

10 **The creation of the animals . . . backward step**] Summary of § 1, p. 132:5–15. — **II, 19**: Gen 2:19.

12 **Moreover the difficulty . . . distinguished previously**] Summary of § 1, p. 133:16–25. — **4th day**: See Gen 1:14–19, esp. 14–15.

341 1 **Dichtungen v. Ulrich v. Hutten . . . Stuttgart. 1838**] *Ulrich von Hutten's Jugend-Dichtungen, didaktisch-biographischen und satyrisch-epigrammatischen Inhalts. Zum Erstenmal vollständig übersetzt und erläutert herausgegeben von E. Münch* [Ulrich von Hutten's Youthful Writings, of Didactic-Biographical and Satyrical-Epigrammatical Import; Translated in Their Entirety for the First Time, Together with Notes, Published by E. Münch] (Stuttgart, 1838). — **Ulrich v. Hutten**: Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), German nobleman and humanist. — **E. Münch**: Ernst Hermann Joseph Münch (1798–1841), Swiss jurist, historian, and publisher; professor at Freiburg and Lüttich (Liège).

341 5 **De impostura religionum . . . Leipzig 1833**] Latin, "A brief compendium of the deceptions of religion, or a book on the three impostors." — **Genthe**: Friedrich Wilhelm Genthe (1805–1866), German historian, preparatory school teacher, and publisher.

8 **The historical introduction . . . an evil eye**] The book has an exhaustive introduction by the editor, titled "Litterarischer Versuch über die Schriften *de Tribus Impostoribus*" [A Literary Essay on the Work *On The Three Impostors*] (pp. 1–26), followed by a supplement, "Reponse à la Dissertation de Mr. de la Monnoye sur le Traité: *De Tribus Impostoribus*. A la Haye chez Henry Scheurler. 1716" [Reply to the Essay by Mr. de la Monnoye on the Treatise *On The Three Impostors*, by la Haye, from the House of Henry Scheurler, 1716] (pp. 27–40). The treatise itself is found on pp. 41–62. The so-called three impostors are Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed, and the book, written probably in the late 17th century, was often mentioned in the 18th century but rarely seen; and its existence was sometimes doubted. It was first printed in 1753, but with a supposed date of 1598. Although it attacks the impostures of the three founders of religions based on revelations, the work is not atheistic insofar as it leaves open the possibility of knowing God by natural means.

see the list on pp. 10 and 11] Here Genthe lists twenty-seven people who were supposed at one time or another to have been the book's author, including Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Giordano Bruno, and John Milton! 15

Deum esse, eum . . . Deum, intelligant] Latin, "That God exists and is to be worshiped is asserted by many, before they have understood what God is, and what it is to exist, insofar as this applies both to bodies and spirits, what distinguishes them [i.e., these ways of being], what they have in common, and what it is to worship God." Quoted from Genthe (→ 341,5), § 1, p. 43, where "*Deum*" and "*Deus*" are emphasized. 18

342 1 **Speculative . . . Marthensen**] Notes on H. L. Martensen's lectures on speculative dogmatics; see "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal KK*" in this volume of *KJN*, pp. 592–596. — **Marthensen**: Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1894), Danish theologian. Lectured privately at the University of Copenhagen from 1837 to 1838, until he was appointed associate professor in 1838. In 1840 he was appointed extraordinary professor.

D.] Dogmatics. 4

authoritative for a hum. being . . . examination by thought] This is typical of Martensen's account of the basic principle of modern philosophy, in contradistinction to the supposed naïveté of medieval thought. See, e.g., his review of J. L. Heiberg, *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Course in Logic Begun in November 1834 at the Royal Military High School] (Copenhagen, 1835; abbreviated hereafter as *Indlednings-Foredrag*), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Literary Monthly] (Copenhagen, 1836), vol. 16, p. 518: "Tradition, the authority of the Church, and every other *given presupposition* was negated, for now science wanted to derive the truth. Only what could be established as irrefutable truth in the inner compelling necessity of *thought* was permitted to count as such for man." (English translation from *Heiberg's Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course and* 11

Other Texts, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart [Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2007], p. 77).

13 **This introduced a breach ... culture**] See J. L. Heiberg's *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* [On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age] (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 568), pp. 13f., where Heiberg distinguishes between the cultured or educated elite, who view religious belief as a thing of the past, and the uncultured masses, who still believe. That religion can no longer address the deepest interests and concerns of the cultured is seen by Heiberg as a symptom of what he calls the crisis of "the present age." An English translation is available in *Heiberg's On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Age and Other Texts*, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2005), pp. 93f.

14 **Some became unbelievers**] Possibly a reference to such contemporary radical groups as Young Germany (ca. 1830–1850), a political and literary movement with freethinking and anticlerical tendencies.

14 **others wanted to summon up Luther's shade**] Possibly a reference to the Protestant orthodoxy of the 17th century, when attempts were made to construct great theological systems on the basis of a systematic presentation of Luther's theology, thus marking a clear boundary between Lutheranism and other confessions, particularly Calvinism. — **Luther**: → 317,10.

16 **the apostolic fathers**] i.e., the sub-apostolic period in the early church (late 1st and early 2nd cent.).

34 **Dogmatics ... absolute truth ... as idea**] Martensen invokes the Hegelian notion that the absolute or eternal truth is to be found in the Idea, which is manifested in the concrete historical forms of the history of ideas, religion, and culture but is not identical with them. Cf. vol. 1 of G. W. F. Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* [Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion], ed. P. Marheineke, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1832; ASKB 564–565); vol. 11 of *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe*, 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*), p. 24.

34 **the theology of the Symbols**] Theology directed to the study and exposition of the symbolic or confessional statements of the church.

343 2 **spec**.] speculative.

2 **D**.] Dogmatics.

the essential task ... different historical forms] 4
Cf. Hegel's discussion of Christianity as the "absolute religion" which completes the historical progression of world religions (→ 342,34); see part 3, vol. 2, of his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 342,34), vol. 12, pp. 191–356.

the essence of religion ... the absolute Idea] 22
According to Hegel, the forms in which consciousness establishes its relation to absolute Spirit are art, religion, and philosophy. See, e.g., vol. 3 of *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline], ed. L. v. Henning, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1845 [1817]; ASKB 561–563), *Hegel's Werke* (→ 342,34), vol. 7:2, §§ 440–577, pp. 440–469. The absolute Idea (→ 342,34) is present in each of these spheres but comes to expression in different ways, in accordance with their differing forms. Against this background, Martensen argues that in order to know the particular characteristics of religion and the way religion represents the truth, it is also necessary to know the particular characteristics of art and of philosophy, so that one can distinguish among them.

The absolute idea ... content of philosophy] Since 26
art, philosophy, and religion are all expressions of absolute Spirit (→ 343,22), they all have fundamentally the same content, which they manifest in different forms. See vol. 2 of *Wissenschaft der Logik* [The Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 5 of *Hegel's Werke*, p. 328: "Philosophy has the same content and the same aim as art and religion, but it is the highest way of grasping the absolute Idea, because its way, the way of the concept, is the highest." See also vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,34), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 230–233. The threefold order of art, religion, and philosophy is also central in J. L. Heiberg's *Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid* (→ 342,13), p. 11.

Art can be ... makes the hum. being hum.] 28
According to Hegel, with respect to the different forms in which the three modes of the absolute Idea are manifest, art expresses the divine, but in an outward or external form, e.g., in sculpture, painting, or poetry. Religion, however, expresses this same content in terms of subjective inward-

ness. See vol. 1 of *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1838), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 342,*34*), vol. 10:1, pp. 135f.

344 3 **a relationship of identity ... and dependence**] Martensen here provides a brief summary of Hegel's account of the two basic ways of relating to the divine and of the dialectical relationship between them. See vol. 1 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, pp. 24–27.

5 **But this means ... reveals himself to him**] Martensen here follows Hegel in asserting that the various forms of religion culminate in Christianity as "the revealed religion," which unites the contradictions of religion's other forms and brings about the true unification of humanity and God. See *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), 2 vols., in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, pp. 99–100, and vol. 12, pp. 191ff.

24 **as the infinitely free subject ... different from himself**] Cf. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), vol. 2, in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 247ff.

345 5 **an infinite mediation ... laws of hist. development**] Cf. *Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of Spirit], where Hegel argues that the dialectical laws governing both consciousness and history are one and the same, thus also determining the various forms in which religion develops. See *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1817]; ASKB 550), in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 342,*34*), vol. 2, pp. 509–517. — **mediation**: → 296,*8*.

13 **in the fullness of time**] See Gal 4:4.

17 **accommodation**] The adaptation of a religious idea to the capacities of human beings. The term was widely used by rationalist theologians who, following J. S. Semler, saw it as a means of distinguishing between what was historically limited in scripture (e.g., miracles, beliefs about possession, etc.) and what was eternally true.

346 2 **Paganism is rightly regarded ... communal Spirit**] What Martensen terms "paganism" in this and subsequent paragraphs corresponds to Hegel's description of "the nature religions" in vol. 1 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, pp. 279–472. The idea of "nature religion" covers all those forms in which the divine is represented as some natural form, such as fire or an animal. They are seen by Hegel as manifesting consciousness's immediate unity with nature and lack of self-reflection. See vol. 1 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, p. 274: "*Natural religion* is the unity of the spiritual and the natural, and God is apprehended in this still-natural unity."

Thus God can only reveal ... and personality] 10 The next stage of religious life beyond that of the nature religions is that of the religions which Hegel discusses under the heading "The Religion of Spiritual Individuality." See vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 3–188. An example of this is the religion of the Greeks, in which the divine now takes a human, i.e., anthropomorphic, form.

But since each people ... as a people] Martensen 16 follows Hegel in seeing the various forms of religion as parts of a single "Idea" of the divine, which develops itself through these forms (→ 343,*4*).

ktisiomorphisms] The idea of the divine as some- 37 thing created, i.e., as nature.

In none of these theophanies ... superficial per- 38 **sonifications**] → 346,*10*.

The consciousness ... mythology] → 346,*10*. This 41 account of the Greek gods follows Hegel's section "The Religion of Beauty" in vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 95–156.

The Greek gods ... living individualities] See vol. 3 347 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 95–156, esp. pp. 104ff.; and *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 345,*5*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 2, pp. 547–550.

the anthropomorphism of the religion of art] In 8 *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, Hegel discusses Greek religion as the "religion of beauty" (→ 346,*41*), while in *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 345,*5*), *Hegel's Werke* (→ 342,*34*), vol. 2, pp. 527–561, it is viewed as the "religion of art."

Since the ultimate reason ... dark fate] Martensen 23 relies on Hegel's analysis of *Nothwendigkeit* ("necessity") and *Schicksal* ("fate") in Greek religion. See vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 109–116; see also *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 345,*5*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 2, pp. 545–561, esp. pp. 549 and 551f.

In Judaism ... as God] Here and in §§ 12 and 13, 30 Martensen draws on Hegel's account of Judaism,

which Hegel refers to as "the religion of sublimity" (German, *Erhabenheit*). See vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 46f.

37 **But this revelation ... not absolute**] Central to Hegel's interpretation of Judaism is his view that Judaism represents God and the world as standing in a mutually exclusive relationship, such that God becomes abstracted as solely "other" in relation to the world. This God therefore cannot provide a basis for understanding the unity of the world and God. See vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 46 and 51.

348 6 **Since the Jewish idea ... be seen**] According to Hegel, the Jewish God typically relates to the natural order in exceptional acts of miraculous intervention. Such isolated moments, however, cannot provide a basis for a complete or adequate revelation of the divine. True revelation must be revelation in human spirit itself, i.e., in Christ. See vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, p. 60.

12 **Since creatureliness ... fear of the Lord**] See Hegel's account of the Jewish cultus in vol. 2 of *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 342,*34*), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, p. 79, where he says of it that "The pure freedom of self-consciousness is [turned into] *an absolute unfreedom*, or *the self-consciousness* is *that of a slave in relation to a Lord*. The *fear of the Lord* is the basic characteristic of this relationship."

34 **acosmism**] A view that sees the world as appearance only, lacking in substantial being.

349 4 **mediates himself to himself**] That is to say, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, God stands in "an infinite relation to himself." This may be Kierkegaard's transcription error for "mediates it [the world] with himself," that is, "mediates himself with it" or "takes it up into himself."

21 **the Jewish view**] That is, the view that the Messiah is a purely national and exclusive liberator and ruler.

24 **in the fullness of time**] → 345,*13*.

25 **Xt's coming ... emptied out**] Cf. HH:2 in this volume of *KJN*.

27 **But since X ... product of the hum. race**] Cf. Martensen's treatise "Rationalisme, Supranaturalisme og *principium exclusi medii* (I Anledning af H. H. Biskop Mynsters Afhandling herom i dette Tidsskrifts forrige Hefte)" [Rationalism, Supernaturalism and the Principle of the Excluded Middle; Occasioned by the Rt. Revd. Bishop Mynster's Treatise on This in the Preceding Issue of This Journal] in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Periodical for Literature and Criticism], ed. F. C. Petersen (Copenhagen, 1839), vol. 1, p. 463: "It must be acknowledged and strongly insisted upon that Christ does not appear 'in accordance with the natural course of things, that the new creation in Christ is the first step in a new series, a new, unmediated infusion of the divine life into the human.' Christ is not the *product* of the human race, his entry into history is not the *result* of the development of the race, though it is of course mediated by it."

Symb. apost.] For Latin, *Symbolum apostolicum*, the Apostles' Creed. 20 350

Protest.] Protestantism. 31

Cath. and Prot.] Catholicism and Protestantism. 33

laid down Holy Scripture as the norm of knowledge] A reference to the Lutheran principle of *sola scriptura*, which makes scripture the sole ultimate authority for Christian teaching; thus in matters of faith and doctrine, ecclesiastical tradition cannot occupy a place parallel to that of scripture, and both popes and church councils have erred with respect to matters of faith. 15 351

the Pelagian heresy] → 320,*17*. 26

the Gnostic heresy] → 319,*31*. 28

neither supernaturalistic nor rationalistic] Supernaturalism, (→ 321,*29*); rationalism, (→ 310,*35*). 30

Symbolic] In the sense of being determined by the church's confessional statements. 31

The dogma concerning its inspiration] The dogma concerning the divine inspiration of the Bible builds on 2 Tim 3:16. 9 352

the Church's confessional writings] For the Protestant churches these include, in particular, the *Confessio Augustana* [Augsburg Confession] together with Luther's *Short Catechism* and *Great Catechism*, the *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* [Defense of the Augsburg Confession] and, finally, the *Formula Concordiae* [The Book of Concord]. 21

apost. Symbolum] → 350,*20*. 23

rebirth] See Jn 3:5–7 and Titus 3:4–7. 30

credam ut intelligam] This much-quoted phrase comes from Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), *Proslogion*, chap. 1 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 158, col. 227C): "Neque enim quaero intelligere, ut credam, 32

sed credo, ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo, quia nisi credidero, non intelligam" [For I do not seek to understand in order to believe, but I believe that I might understand. For I also believe that if I do not believe then I will not understand]. This is quoted here from W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), vol. 8:1 (1810), p. 120 n. 71. See also H. L. Martensen's review of J. L. Heiberg's *Indlednings-Foredrag*, in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (→ 342,11), vol. 16, pp. 516f. Martensen repeats the Latin proposition at the bottom of p. 516; he also discusses it in his *Ueber Lenau's Faust* [On Lenau's Faust] (Stuttgart, 1836), pp. 11f., and in his licentiate's dissertation, *De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ* [The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 648), p. 6.

Selected Variants for Volume 1

(keyed to page and line number)

9:25: "the few dear departed"] *SKS 17* notes that this is perhaps an error for "the so dear departed" — **39:33**: "otherwise"] *added* — **42:20**: "(often)"] *changed from* "always" — **47:15**: "not"] *added* — **112:29**: "Indeed … struggle."] *added* — **128:21**: "eye"] *first written* "gaze" — **131m:8**: "in the case of love"] *added* — **205m:9**: "Monotheism … polytheism"] *changed from* "Polytheism … monotheism" — **217:15**: "the Greek"] *added* — **234:7**: "i.e., the phrasemongers"] *first written* "empty and spineless, just like the elf maidens, only m" — **239:16**: "(humor)"] *added* — **239:17**: "heaven and earth"] *added* — **243:13**: "bass, as if … by itself."] *changed from* "bass." — **249:19**: "(E. Boesen")] *added* — **258m:1**: "That was the prayer … neat phrases. —"] written on an octavo page and glued to the margin of the manuscript — **265m:16**: ", so that God … from us. — "] *added* — **273:28**: "A champion of orthography."] *added* (see words circled in lower left-hand corner of manuscript illustration in *KJN* 1, 271).

MAPS

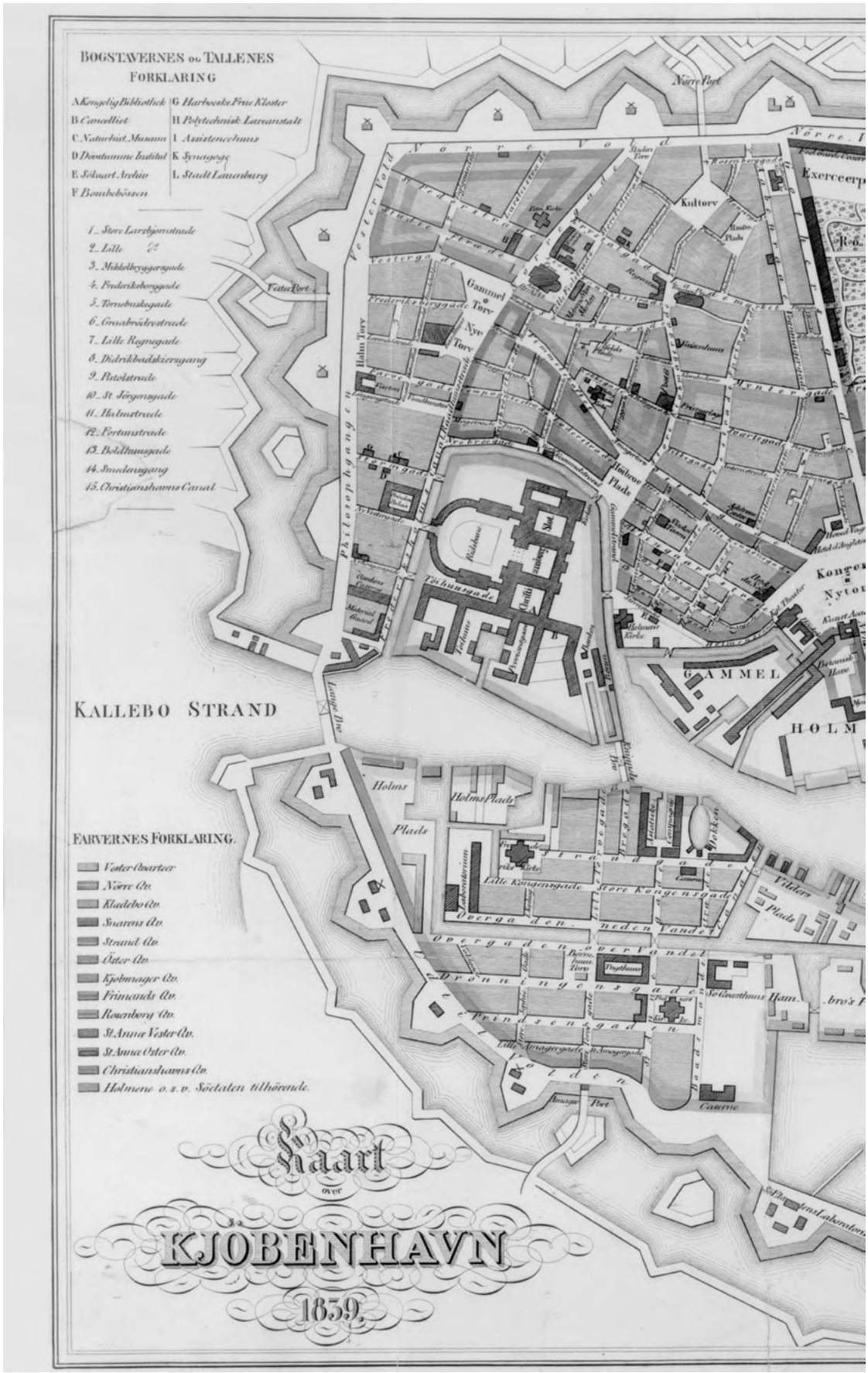
Map 1, Copenhagen, 1839, by Severin Sterm
630

Map 2 , Copenhagen Locator Map
632

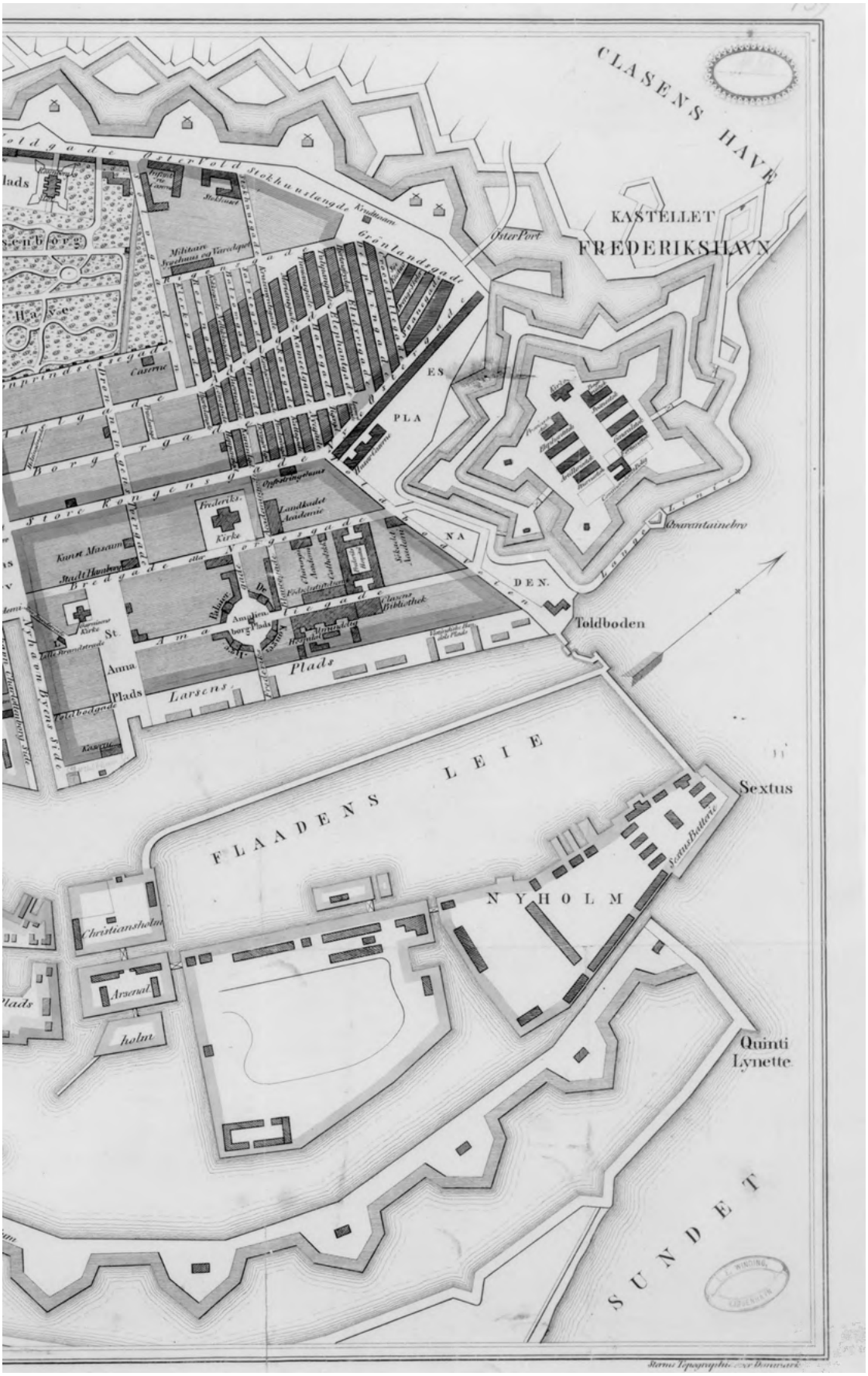
Map 3, Northern Zealand, ca. 1840
634

Map 4, Berlin
636

Map 5, Copenhagen, Northern and Western Suburbs
639


BOGSTAVERNES OG TALLENES FORKLARING
A Kongelig Bibliothek
B Cancelliet
C Naturhist. Museum
D Døvstumme Institut
E Sekuart Archiv
F Bombebössen
G Harbovenke Frue Kloster
H Polytechniek Læreanstalt
I Assistencehuus
K Synagoge
L Stadt Lauenburg
1 Store Larsbjørnstrade
2 Lille do
3 Mikkelbryggergade
4 Frederiksborggade
5 Tornebuskegade
6 Graabrødretrade
7 Lille Regnegade
8 Didrikbadskiergang
9 Pistolstrade
10 St Tørvegade
11 Halmstrede
12 Fortunstrade
13 Boldhusgade
14 Smedegang
15 Christianshavns Canal
KALLEBO STRAND
FARVERNES FORKLARING.
Vester Qvarteer
Nörre Qv.
Kadebo Qv.
Snarens Qv.
Strand Qv.
Öster Qv.
Kjobmager Qv.
Frimands Qv.
Rosenborg Qv.
St. Anna Vester Qv.
St. Anna Oster Qv.
Christianshavns Qv.
Holmene o. s. v. Societaten tilhörende.
Kaart
over
KJÖBENHAVN
1659.

Map 1


CLASENS HAVE
KASTELLET
FREDERIKSHAVN
Østerport
Toldboden
Sextus
Quinti
Lynette
FLAADENS LEIE
NYHOLM
SUNDET
Larsens Plads
Amagerborg Plads
Arsenal
Holm
Christianshavn
Kirke Plads
Frederiks Kirke
Landkadet Academie
Kunst Museum
Stadt Hamburg
Caserne
Militaire Academie
Militaire Arresthus
Borgergade
Bredgade
Amagergade
Store Kongensgade
Toldbodgade
Asiatisk Compagnies Plads
Stockhuusgade
Grønlandsgade
Kirkegade
Nyholm Batterie
Sextus Batterie
Quinti Batterie
Brandtaarnsbro
Langelinie
Stamm Topographie der Dannmark

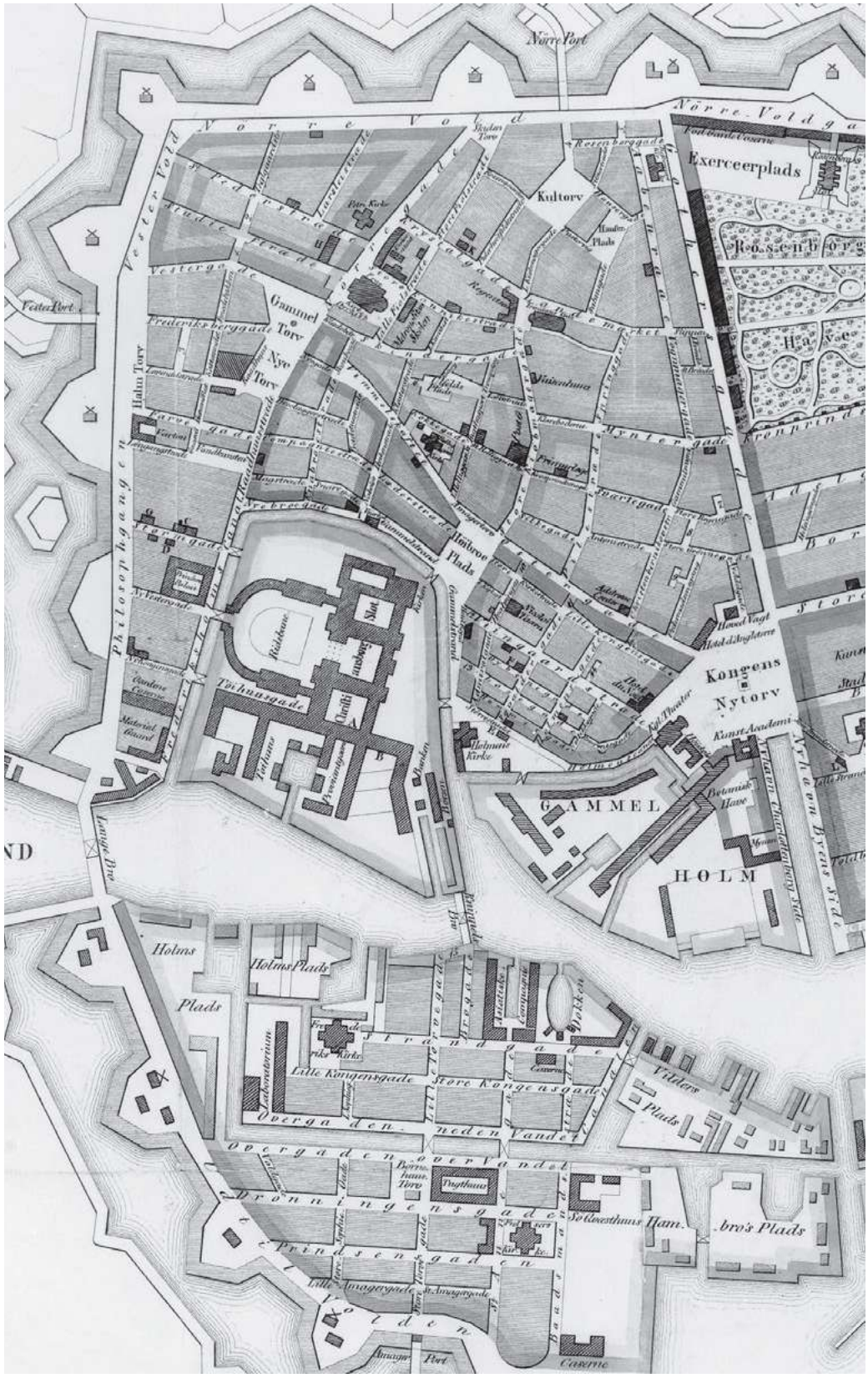
A | B | C | D

1

2

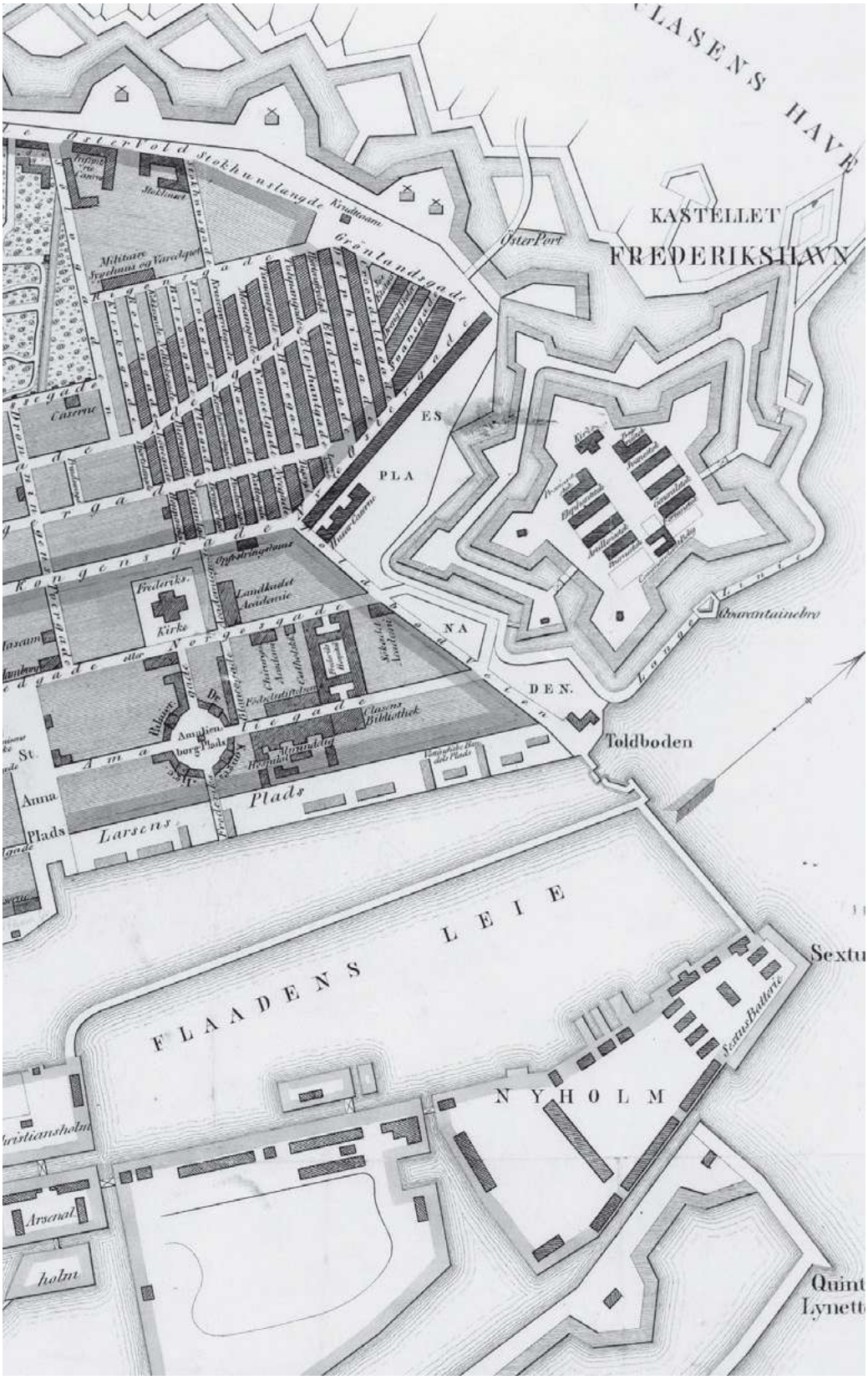
3

4



Map 2

E | F | G | H


KASTELLET
FREDERIKSHAVN
ØsterPort
Toldboden
Plads
Larsens
Amalienborg Plads
Frederiks Kirke
Landkadet Academie
Classens Bibliothek
Rosenborg
Rosenborg Have
Rosenborg Slot
Rosenborg Plads
Rosenborg Gade
Rosenborg Stald
Rosenborg Kaserne
Rosenborg Ridebane
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Rosenborg Ridebane Slot

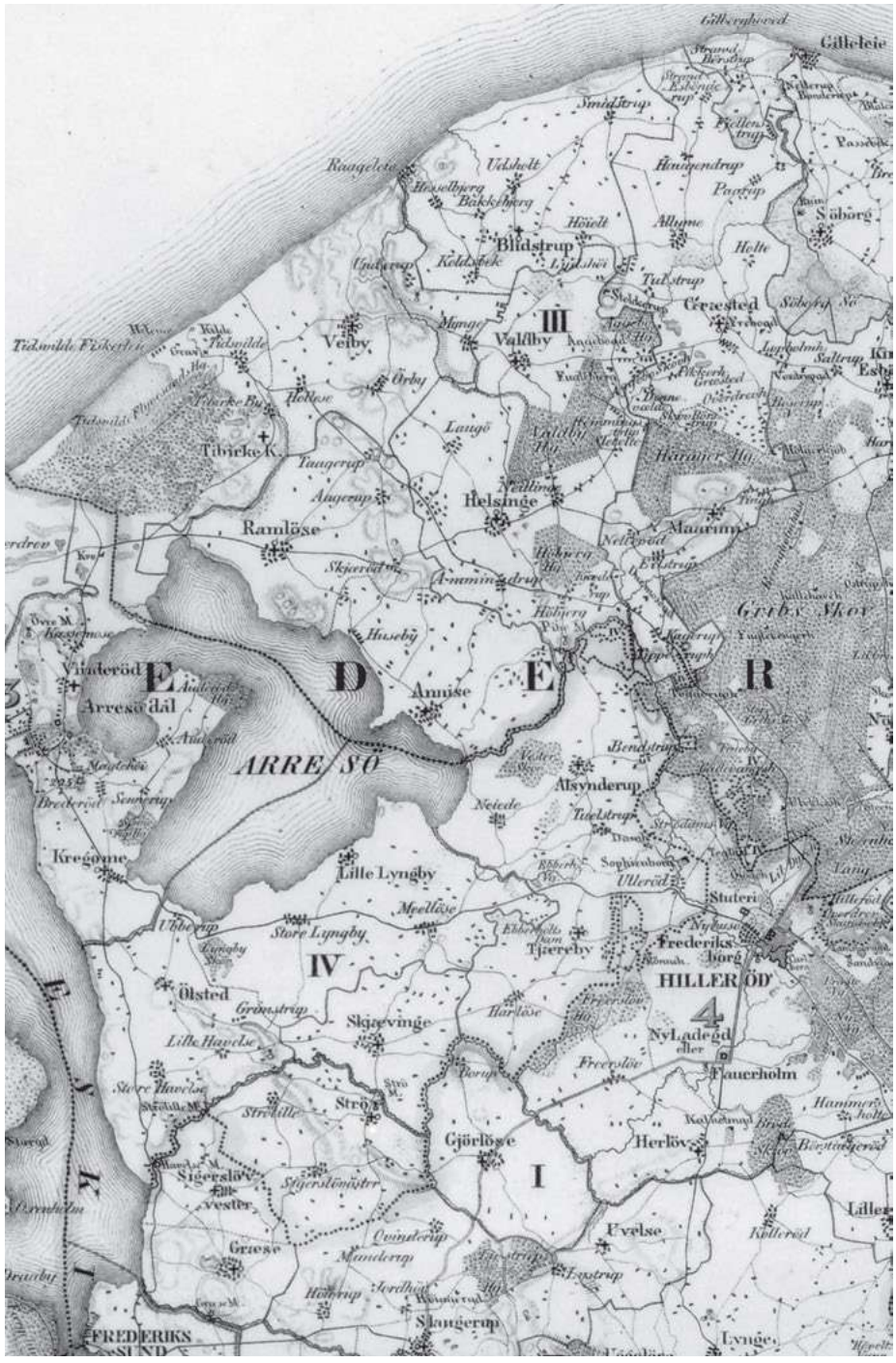
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2

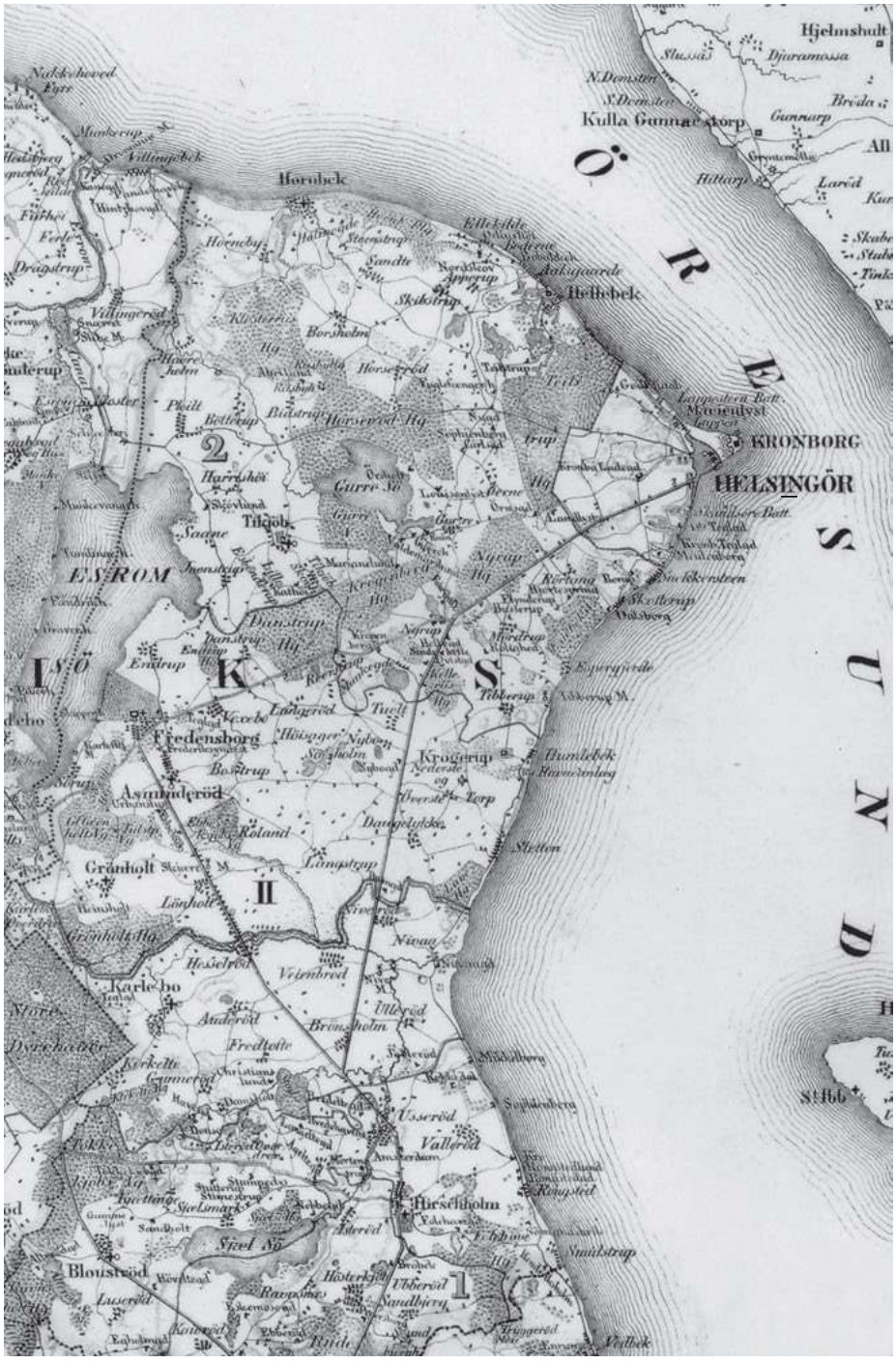
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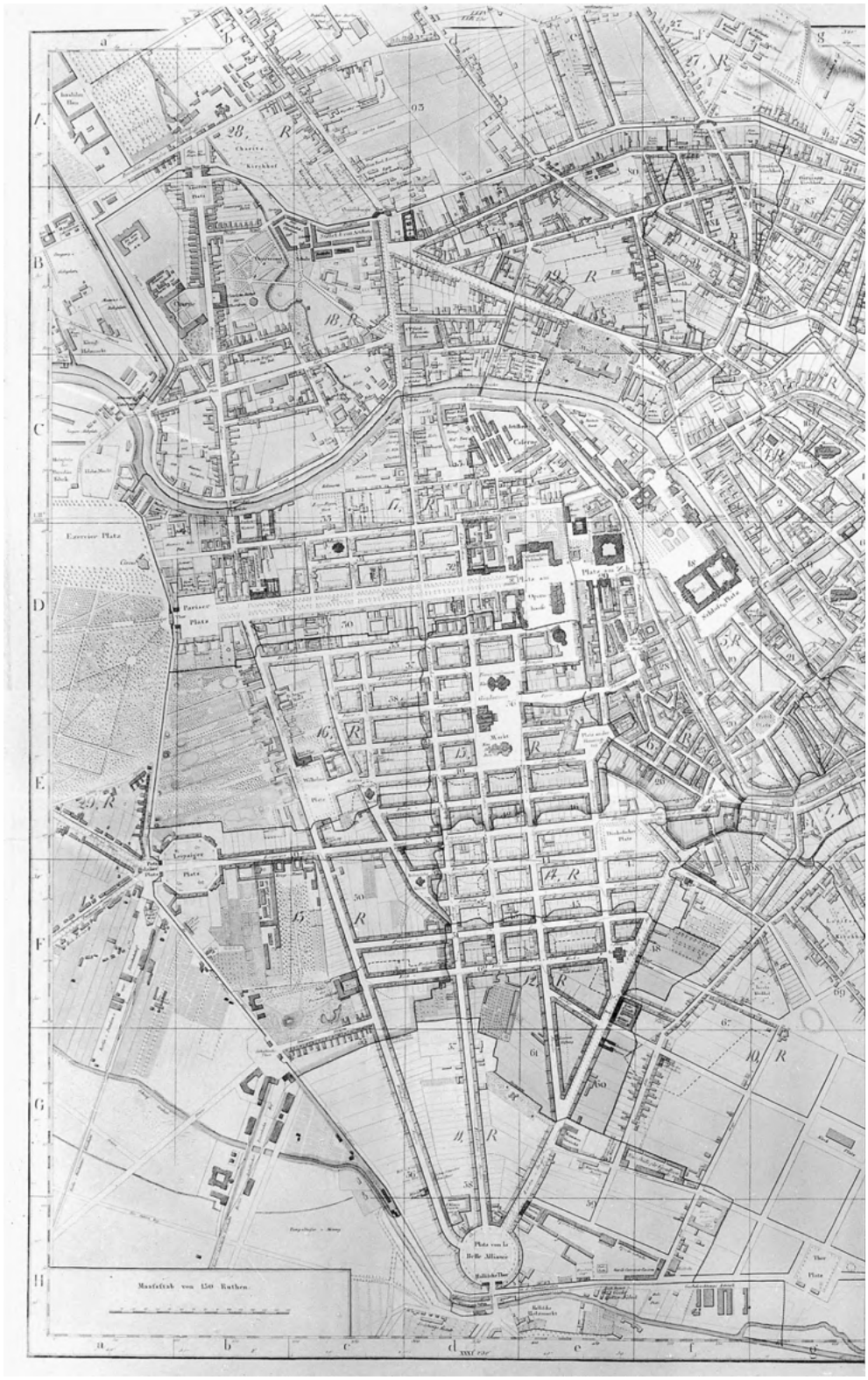
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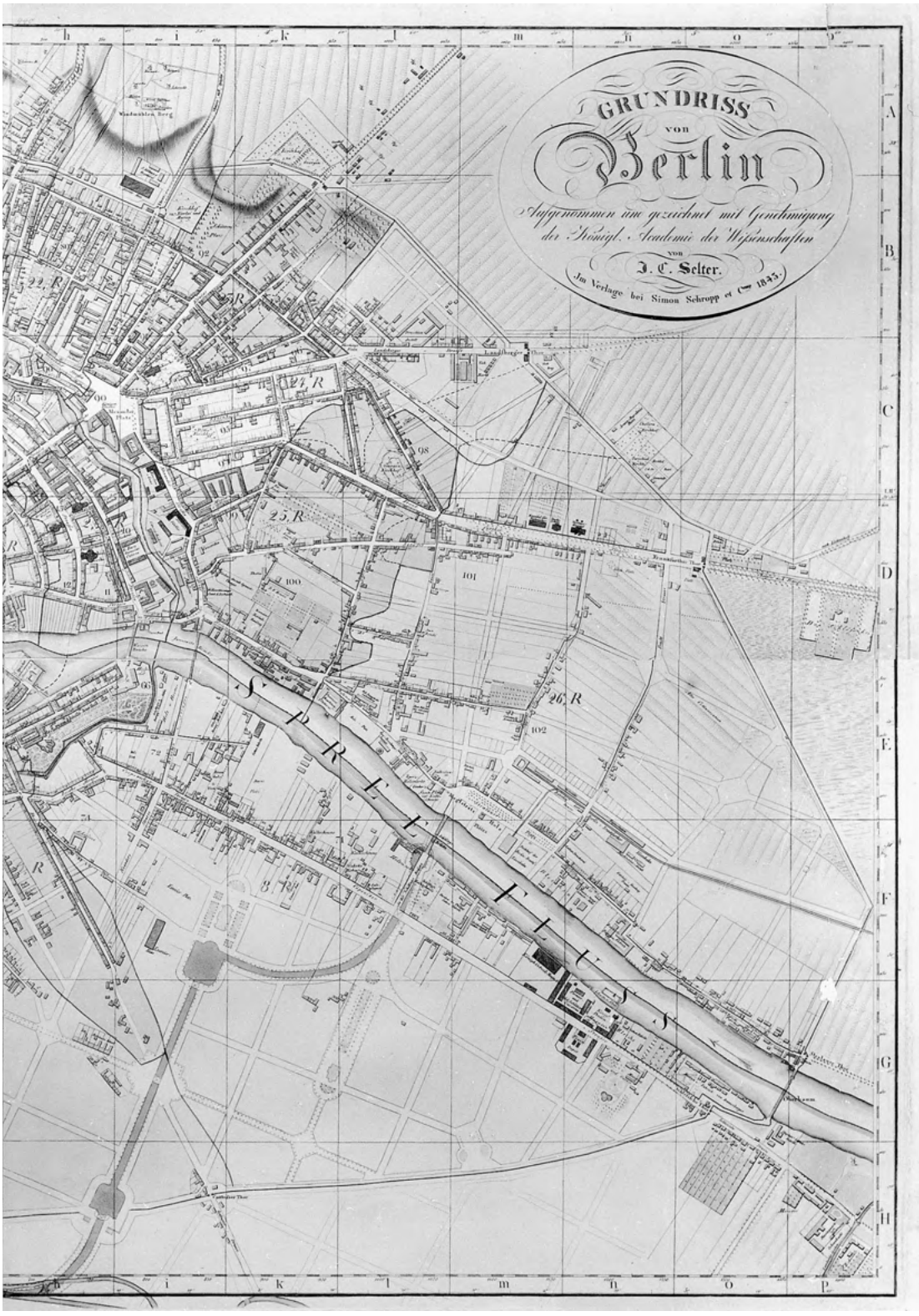
Map 3

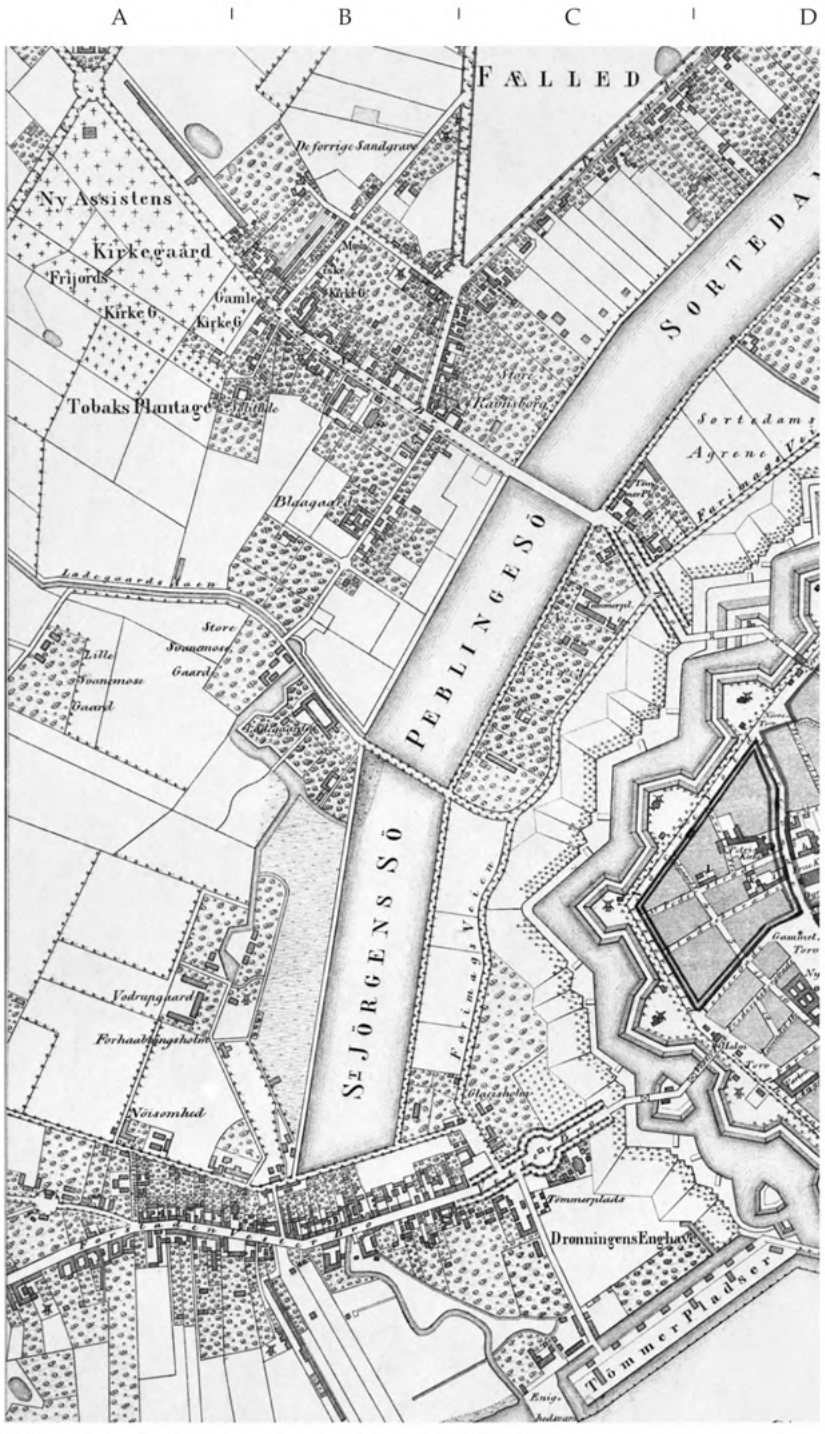
E | F | G | H


Hjelmshult
Djuramossa
Kulla Gunnarstorp
Gunnarp
Bröda
Larød
Hornbek
Hellebek
ÖRESUND
KRONBORG
HELSINGÖR
ESROM
Tikjob
Fredensborg
Asmindrerød
Krogerup
Gronholt
Karlebo
Hørsholm
Blovstrød
Ravnsholt
Sandbjerg
Ubberød
Vallerød
Usserød
Stubbe
1
2
3
4


Exercier Platz
Pariser Platz
Leipziger Platz
Platz vor d. Belle Alliance
Hallesche Thor
Maasstab von 150 Ruthen.

Map 4


GRUNDRISS
von
Berlin
Aufgenommen und gezeichnet mit Genehmigung
der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften
von
J. C. Selter.
Im Verlage bei Simon Schropp et Cmp 1845.
22. R
25. R
26. R
8. R
Spree
Landwehr Canal
Luisenstadt Canal
Thiergarten
Brandenburger Thor
Potsdamer Thor
Leipziger Thor
Halleschen Thor
Cottbuser Thor
Schlesisches Thor
Oranienburger Thor
Hamburger Thor
Stettiner Thor
Königs Wusterhausen
Potsdam
Charlottenburg
Moabit
Tempelhof
Schöneberg
Berlin
Cöln
Friedrich Wilhelm Stadt
Dorotheen Stadt
Friedrich Stadt
Neue Friedrich Stadt
Neue Cölln
Spandauer Vorstadt
Königs Vorstadt
Stralauer Vorstadt
Oranienburger Vorstadt
Rosenthaler Vorstadt
Neue Königs Vorstadt
Luisen Stadt
Neue Luisen Stadt
Friedrich Wilhelm Vorstadt
Friedrich Wilhelm Neustadt
Schützen Vorstadt
Tempelhofer Vorstadt
Kreuzberg
Thiergarten
Zoologischer Garten
Exercir Platz
Neuer Garten
Lustgarten
Schloss
Opernhaus
Universität
Bibliothek
Museum
Zeughaus
Dom
Rathhaus
Börse
Post
Münze
Gensdarmen Markt
Schauspielhaus
Neue Wache
Palais
Prinzen Palais
Kronprinzen Palais
Prinz Heinrich Palais
Prinz Wilhelm Palais
Prinz Albrecht Palais
Prinz Carl Palais
Prinz Friedrich Palais
Prinz Friedrich Carl Palais
Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm Palais
Prinz Friedrich Leopold Palais
Prinz Friedrich Albrecht


A
B
C
D
1
2
3
4
FÆLLED
De forrige Sandgrave
Ny Assistens
Kirkegaard
Frijords
Kirke G
Gamle
Kirke G
Kirke G
Tobaks Plantage
Store
Kanishave
Sortedams
Agrene
Blagaard
Ladegaards Boen
Store
Soenmose
Gaard
Lille
Soenmose
Gaard
PELLINGESØ
Sortedam
Farimagsvei
St JØRGENS SØ
Vedrupgaard
Forhaabningsholm
Nøisomhed
Tømmerpladser
Dronningens Enghave
Tømmerpladser

Map 5

CALENDAR

For January 1, 1836 through December 31, 1846,
Indicating Danish State and Church Holidays

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1836

January		February		March		April		May		June	
F 1	New Year's Day	M 1		Tu 1		F 1	Good Friday	Su 1	4th S. a. Easter	W 1	
Sa 2		Tu 2	Candlemas	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2	Corpus Christi
Su 3	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 3		Th 3		Su 3	Easter Day	Tu 3		F 3	
M 4		Th 4		F 4		M 4	Easter Monday	W 4		Sa 4	
Tu 5		F 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	1st S. a. Trinity
W 6	Epiphany	Sa 6		Su 6	3rd S. in Lent	W 6		F 6		M 6	
Th 7		Su 7	Sexagesima	M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7	
F 8		M 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	5th S. a. Easter	W 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		W 9	40 Martyrs	Sa 9		M 9		Th 9	
Su 10	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 10		Th 10		Su 10	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 10		F 10	
M 11		Th 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	
Tu 12		F 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	Ascension Day	Su 12	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 13		Sa 13		Su 13	4th S. in Lent	W 13		F 13		M 13	
Th 14		Su 14	Quinquagesima	M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14	
F 15		M 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	6th S. a. Easter	W 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16	Shrove Tuesday	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16	
Su 17	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 17	Ash Wednesday	Th 17		Su 17	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 17		F 17	
M 18		Th 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18	
Tu 19		F 19		Sa 19		Tu 19	Moving day	Th 19		Su 19	3rd S. a. Trinity
W 20		Sa 20		Su 20	5th S. in Lent	W 20		F 20		M 20	
Th 21		Su 21	1st S. in Lent	M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21	
F 22		M 22	St. Peter's Chair	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	Pentecost	W 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	Pentecost Monday	Th 23	
Su 24	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 24	Ember Day	Th 24		Su 24	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 24		F 24	Birth of John Bapt.
M 25		Th 25		F 25	The Annunciation	M 25		W 25	Ember Day	Sa 25	
Tu 26		F 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	4th S. a. Trinity
W 27		Sa 27		Su 27	Palm Sunday	W 27		F 27		M 27	7 Sleepers
Th 28		Su 28	2nd S. in Lent	M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28	
F 29		M 29		Tu 29		F 29	Great Prayer Day	Su 29	Trinity Sunday	W 29	
Sa 30				W 30		Sa 30		M 30		Th 30	
Su 31	Septuagesima			Th 31	Maundy Thursday			Tu 31			

1836

July		August		September		October		November		December	
F 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	All Saints' Day	Th 1	
Sa 2	The Visitation	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	18th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2	
Su 3	5th S. a. Trinity	W 3		Sa 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3	
M 4		Th 4		Su 4	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5		M 5	
W 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 6	
Th 7		Su 7	10th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		M 7		W 7	
F 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	19th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9	
Su 10	6th S. a. Trinity	W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10	
M 11		Th 11		Su 11	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 11		F 11	St. Martin	Su 11	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 12		F 12		M 12		W 12		Sa 12		M 12	
W 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13	
Th 14		Su 14	11th S. a. Trinity	W 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day
F 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	20th S. a. Trinity	W 16		F 16	
Su 17	7th S. a. Trinity	W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17	
M 18		Th 18		Su 18	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 18	Moving day	F 18		Su 18	4th S. in Advent
Tu 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19	
W 20		Sa 20		Tu 20		Th 20		Su 20	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	
Th 21		Su 21	12th S. a. Trinity	W 21	Ember Day	F 21		M 21		W 21	
F 22		M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	21st S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23	
Su 24	8th S. a. Trinity	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24	
M 25		Th 25		Su 25	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	Christmas Day
Tu 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26	St. Stephen
W 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	1st S. in Advent	Tu 27	
Th 28		Su 28	13th S. a. Trinity	W 28		F 28		M 28		W 28	
F 29		M 29		Th 29	St. Michael and	Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29	
Sa 30		Tu 30			All Angels	Su 30	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 30		F 30	
Su 31	9th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31				Sa 31	

1837

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Su 1	New Year's Day	W 1		W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	
M 2		Th 2	Candlemas	Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 2		F 2	
Tu 3		F 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3	
W 4		Sa 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4	Ascension Day	Su 4	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 5		Su 5	Quinquagesima	Su 5	4th S. in Lent	W 5		F 5		M 5	
F 6	Epiphany	M 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6	
Sa 7		Tu 7	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	6th S. a. Easter	W 7	
Su 8	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 8	Ash Wednesday	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8	
M 9		Th 9		Th 9	40 Martyrs	Su 9	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 9		F 9	
Tu 10		F 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10	
W 11		Sa 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 12		Su 12	1st S. in Lent	Su 12	5th S. in Lent	W 12		F 12		M 12	
F 13		M 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		Tu 13	
Sa 14		Tu 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	Pentecost	W 14	
Su 15	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 15	Ember Day	W 15		Sa 15		M 15	Pentecost Monday	Th 15	
M 16		Th 16		Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 16		F 16	
Tu 17		F 17		F 17		M 17		W 17	Ember Day	Sa 17	
W 18		Sa 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	Moving day	Th 18		Su 18	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 19		Su 19	2nd S. in Lent	Su 19	Palm Sunday	W 19		F 19		M 19	
F 20		M 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		Tu 20	
Sa 21		Tu 21		Tu 21		F 21	Great Prayer Day	Su 21	Trinity Sunday	W 21	
Su 22	Septuagesima	W 22	St. Peter's Chair	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		Th 22	
M 23		Th 23		Th 23	Maundy Thursday	Su 23	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 23		F 23	
Tu 24		F 24		F 24	Good Friday	M 24		W 24		Sa 24	Birth of John Bapt.
W 25		Sa 25		Sa 25	The Annunciation	Tu 25		Th 25	Corpus Christi	Su 25	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 26		Su 26	3rd S. in Lent	Su 26	Easter Day	W 26		F 26		M 26	
F 27		M 27		M 27	Easter Monday	Th 27		Sa 27		Tu 27	7 Sleepers
Sa 28		Tu 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	1st S. a. Trinity	W 28	
Su 29	Sexagesima			W 29		Sa 29		M 29		Th 29	
M 30				Th 30		Su 30	5th S. a. Easter	Tu 30		F 30	
Tu 31				F 31				W 31			

July		August		September		October		November		December		1837
Sa 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	19th S. a. Trinity	W 1	All Saints' Day	F 1		
Su 2	6th S. a. Trinity/	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		
M 3	The Visitation	Th 3		Su 3	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		M 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		
Th 6		Su 6	11th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		
F 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	20th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		
Su 9	7th S. a. Trinity	W 9		Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		
M 10		Th 10		Su 10	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	St. Martin	M 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		
Th 13		Su 13	12th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		
F 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	21st S. a. Trinity	W 15		F 15		
Su 16	8th S. a. Trinity	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		
M 17		Th 17		Su 17	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	Moving day	F 17		Su 17	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19		Su 19	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 19		
Th 20		Su 20	13th S. a. Trinity	W 20	Ember Day	F 20		M 20		W 20	Ember Day	
F 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		
Su 23	9th S. a. Trinity	W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		
M 24		Th 24		Su 24	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 25		F 25		M 25		W 25		Sa 25		M 25	Christmas Day	
W 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	27th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26	St. Stephen	
Th 27		Su 27	14th S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		
F 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		
Sa 29		Tu 29		F 29	St. Michael and	Su 29	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 29		F 29		
Su 30	10th S. a. Trinity	W 30			All Angels	M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		
M 31		Th 31		Sa 30		Tu 31				Su 31	1st S. a. Christmas	

1838

January		February		March		April		May		June	
M 1	New Year's Day	Th 1		Th 1		Su 1	5th S. in Lent	Tu 1		F 1	
Tu 2		F 2	Candlemas	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2	
W 3		Sa 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	Pentecost
Th 4		Su 4	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 4	1st S. in Lent	W 4		F 4		M 4	Pentecost Monday
F 5		M 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5	
Sa 6	Epiphany	Tu 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	3rd S. a. Easter	W 6	Ember Day
Su 7	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 7		W 7	Ember Day	Sa 7		M 7		Th 7	
M 8		Th 8		Th 8		Su 8	Palm Sunday	Tu 8		F 8	
Tu 9		F 9		F 9	40 Martyrs	M 9		W 9		Sa 9	
W 10		Sa 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	Trinity Sunday
Th 11		Su 11	Septuagesima	Su 11	2nd S. in Lent	W 11		F 11	Great Prayer Day	M 11	
F 12		M 12		M 12		Th 12	Maundy Thursday	Sa 12		Tu 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		Tu 13		F 13	Good Friday	Su 13	4th S. a. Easter	W 13	
Su 14	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 14		W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14	Corpus Christi
M 15		Th 15		Th 15		Su 15	Easter Day	Tu 15		F 15	
Tu 16		F 16		F 16		M 16	Easter Monday	W 16		Sa 16	
W 17		Sa 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 18		Su 18	Sexagesima	Su 18	3rd S. in Lent	W 18		F 18		M 18	
F 19		M 19		M 19		Th 19	Moving day	Sa 19		Tu 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	5th S. a. Easter	W 20	
Su 21	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 21		W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21	
M 22		Th 22	St. Peter's Chair	Th 22		Su 22	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 22		F 22	
Tu 23		F 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23	
W 24		Sa 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24	Ascension Day	Su 24	2nd S. a. Trinity / Birth of John Bapt.
Th 25		Su 25	Quinquagesima	Su 25	4th S. in Lent /	W 25		F 25			
F 26		M 26		M 26	The Annunciation	Th 26		Sa 26		M 25	
Sa 27		Tu 27	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	6th S. a. Easter	Tu 26	
Su 28	4th S. a. Epiphany	W 28	Ash Wednesday	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		W 27	7 Sleepers
M 29				Th 29		Su 29	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 29		Th 28	
Tu 30				F 30		M 30		W 30		F 29	
W 31				Sa 31				Th 31		Sa 30	

July		August		September		October		November		December		1838
Su 1	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	All Saints' Day	Sa 1		
M 2	The Visitation	Th 2		Su 2	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3		M 3		
W 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4		Su 4	21st S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		
Th 5		Su 5	8th S. a. Trinity	W 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		
F 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		
Sa 7		Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	17th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		
Su 8	4th S. a. Trinity	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		
M 9		Th 9		Su 9	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10		M 10		
W 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	22nd S. a. Trinity / St. Martin	Tu 11		
Th 12		Su 12	9th S. a. Trinity	W 12		F 12				W 12		
F 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		M 12		Th 13		
Sa 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		F 14		
Su 15	5th S. a. Trinity	W 15		Sa 15		M 15		W 14		Sa 15		
M 16		Th 16		Su 16	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 16	Moving day	Th 15		Su 16	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 17		F 17		M 17		W 17		F 16		M 17		
W 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18		Sa 17		Tu 18		
Th 19		Su 19	10th S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day	F 19		Su 18	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day	
F 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		M 19		Th 20		
Sa 21		Tu 21		F 21		Su 21	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		F 21		
Su 22	6th S. a. Trinity	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		W 21		Sa 22		
M 23		Th 23		Su 23	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 23		Th 22		Su 23	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 24		F 24		M 24		W 24		F 23		M 24		
W 25		Sa 25		Tu 25		Th 25		Sa 24		Tu 25	Christmas Day	
Th 26		Su 26	11th S. a. Trinity	W 26		F 26		Su 25	24th S. a. Trinity	W 26	St. Stephen	
F 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27		M 26		Th 27		
Sa 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	20th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		F 28		
Su 29	7th S. a. Trinity	W 29		Sa 29	St. Michael and All Angels	M 29		W 28		Sa 29		
M 30		Th 30				Tu 30		Th 29		Su 30	1st S. a. Christmas	
Tu 31		F 31		Su 30	16th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31		

1839

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Tu 1	New Year's Day	F 1		F 1		M 1	Easter Monday	W 1		Sa 1	
W 2		Sa 2	Candlemas	Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 3		Su 3	Sexagesima	Su 3	3rd S. in Lent	W 3		F 3		M 3	
F 4		M 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4		Tu 4	
Sa 5		Tu 5		Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	5th S. a. Easter	W 5	
Su 6	Epiphany	W 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6		Th 6	
M 7		Th 7		Th 7		Su 7	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 7		F 7	
Tu 8		F 8		F 8		M 8		W 8		Sa 8	
W 9		Sa 9		Sa 9	40 Martyrs	Tu 9		Th 9	Ascension Day	Su 9	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 10		Su 10	Quinquagesima	Su 10	4th S. in Lent	W 10		F 10		M 10	
F 11		M 11		M 11		Th 11		Sa 11		Tu 11	
Sa 12		Tu 12	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	6th S. a. Easter	W 12	
Su 13	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 13	Ash Wednesday	W 13		Sa 13		M 13		Th 13	
M 14		Th 14		Th 14		Su 14	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 14		F 14	
Tu 15		F 15		F 15		M 15		W 15		Sa 15	
W 16		Sa 16		Sa 16		Tu 16	Moving day	Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 17		Su 17	1st S. in Lent	Su 17	5th S. in Lent	W 17		F 17		M 17	
F 18		M 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	
Sa 19		Tu 19		Tu 19		F 19		Su 19	Pentecost	W 19	
Su 20	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 20	Ember Day	W 20		Sa 20		M 20	Pentecost Monday	Th 20	
M 21		Th 21		Th 21		Su 21	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 21		F 21	
Tu 22		F 22	St. Peter's Chair	F 22		M 22		W 22	Ember Day	Sa 22	
W 23		Sa 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		Su 23	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 24		Su 24	2nd S. in Lent	Su 24	Palm Sunday	W 24		F 24		M 24	Birth of John Bapt.
F 25		M 25		M 25	The Annunciation	Th 25		Sa 25		Tu 25	
Sa 26		Tu 26		Tu 26		F 26	Great Prayer Day	Su 26	Trinity Sunday	W 26	
Su 27	Septuagesima	W 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27		Th 27	7 Sleepers
M 28		Th 28		Th 28	Maundy Thursday	Su 28	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 28		F 28	
Tu 29				F 29	Good Friday	M 29		W 29		Sa 29	
W 30				Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30	Corpus Christi	Su 30	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 31				Su 31	Easter Day			F 31			

1839

July		August		September		October		November		December	
M 1		Th 1		Su 1	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 1		F 1	All Saints' Day	Su 1	1st S. in Advent
Tu 2	The Visitation	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2		M 2	
W 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 3	
Th 4		Su 4	10th S. a. Trinity	W 4		F 4		M 4		W 4	
F 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5	
Sa 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	19th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6	
Su 7	6th S. a. Trinity	W 7		Sa 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7	
M 8		Th 8		Su 8	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 9		F 9		M 9		W 9		Sa 9		M 9	
W 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10	
Th 11		Su 11	11th S. a. Trinity	W 11		F 11		M 11	St. Martin	W 11	
F 12		M 12		Th 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		F 13		Su 13	20th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13	
Su 14	7th S. a. Trinity	W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14	
M 15		Th 15		Su 15	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 15	Moving day	F 15		Su 15	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 16		F 16		M 16		W 16		Sa 16		M 16	
W 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	
Th 18		Su 18	12th S. a. Trinity	W 18	Ember Day	F 18		M 18		W 18	Ember Day
F 19		M 19		Th 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	21st S. a. Trinity	W 20		F 20	
Su 21	8th S. a. Trinity	W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21	
M 22		Th 22		Su 22	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	4th S. in Advent
Tu 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	
W 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24		Su 24	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24	
Th 25		Su 25	13th S. a. Trinity	W 25		F 25		M 25		W 25	Christmas Day
F 26		M 26		Th 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26	St. Stephen
Sa 27		Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27	
Su 28	9th S. a. Trinity	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28	
M 29		Th 29		Su 29	18th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 29		F 29		Su 29	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 30		F 30			St. Michael and	W 30		Sa 30		M 30	
W 31		Sa 31		M 30	All Angels	Th 31				Tu 31	

1840

January		February		March		April		May		June	
W 1	New Year's Day	Sa 1		Su 1	Quinquagesima	W 1		F 1		M 1	
Th 2		Su 2	4th S. a. Epiphany / Candlemas	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2	
F 3				Tu 3	Shrove Tuesday	F 3		Su 3	2nd S. a. Easter	W 3	
Sa 4		M 3		W 4	Ash Wednesday	Sa 4		M 4		Th 4	
Su 5	2nd S. a. Christm.	Tu 4		Th 5		Su 5	5th S. in Lent	Tu 5		F 5	
M 6	Epiphany	W 5		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6	
Tu 7		Th 6		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	Pentecost
W 8		F 7		Su 8	1st S. in Lent	W 8		F 8		M 8	Pentecost Monday
Th 9		Sa 8		M 9	40 Martyrs	Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9	
F 10		Su 9	5th S. a. Epiphany	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	3rd S. a. Easter	W 10	Ember Day
Sa 11		M 10		W 11	Ember Day	Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	
Su 12	1st S. a. Epiphany.	Tu 11		Th 12		Su 12	Palm Sunday	Tu 12		F 12	
M 13		W 12		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13	
Tu 14		Th 13		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	Trinity Sunday
W 15		F 14		Su 15	2nd S. in Lent	W 15		F 15	Great Prayer Day	M 15	
Th 16		Sa 15		M 16		Th 16	Maundy Thursday	Sa 16		Tu 16	
F 17		Su 16	Septuagesima	Tu 17		F 17	Good Friday	Su 17	4th S. a. Easter	W 17	
Sa 18		M 17		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18	Corpus Christi
Su 19	2nd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 18		Th 19		Su 19	Easter Day	Tu 19		F 19	
M 20		W 19		F 20		M 20	Easter Monday	W 20		Sa 20	
Tu 21		Th 20		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	1st S. a. Trinity
W 22		F 21		Su 22	3rd S. in Lent	W 22		F 22		M 22	
Th 23		Sa 22	St. Peter's Chair	M 23		Th 23	Moving day	Sa 23		Tu 23	
F 24		Su 23	Sexagesima	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	5th S. a. Easter	W 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Sa 25		M 24		W 25	The Annunciation	Sa 25		M 25		Th 25	
Su 26	3rd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 25		Th 26		Su 26	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 26		F 26	
M 27		W 26		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27	7 Sleepers
Tu 28		Th 27		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28	Ascension Day	Su 28	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 29		F 28		Su 29	4th S. in Lent	W 29		F 29		M 29	
Th 30		Sa 29		M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		Tu 30	
F 31				Tu 31				Su 31	6th S. a. Easter		

1840

July		August		September		October		November		December	
W 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1		Su 1	20th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 1	
Th 2	The Visitation	Su 2	7th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2			All Saints' Day	W 2	
F 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		M 2		Th 3	
Sa 4		Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 4	
Su 5	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		W 4		Sa 5	
M 6		Th 6		Su 6	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		Th 5		Su 6	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		F 6		M 7	
W 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Sa 7		Tu 8	
Th 9		Su 9	8th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		Su 8	21st S. a. Trinity	W 9	
F 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		M 9		Th 10	
Sa 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 11	
Su 12	4th S. a. Trinity	W 12		Sa 12		M 12		W 11	St. Martin	Sa 12	
M 13		Th 13		Su 13	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		Th 12		Su 13	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 14		F 14		M 14		W 14		F 13		M 14	
W 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		Sa 14		Tu 15	
Th 16		Su 16	9th S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	F 16		Su 15	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day
F 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		M 16		Th 17	
Sa 18		Tu 18		F 18		Su 18	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17		F 18	
Su 19	5th S. a. Trinity	W 19		Sa 19		M 19		W 18		Sa 19	
M 20		Th 20		Su 20	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	Moving day	Th 19		Su 20	4th S. in Advent
Tu 21		F 21		M 21		W 21		F 20		M 21	
W 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		Sa 21		Tu 22	
Th 23		Su 23	10th S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		Su 22	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 23	
F 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		M 23		Th 24	
Sa 25		Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 25	Christmas Day
Su 26	6th S. a. Trinity	W 26		Sa 26		M 26		W 25		Sa 26	St. Stephen
M 27		Th 27		Su 27	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		Th 26		Su 27	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		F 27		M 28	
W 29		Sa 29		Tu 29	St. Michael and	Th 29		Sa 28		Tu 29	
Th 30		Su 30	11th S. a. Trinity		All Angels	F 30		Su 29	1st S. in Advent	W 30	
F 31		M 31		W 30		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31	

1841

January		February		March		April		May		June	
F 1	New Year's Day	M 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	
Sa 2		Tu 2	Candlemas	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	3rd S. a. Easter	W 2	Ember Day
Su 3	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 3		W 3	Ember Day	Sa 3		M 3		Th 3	
M 4		Th 4		Th 4		Su 4	Palm Sunday	Tu 4		F 4	
Tu 5		F 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5	
W 6	Epiphany	Sa 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	Trinity Sunday
Th 7		Su 7	Septuagesima	Su 7	2nd S. in Lent	W 7		F 7	Great Prayer Day	M 7	
F 8		M 8		M 8		Th 8	Maundy Thursday	Sa 8		Tu 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		Tu 9	40 Martyrs	F 9	Good Friday	Su 9	4th S. a. Easter	W 9	
Su 10	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 10		W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10	Corpus Christi
M 11		Th 11		Th 11		Su 11	Easter Day	Tu 11		F 11	
Tu 12		F 12		F 12		M 12	Easter Monday	W 12		Sa 12	
W 13		Sa 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 14		Su 14	Sexagesima	Su 14	3rd S. in Lent	W 14		F 14		M 14	
F 15		M 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	5th S. a. Easter	W 16	
Su 17	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 17		W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17	
M 18		Th 18		Th 18		Su 18	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 18		F 18	
Tu 19		F 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19	
W 20		Sa 20		Sa 20		Tu 20	Moving day	Th 20	Ascension Day	Su 20	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 21		Su 21	Quinquagesima	Su 21	4th S. in Lent	W 21		F 21		M 21	
F 22		M 22	St. Peter's Chair	M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	6th S. a. Easter	W 23	
Su 24	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 24	Ash Wednesday	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24	Birth of John Bapt.
M 25		Th 25		Th 25	The Annunciation	Su 25	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 25		F 25	
Tu 26		F 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26	
W 27		Sa 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	3rd S. a. Trinity / 7 Sleepers
Th 28		Su 28	1st S. in Lent	Su 28	5th S. in Lent	W 28		F 28			
F 29				M 29		Th 29		Sa 29		M 28	
Sa 30				Tu 30		F 30		Su 30	Pentecost	Tu 29	
Su 31	4th S. a. Epiphany			W 31				M 31	Pentecost Monday	W 30	

July		August		September		October		November		December		1841
Th 1		Su 1	8th S. a. Trinity	W 1		F 1		M 1	All Saints' Day	W 1		
F 2	The Visitation	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		
Sa 3		Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	17th S. a. Trinity	W 3		F 3		
Su 4	4th S. a. Trinity	W 4		Sa 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4		
M 5		Th 5		Su 5	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6		
W 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	22nd S. a. Trinity	Tu 7		
Th 8		Su 8	9th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		M 8		W 8		
F 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9		Th 9		
Sa 10		Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	18th S. a. Trinity	W 10		F 10		
Su 11	5th S. a. Trinity	W 11		Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	St. Martin	Sa 11		
M 12		Th 12		Su 12	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13		M 13		
W 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 14		
Th 15		Su 15	10th S. a. Trinity	W 15	Ember Day	F 15		M 15		W 15	Ember Day	
F 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		Tu 16		Th 16		
Sa 17		Tu 17		F 17		Su 17	19th S. a. Trinity	W 17		F 17		
Su 18	6th S. a. Trinity	W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		
M 19		Th 19		Su 19	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 19	Moving day	F 19		Su 19	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 20		F 20		M 20		W 20		Sa 20		M 20		
W 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 21		
Th 22		Su 22	11th S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		M 22		W 22		
F 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		
Sa 24		Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	20th S. a. Trinity	W 24		F 24		
Su 25	7th S. a. Trinity	W 25		Sa 25		M 25		Th 25		Sa 25	Christmas Day	
M 26		Th 26		Su 26	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26		F 26		Su 26	St. Stephen	
Tu 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27		
W 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		Su 28	1st S. in Advent	Tu 28		
Th 29		Su 29	12th S. a. Trinity	W 29	St. Michael and	F 29		M 29		W 29		
F 30		M 30			All Angels	Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30		
Sa 31		Tu 31		Th 30		Su 31	21st S. a. Trinity			F 31		

January		February		March		April		May		June		1842
Sa 1	New Year's Day	Tu 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	5th S. a. Easter	W 1		
Su 2	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 2	Candlemas	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		
M 3		Th 3		Th 3		Su 3	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 3		F 3		
Tu 4		F 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5	Ascension Day	Su 5	2nd S. a. Trinity	
Th 6	Epiphany	Su 6	Quinquagesima	Su 6	4th S. in Lent	W 6		F 6		M 6		
F 7		M 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	6th S. a. Easter	W 8		
Su 9	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 9	Ash Wednesday	W 9	40 Martyrs	Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		
M 10		Th 10		Th 10		Su 10	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 10		F 10		
Tu 11		F 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	3rd S. a. Trinity	
Th 13		Su 13	1st S. in Lent	Su 13	5th S. in Lent	W 13		F 13		M 13		
F 14		M 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	Pentecost	W 15		
Su 16	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 16		W 16		Sa 16		M 16	Pentecost Monday	Th 16		
M 17		Th 17		Th 17		Su 17	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 17		F 17		
Tu 18		F 18		F 18		M 18		W 18	Ember Day	Sa 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Sa 19		Tu 19	Moving day	Th 19		Su 19	4th S. a. Trinity	
Th 20		Su 20	2nd S. in Lent	Su 20	Palm Sunday	W 20		F 20		M 20		
F 21		M 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22	St. Peter's Chair	Tu 22		F 22	Great Prayer Day	Su 22	Trinity Sunday	W 22		
Su 23	Septuagesima	W 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		
M 24		Th 24		Th 24	Maundy Thursday	Su 24	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 24		F 24	Birth of John Bapt.	
Tu 25		F 25		F 25	Good Friday /	M 25		W 25		Sa 25		
W 26		Sa 26		Sa 26	The Annunciation	Tu 26		Th 26	Corpus Christi	Su 26	5th S. a. Trinity	
Th 27		Su 27	3rd S. in Lent	Su 27	Easter Day	W 27		F 27		M 27	7 Sleepers	
F 28		M 28		M 28	Easter Monday	Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		
Sa 29				Tu 29		F 29		Su 29	1st S. a. Trinity	W 29		
Su 30	Sexagesima			W 30		Sa 30		M 30		Th 30		
M 31				Th 31				Tu 31				

July		August		September		October		November		December		1842
F 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	All Saints' Day	Th 1		
Sa 2	The Visitation	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	19th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2		
Su 3	6th S. a. Trinity	W 3		Sa 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		
M 4		Th 4		Su 4	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5		M 5		
W 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		
Th 7		Su 7	11th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		
F 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		
Sa 9		Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	20th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		
Su 10	7th S. a. Trinity	W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		
M 11		Th 11		Su 11	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 11		F 11	St. Martin	Su 11	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 12		F 12		M 12		W 12		Sa 12		M 12		
W 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		
Th 14		Su 14	12th S. a. Trinity	W 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day	
F 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		
Sa 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	21st S. a. Trinity	W 16		F 16		
Su 17	8th S. a. Trinity	W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		
M 18		Th 18		Su 18	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 18	Moving day	F 18		Su 18	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19		
W 20		Sa 20		Tu 20		Th 20		Su 20	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		
Th 21		Su 21	13th S. a. Trinity	W 21	Ember Day	F 21		M 21		W 21		
F 22		M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		
Sa 23		Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		
Su 24	9th S. a. Trinity	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		
M 25		Th 25		Su 25	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	Christmas Day	
Tu 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26	St. Stephen	
W 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	1st S. in Advent	Tu 27		
Th 28		Su 28	14th S. a. Trinity	W 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		
F 29		M 29		Th 29	St. Michael and	Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29		
Sa 30		Tu 30			All Angels	Su 30	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 30		F 30		
Su 31	10th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31				Sa 31		

1843

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Su 1	New Year's Day	W 1		W 1	Ash Wednesday	Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	
M 2		Th 2	Candlemas	Th 2		Su 2	5th S. in Lent	Tu 2		F 2	
Tu 3		F 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3	
W 4		Sa 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4		Su 4	Pentecost
Th 5		Su 5	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 5	1st S. in Lent	W 5		F 5		M 5	Pentecost Monday
F 6	Epiphany	M 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6	
Sa 7		Tu 7		Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	3rd S. a. Easter	W 7	Ember Day
Su 8	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 8		W 8	Ember Day	Sa 8		M 8		Th 8	
M 9		Th 9		Th 9	40 Martyrs	Su 9	Palm Sunday	Tu 9		F 9	
Tu 10		F 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10	
W 11		Sa 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	Trinity Sunday
Th 12		Su 12	Septuagesima	Su 12	2nd S. in Lent	W 12		F 12	Great Prayer Day	M 12	
F 13		M 13		M 13		Th 13	Maundy Thursday	Sa 13		Tu 13	
Sa 14		Tu 14		Tu 14		F 14	Good Friday	Su 14	4th S. a. Easter	W 14	
Su 15	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 15		W 15		Sa 15		M 15		Th 15	Corpus Christi
M 16		Th 16		Th 16		Su 16	Easter Day	Tu 16		F 16	
Tu 17		F 17		F 17		M 17	Easter Monday	W 17		Sa 17	
W 18		Sa 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18		Su 18	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 19		Su 19	Sexagesima	Su 19	3rd S. in Lent	W 19		F 19		M 19	
F 20		M 20		M 20		Th 20	Moving day	Sa 20		Tu 20	
Sa 21		Tu 21		Tu 21		F 21		Su 21	5th S. a. Easter	W 21	
Su 22	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 22	St. Peter's Chair	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		Th 22	
M 23		Th 23		Th 23		Su 23	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 23		F 23	
Tu 24		F 24		F 24		M 24		W 24		Sa 24	Birth of John Bapt.
W 25		Sa 25		Sa 25	The Annunciation	Tu 25		Th 25	Ascension Day	Su 25	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 26		Su 26	Quinquagesima	Su 26	4th S. in Lent	W 26		F 26		M 26	
F 27		M 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27		Tu 27	7 Sleepers
Sa 28		Tu 28	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	6th S. a. Easter	W 28	
Su 29	4th S. a. Epiphany			W 29		Sa 29		M 29		Th 29	
M 30				Th 30		Su 30	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 30		F 30	
Tu 31				F 31				W 31			

July		August		September		October		November		December		1843
Sa 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	16th S. a. Trinity	W 1	All Saints' Day	F 1		
Su 2	3rd S. a. Trinity/	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		
M 3	The Visitation	Th 3		Su 3	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		M 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	21st S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		
Th 6		Su 6	8th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		
F 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	17th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		
Su 9	4th S. a. Trinity	W 9		Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		
M 10		Th 10		Su 10	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	St. Martin	M 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	22nd S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		
Th 13		Su 13	9th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		
F 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	18th S. a. Trinity	W 15		F 15		
Su 16	5th S. a. Trinity	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		
M 17		Th 17		Su 17	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	Moving day	F 17		Su 17	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19		Su 19	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 19		
Th 20		Su 20	10th S. a. Trinity	W 20	Ember Day	F 20		M 20		W 20	Ember Day	
F 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	19th S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		
Su 23	6th S. a. Trinity	W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		
M 24		Th 24		Su 24	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 25		F 25		M 25		W 25		Sa 25		M 25	Christmas Day	
W 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26	St. Stephen	
Th 27		Su 27	11th S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		
F 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		
Sa 29		Tu 29		F 29	St. Michael and	Su 29	20th S. a. Trinity	W 29		F 29		
Su 30	7th S. a. Trinity	W 30			All Angels	M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		
M 31		Th 31		Sa 30		Tu 31				Su 31	1st S. a. Christmas	

January		February		March		April		May		June	
M 1	New Year's Day	Th 1		F 1		M 1		W 1		Sa 1	
Tu 2		F 2	Candlemas	Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		Su 2	Trinity Sunday
W 3		Sa 3		Su 3	2nd S. in Lent	W 3		F 3	Great Prayer Day	M 3	
Th 4		Su 4	Septuagesima	M 4		Th 4	Maundy Thursday	Sa 4		Tu 4	
F 5		M 5		Tu 5		F 5	Good Friday	Su 5	4th S. a. Easter	W 5	
Sa 6	Epiphany	Tu 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6		Th 6	Corpus Christi
Su 7	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 7		Th 7		Su 7	Easter Day	Tu 7		F 7	
M 8		Th 8		F 8		M 8	Easter Monday	W 8		Sa 8	
Tu 9		F 9		Sa 9	40 Martyrs	Tu 9		Th 9		Su 9	1st S. a. Trinity
W 10		Sa 10		Su 10	3rd S. in Lent	W 10		F 10		M 10	
Th 11		Su 11	Sexagesima	M 11		Th 11		Sa 11		Tu 11	
F 12		M 12		Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	5th S. a. Easter	W 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		W 13		Sa 13		M 13		Th 13	
Su 14	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 14		Th 14		Su 14	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 14		F 14	
M 15		Th 15		F 15		M 15		W 15		Sa 15	
Tu 16		F 16		Sa 16		Tu 16	Moving day	Th 16	Ascension Day	Su 16	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 17		Sa 17		Su 17	4th S. in Lent	W 17		F 17		M 17	
Th 18		Su 18	Quinquagesima	M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	
F 19		M 19		Tu 19		F 19		Su 19	6th S. a. Easter	W 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20	Shrove Tuesday	W 20		Sa 20		M 20		Th 20	
Su 21	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 21	Ash Wednesday	Th 21		Su 21	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 21		F 21	
M 22		Th 22	St. Peter's Chair	F 22		M 22		W 22		Sa 22	
Tu 23		F 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		Su 23	3rd S. a. Trinity
W 24		Sa 24		Su 24	5th S. in Lent	W 24		F 24		M 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Th 25		Su 25	1st S. in Lent	M 25	The Annunciation	Th 25		Sa 25		Tu 25	
F 26		M 26		Tu 26		F 26		Su 26	Pentecost	W 26	
Sa 27		Tu 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27	Pentecost Monday	Th 27	7 Sleepers
Su 28	4th S. a. Epiphany	W 28	Ember Day	Th 28		Su 28	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 28		F 28	
M 29		Th 29		F 29		M 29		W 29	Ember Day	Sa 29	
Tu 30				Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30		Su 30	4th S. a. Trinity
W 31				Su 31	Palm Sunday			F 31			

1844

1844

July		August		September		October		November		December	
M 1		Th 1		Su 1	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 1		F 1	All Saints' Day	Su 1	1st S. in Advent
Tu 2	The Visitation	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2		M 2	
W 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	22nd S. a. Trinity	Tu 3	
Th 4		Su 4	9th S. a. Trinity	W 4		F 4		M 4		W 4	
F 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5	
Sa 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	18th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6	
Su 7	5th S. a. Trinity	W 7		Sa 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7	
M 8		Th 8		Su 8	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 9		F 9		M 9		W 9		Sa 9		M 9	
W 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 10	
Th 11		Su 11	10th S. a. Trinity	W 11		F 11		M 11	St. Martin	W 11	
F 12		M 12		Th 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		F 13		Su 13	19th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13	
Su 14	6th S. a. Trinity	W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14	
M 15		Th 15		Su 15	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 15	Moving day	F 15		Su 15	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 16		F 16		M 16		W 16		Sa 16		M 16	
W 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	
Th 18		Su 18	11th S. a. Trinity	W 18	Ember Day	F 18		M 18		W 18	Ember Day
F 19		M 19		Th 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	20th S. a. Trinity	W 20		F 20	
Su 21	7th S. a. Trinity	W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21	
M 22		Th 22		Su 22	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	4th S. in Advent
Tu 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	
W 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24		Su 24	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24	
Th 25		Su 25	12th S. a. Trinity	W 25		F 25		M 25		W 25	Christmas Day
F 26		M 26		Th 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26	St. Stephen
Sa 27		Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	21st S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27	
Su 28	8th S. a. Trinity	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28	
M 29		Th 29		Su 29	17th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 29		F 29		Su 29	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 30		F 30			St. Michael	W 30		Sa 30		M 30	
W 31		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31				Tu 31	

1845

January		February		March		April		May		June	
W 1	New Year's Day	Sa 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1	Ascension Day	Su 1	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 2		Su 2	Quinquagesima/ Candlemas	Su 2	4th S. in Lent	W 2		F 2		M 2	
F 3		M 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		Tu 3	
Sa 4		Tu 4	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	6th S. a. Easter	W 4	
Su 5	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 5	Ash Wednesday	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		Th 5	
M 6	Epiphany	Th 6		Th 6		Su 6	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 6		F 6	
Tu 7		F 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		Sa 7	
W 8		Sa 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Su 8	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 9		Su 9	1st S. in Lent	Su 9	5th S. in Lent/ 40 Martyrs	W 9		F 9		M 9	
F 10		M 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		Tu 10	
Sa 11		Tu 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	Pentecost	W 11	
Su 12	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 12	Ember Day	W 12		Sa 12		M 12	Pentecost Monday	Th 12	
M 13		Th 13		Th 13		Su 13	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 13		F 13	
Tu 14		F 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day	Sa 14	
W 15		Sa 15		Sa 15		Tu 15	Moving day	Th 15		Su 15	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 16		Su 16	2nd S. in Lent	Su 16	Palm Sunday	W 16		F 16		M 16	
F 17		M 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		Tu 17	
Sa 18		Tu 18		Tu 18		F 18	Great Prayer Day	Su 18	Trinity Sunday	W 18	
Su 19	Septuagesima	W 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19		Th 19	
M 20		Th 20		Th 20	Maundy Thursday	Su 20	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 20		F 20	
Tu 21		F 21		F 21	Good Friday	M 21		W 21		Sa 21	
W 22		Sa 22	St. Peter's Chair	Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22	Corpus Christi	Su 22	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 23		Su 23	3rd S. in Lent	Su 23	Easter Day	W 23		F 23		M 23	
F 24		M 24		M 24	Easter Monday	Th 24		Sa 24		Tu 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Sa 25		Tu 25		Tu 25	The Annunciation	F 25		Su 25	1st S. a. Trinity	W 25	
Su 26	Sexagesima	W 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26		Th 26	
M 27		Th 27		Th 27		Su 27	5th S. a. Easter	Tu 27		F 27	7 Sleepers
Tu 28		F 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		Sa 28	
W 29				Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29		Su 29	6th S. a. Trinity
Th 30				Su 30	1st S. a. Easter	W 30		F 30		M 30	
F 31				M 31				Sa 31			

1845

July		August		September		October		November		December	
Tu 1		F 1		M 1		W 1		Sa 1	All Saints' Day	M 1	
W 2	The Visitation	Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		Su 2	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 2	
Th 3		Su 3	11th S. a. Trinity	W 3		F 3		M 3		W 3	
F 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4	
Sa 5		Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	20th S. a. Trinity	W 5		F 5	
Su 6	7th S. a. Trinity	W 6		Sa 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6	
M 7		Th 7		Su 7	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 8		F 8		M 8		W 8		Sa 8		M 8	
W 9		Sa 9		Tu 9		Th 9		Su 9	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 9	
Th 10		Su 10	12th S. a. Trinity	W 10		F 10		M 10		W 10	
F 11		M 11		Th 11		Sa 11		Tu 11	St. Martin	Th 11	
Sa 12		Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	21st S. a. Trinity	W 12		F 12	
Su 13	8th S. a. Trinity	W 13		Sa 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13	
M 14		Th 14		Su 14	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 15		F 15		M 15		W 15		Sa 15		M 15	
W 16		Sa 16		Tu 16		Th 16		Su 16	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 16	
Th 17		Su 17	13th S. a. Trinity	W 17	Ember Day	F 17		M 17		W 17	Ember Day
F 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18	
Sa 19		Tu 19		F 19		Su 19	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 19		F 19	
Su 20	9th S. a. Trinity	W 20		Sa 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20	
M 21		Th 21		Su 21	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 21	Moving day	F 21		Su 21	4th S. in Advent
Tu 22		F 22		M 22		W 22		Sa 22		M 22	
W 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		Su 23	27th S. a. Trinity	Tu 23	
Th 24		Su 24	14th S. a. Trinity	W 24		F 24		M 24		W 24	
F 25		M 25		Th 25		Sa 25		Tu 25		Th 25	Christmas Day
Sa 26		Tu 26		F 26		Su 26	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 26		F 26	St. Stephen
Su 27	10th S. a. Trinity	W 27		Sa 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27	
M 28		Th 28		Su 28	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 29		F 29		M 29	St. Michael and	W 29		Sa 29		M 29	
W 30		Sa 30			All Angels	Th 30		Su 30	1st S. in Advent	Tu 30	
Th 31		Su 31	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 30		F 31				W 31	

1846

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Th 1	New Year's Day	Su 1	4th S. a. Epiphany	Su 1	1st S. in Lent	W 1		F 1		M 1	Pentecost Monday
F 2		M 2	Candlemas	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2	
Sa 3		Tu 3		Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	3rd S. a. Easter	W 3	Ember Day
Su 4	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 4		W 4	Ember Day	Sa 4		M 4		Th 4	
M 5		Th 5		Th 5		Su 5	Palm Sunday	Tu 5		F 5	
Tu 6	Epiphany	F 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6	
W 7		Sa 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	Trinity Sunday
Th 8		Su 8	Septuagesima	Su 8	2nd S. in Lent	W 8		F 8	Great Prayer Day	M 8	
F 9		M 9		M 9	40 Martyrs	Th 9	Maundy Thursday	Sa 9		Tu 9	
Sa 10		Tu 10		Tu 10		F 10	Good Friday	Su 10	4th S. a. Easter	W 10	
Su 11	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 11		W 11		Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	Corpus Christi
M 12		Th 12		Th 12		Su 12	Easter Day	Tu 12		F 12	
Tu 13		F 13		F 13		M 13	Easter Monday	W 13		Sa 13	
W 14		Sa 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 15		Su 15	Sexagesima	Su 15	3rd S. in Lent	W 15		F 15		M 15	
F 16		M 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		Tu 16	
Sa 17		Tu 17		Tu 17		F 17		Su 17	5th S. a. Easter	W 17	
Su 18	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18	
M 19		Th 19		Th 19		Su 19	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 19		F 19	
Tu 20		F 20		F 20		M 20		W 20		Sa 20	
W 21		Sa 21		Sa 21		Tu 21	Moving day	Th 21	Ascension Day	Su 21	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 22		Su 22	Quinquagesima /	Su 22	4th S. in Lent	W 22		F 22		M 22	
F 23			St. Peter's Chair	M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		Tu 23	
Sa 24		M 23		Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	6th S. a. Easter	W 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Su 25	3rd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 24	Shrove Tuesday	W 25	The Annunciation	Sa 25		M 25		Th 25	
M 26		W 25	Ash Wednesday	Th 26		Su 26	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 26		F 26	
Tu 27		Th 26		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27	7 Sleepers
W 28		F 27		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		Su 28	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 29		Sa 28		Su 29	5th S. in Lent	W 29		F 29		M 29	
F 30				M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		Tu 30	
Sa 31				Tu 31				Su 31	Pentecost		

July		August		September		October		November		December		1846
W 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1		Su 1	21st S. a. Trinity/	Tu 1		
Th 2	The Visitation	Su 2	8th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2			All Saints' Day	W 2		
F 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		M 2		Th 3		
Sa 4		Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 4		
Su 5	4th S. a. Trinity	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		W 4		Sa 5		
M 6		Th 6		Su 6	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		Th 5		Su 6	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		F 6		M 7		
W 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Sa 7		Tu 8		
Th 9		Su 9	9th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		Su 8	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 9		
F 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		M 9		Th 10		
Sa 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 11		
Su 12	5th S. a. Trinity	W 12		Sa 12		M 12		W 11	St. Martin	Sa 12		
M 13		Th 13		Su 13	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		Th 12		Su 13	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 14		F 14		M 14		W 14		F 13		M 14		
W 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		Sa 14		Tu 15		
Th 16		Su 16	10th S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	F 16		Su 15	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	
F 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		M 16		Th 17		
Sa 18		Tu 18		F 18		Su 18	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17		F 18		
Su 19	6th S. a. Trinity	W 19		Sa 19		M 19		W 18		Sa 19		
M 20		Th 20		Su 20	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	Moving day	Th 19		Su 20	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 21		F 21		M 21		W 21		F 20		M 21		
W 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		Sa 21		Tu 22		
Th 23		Su 23	11th S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		Su 22	24th S. a. Trinity	W 23		
F 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		M 23		Th 24		
Sa 25		Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	20th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 25	Christmas Day	
Su 26	7th S. a. Trinity	W 26		Sa 26		M 26		W 25		Sa 26	St. Stephen	
M 27		Th 27		Su 27	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		Th 26		Su 27	1st S. a. Christmas	
Tu 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		F 27		M 28		
W 29		Sa 29		Tu 29	St. Michael and	Th 29		Sa 28		Tu 29		
Th 30		Su 30	12th S. a. Trinity		All Angels	F 30		Su 29	1st S. in Advent	W 30		
F 31		M 31		W 30		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31		

CONCORDANCE

From *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer*
to *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*

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Concordance

Pap.	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*
I A 241	FF:1	II A 347	EE:7	II A 382	EE:36	II A 420	EE:64
I A 248	FF:2		EE:7.1	II A 383	EE:37	II A 421	EE:65
I A 249	FF:3	II A 348	EE:8	II A 384	EE:37.a	II A 422	EE:66
I A 253	FF:4	II A 349	EE:9	II A 385	EE:37.b	II A 423	EE:67
I A 271	FF:5	II A 350	EE:9	II A 386	EE:38	II A 424	EE:68
I A 272	FF:6		EE:9.1	II A 387	EE:39	II A 425	EE:69
I A 275	FF:7	II A 351	EE:10	II A 388	EE:40	II A 426	EE:70
I A 276	FF:8	II A 352	EE:11	II A 389	EE:41	II A 427	EE:69.a
I A 277	FF:9	II A 353	EE:12	II A 390	EE:42	II A 428	EE:71.a
I A 278	FF:10	II A 354	EE:13	II A 391	EE:43	II A 429	EE:71.c
I A 279	FF:11	II A 355	EE:13.a	II A 392	EE:43.a	II A 430	EE:71
I A 280	FF:12	II A 356	EE:14		EE:43.a. a		EE:71.b
I A 286	FF:13	II A 357	EE:15	II A 393	EE:44	II A 431	EE:72
I A 287	FF:14	II A 358	EE:15.a	II A 394	EE:45	II A 432	EE:73
I A 288	FF:15	II A 359	EE:15.b	II A 395	EE:46	II A 433	EE:74
I A 289	FF:16	II A 360	EE:16	II A 396	EE:47	II A 434	EE:75
I A 290	FF:17	II A 361	EE:17	II A 397	EE:48	II A 435	EE:76
I A 291	FF:18	II A 362	EE:18	II A 398	EE:49	II A 436	EE:77
I A 292	FF:19		EE:18.1	II A 399	EE:50	II A 437	EE:78
I A 293	FF:20	II A 363	EE:18.a	II A 400	EE:51	II A 438	EE:78.a
I A 296	FF:21	II A 364	EE:19	II A 401	EE:51.a	II A 439	EE:79
I A 297	FF:22	II A 365	EE:20	II A 402	EE:52	II A 440	EE:80
I A 298	FF:23	II A 366	EE:21	II A 403	EE:52.a	II A 441	EE:81
I A 300	FF:24		EE:21.1	II A 404	EE:53	II A 442	EE:82
	FF:24.1	II A 367	EE:22		EE:53.b	II A 443	EE:83
I A 301	FF:25	II A 368	EE:23	II A 405	EE:53.a	II A 444	EE:84
I A 302	FF:26	II A 369	EE:24	II A 406	EE:53.c	II A 445	EE:85
	FF:27	II A 370	EE:25	II A 407	EE:54	II A 446	EE:86
I A 303	FF:28	II A 371	EE:26	II A 408	EE:54.a	II A 447	EE:87
I A 306	FF:29	II A 372	EE:27	II A 409	EE:55	II A 448	EE:88
I A 321	FF:30	II A 373	EE:28	II A 410	EE:56	II A 449	EE:89
I A 322	FF:31		EE:28.1	II A 411	EE:57	II A 450	EE:90
I A 323	FF:32	II A 374	EE:29	II A 412	EE:58	II A 451	EE:91
I A 327	FF:33	II A 375	EE:29.a	II A 413	EE:58.a	II A 452	EE:92
II A 341	EE:1	II A 376	EE:30	II A 414	EE:59	II A 453	EE:92.a
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